Governance, Social Development, Conflict and Humanitarian PEAKS
Consortium led by Coffey International Development

Final Report ©

Gender Equality in Uganda: A situation Analysis and Scoping Report for
the Gender Development Partners Group
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# List of Acronyms

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<tr>
<td>AfDB</td>
<td>African Development Bank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CEEWA</td>
<td>Council for the Economic Empowerment of Women of Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAP/ CAS</td>
<td>Country Assistance Plan/ Strategy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPR</td>
<td>Contraceptive Prevalence Rate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSP</td>
<td>Country Strategic Plan</td>
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<tr>
<td>DFID</td>
<td>Department for International Development (UK)</td>
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<td>DoL</td>
<td>Division of Labour</td>
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<tr>
<td>DP</td>
<td>Development Partner</td>
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<tr>
<td>EOC</td>
<td>Equal Opportunities Commission</td>
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<tr>
<td>EPRC</td>
<td>Economic Policy Research Centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FDI</td>
<td>Foreign Direct Investment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FGM</td>
<td>Female Genital Mutilation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FY</td>
<td>Fiscal Year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FOWODE</td>
<td>Forum for Women in Democracy</td>
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<tr>
<td>GBV</td>
<td>Gender Based Violence</td>
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<tr>
<td>GDP</td>
<td>Gross Domestic Product</td>
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<tr>
<td>GDPG</td>
<td>Gender Development Partner Group</td>
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<tr>
<td>GESI</td>
<td>Gender Equality and Social Inclusion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GIZ</td>
<td>Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GoU</td>
<td>Government of Uganda</td>
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<tr>
<td>IPV</td>
<td>Intimate Partner Violence</td>
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<tr>
<td>LEMU</td>
<td>Land and Equity Movement Uganda</td>
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<tr>
<td>LGBTI</td>
<td>Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transexual/Transgender and Intersexed</td>
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<tr>
<td>MDG</td>
<td>Millennium Development Goals</td>
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<tr>
<td>MoFPED</td>
<td>Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development</td>
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<td>MGLSD</td>
<td>Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>MMR</td>
<td>Maternal Mortality Rate (per 100,000 births)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Acronym</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>NBPF</td>
<td>National Budget Framework Paper</td>
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<td>NDP</td>
<td>National Development Plan</td>
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<td>NGP</td>
<td>National Gender Policy</td>
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<tr>
<td>OVC</td>
<td>Orphans and Vulnerable Children</td>
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<tr>
<td>PD</td>
<td>Paris Declaration</td>
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<tr>
<td>RC</td>
<td>Resident Coordinator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SDA</td>
<td>Seventh Day Adventist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIAG</td>
<td>Social Inclusion Action Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIDA</td>
<td>Swedish International Development Agency</td>
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<tr>
<td>SRH</td>
<td>Sexual and reproductive health</td>
</tr>
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<td>SSA</td>
<td>Sub-Saharan Africa</td>
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<tr>
<td>TF</td>
<td>Trust Fund</td>
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<tr>
<td>UDHS</td>
<td>Uganda Demographic and Health Survey</td>
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<tr>
<td>UGP</td>
<td>Uganda Gender Policy</td>
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<tr>
<td>ULA</td>
<td>Uganda Land Alliance</td>
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<tr>
<td>UHRC</td>
<td>Uganda Human Rights Commission</td>
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<tr>
<td>UWEAL</td>
<td>Uganda Women Entrepreneurs Association Limited</td>
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<td>WEF</td>
<td>World Economic Forum</td>
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1 Introduction

The time-constrained reader could skip straight to the 'preliminary conclusions' section at the end of the paper.

1.1 Background and purpose

Many international actors support gender equality and women’s empowerment work in Uganda. The larger donor agencies convene monthly in the Gender Development Partners Group (GDPG). The GDPG is comprised of UN Multilaterals (UN Women, UNICEF, UNFPA, OHCHR, ILO, WHO); Multilateral Development Banks (World Bank, ADB), and Bilateral Donor Agencies (DFID, Irish Aid, DANIDA, GIZ, SIDA, EU, Austria, Norway, USAID). The Group is currently chaired by the UK Department for International Development (DFID).

In early 2014, the Group commissioned a small team of consultants to undertake a situation analysis to ‘strengthen the engagement of Gender Development Partners in promoting gender equality, and women and girls’ empowerment in Uganda.’ The brief was to take a broad-brush approach, covering a relatively wide spectrum of issues, referencing both the international research literature and Uganda-specific experience. Taking the lead from the Government of Uganda’s National Gender Policy, the GDPG asked the team to look at three themes in more depth: gender and the macro economy, women’s economic empowerment, and women’s rights. For the purpose of this assignment, ‘rights’ has been separated into two related sub-themes: gender based violence and legal reform. This report includes a short section on joint working, and a concluding section which offers preliminary conclusions for donors working on gender equality in Uganda. A case study of a particularly focussed, strategic joint donor working group is included as an annex, as is a table that profiles five modalities for joint working.

1.2 Scope and approach

This paper provides an update on the context for work on gender equality in Uganda, drawing on published research, grey literature, and a selection of key informant interviews. The report is intended for internal use by the GDPG, primarily as a discussion document. This analysis is a ‘light touch’ update and synthesis, intended for a diverse group of DPs in the scoping phase of its programming cycle. As such, this situation analysis is intended to be neither comprehensive nor exhaustive. A more in-depth situation analysis would necessarily include, for instance: analysis of the political climate for GEWE work, a discussion of LGBTI issues, an assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of the women’s movement, men’s role, and prospects for shifting social norms.

The research for this paper was conducted over three weeks in February 2014 by Sam Gibson, Hope Kabuchu and Francis Watkins. The bulk of research was desk-based. The desk research was supplemented with seven days’ work based in Kampala, where the team met 18 key informants and gathered references – eventually assembling a collection of 130+ relevant documents. The team then analysed the documents and interview material, and produced the draft report for review and comment from the five-member reference group drawn from GDGP members.
In late March, the full Gender Development Partner Group will come together in a workshop with three objectives:

1) create a shared picture of gender equality and women's empowerment in Uganda (building on this report);
2) develop evidence-based theories of change for three priority themes;
3) draft a road map for improved joint working.

Findings from the final draft of this situation analysis will be shared and discussed with the wider GDPG and other stakeholders in the March workshop.

1.3 A note on language

'Women's empowerment' has been shown to be a fuzzy concept when used by international development organisations. There are multiple meanings in current use in Uganda, and in the literature reviewed for this situation analysis. The two most common interpretations have distinctly different emphases. The first meaning is a deeply social view of empowerment, focussing on social transformation, rights, collective action, and the process of achieving true equality between men and women. The second meaning is sometimes characterised as an instrumentalist view, associated with efficiency and growth. This latter meaning is commonly reflected in World Bank documents and indeed in Uganda’s own National Growth Plan. The instrumentalist emphasis, arguably, has relatively more traction among GDPG membership and the Government of Uganda at the moment.

Where possible, this report attempts to unpack the term ‘women’, and identify issues which are likely to affect, say, rural women differently than urban women, or young women differently than older women. After DPs have decided which themes or issues are likely to be future programming priorities, more in-depth research and consultation will be needed. At that stage, a more nuanced consideration of age, ethnicity, rural-urban-periurban location, sexual identity and religion should be incorporated in the design process. The next stage of analysis should also include a focus on men and men’s roles in the journey to greater equality in Uganda.

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1 Eyben and Napier-Moore 2009
2 Context: A glass half empty or half full?

This section provides a snapshot of up to date developments and data across a range of sectors that are of particular importance to women and to gender equality: the legal and policy framework; the National Development Plan; food and cash crops; education; maternal mortality; contraception; gender based violence; and household assets. The majority of the data is drawn from the Uganda Demographic and Health Survey 2011, the Bureau of Statistics Abstract, and the 2013 MDG report. Uganda’s performance in several areas is compared with its African peers, and in a global context. The first section summarises Uganda’s 2013 ‘gender equality ranking’ in the context of a global index.

2.1 Uganda’s gender equality record – compared with 135 other countries

This paper takes a swift look across a wide range of data and issues that are of particular concern to DPs interested in gender equality in Uganda. Depending upon with which lens one views the picture, the verdict could be argued as either half-full, or half-empty. Some trends in Uganda are encouraging, including gender parity in most primary school measures, and increasing registered land ownership by women. Other trends are worrying: increasing HIV prevalence and pregnancies for young women, a slight increase in maternal mortality rates after an encouraging period of decline, and a persistent lack of representation of women in tertiary education.

However, the news is not all bad. Uganda also presents a mixed picture when compared to other countries in the sub-Saharan region, and to countries in other regions – rich and poor. Since 2006, the World Economic Forum’s Global Gender Equality Index has rated 136 countries against the same set of indicators, encompassing the relative gaps between women and men, across a large set of countries and across four key areas: health, educational, economics and politics. What is particularly interesting about this index is that low-income countries can – and often do – rank better than wealthier nations when it comes to gender equality. Burundi, for instance, is a poor country by most measures. But when it comes to gender equality, it rates higher than 114 other countries - including upper-middle-income countries such as Costa Rica and Serbia. Uganda also outshines wealthier countries such as Laos, Moldova and Guyana.

To complement this information, the Country Profiles contain supporting information that provides the broader context on gender parity laws, social norms, policies and outcomes within countries. Uganda’s relatively high composite ranking of 46 belies significant results in the scores that make up that composite ranking. Uganda has ranked number one for equality in health outcomes for men and women (albeit tied with 32 other countries); yet it is 123rd in educational attainment. Uganda’s relatively high ranking for political empowerment is not surprising, scoring well above Kenya and a full 68 places ahead of Ghana - but well below South Africa and Mozambique. Uganda’s economic participation ranking of 37 is also respectable, well above Argentina, Nigeria and South Africa.

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2 World Economic Forum. 2013 Gender Gap Report
2.2 Policy environment

The 1995 Republic of Uganda Constitution provided a turning point for Ugandan women by recognizing equality of men and women and making provisions for ensuring women’s participation in decision making at all levels, through affirmative action provisions. Since then, the number of women in the Uganda parliament increased to 35% in 2012, from 18% in 2000. In 2009, Parliament passed three landmark laws that are expected to make a significant contribution to promoting and protecting women’s rights: a 2010 law on Domestic Violence and the 2011 Domestic Violence regulations, the anti-Female Genital Mutilation Act of 2010, and the anti-human trafficking law passed in 2009. However, there has been limited progress on the operationalization of the new laws. The Marriage and Divorce Bill has been a source of contention for more than thirty years. Parliament has consistently resisted passing the Bill, which has the potential to fundamentally reform power relations between husbands and wives.

Uganda established a gender National Machinery, currently the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development (MGLSD) in 1989. Its mandate has been to spearhead the national agenda, and establish mechanisms for gender mainstreaming at different levels of national and subnational government. Under the MGLSD, the National Gender Policy was developed in 1997, and updated in 2007. The Act has provided guidance for nationwide gender mainstreaming across key sector Ministries through various programmes over the years. The Local Government Act 1997 provided for 1/3 affirmative action for women’s representation at various local government structures at lower level, providing an impetus for strengthening women’s participation in decision making across the country.

A recent national evaluation noted ‘progress in gender mainstreaming across sectors both at national and local government levels, with significant investment in gender capacity building, development of guidelines and provision of technical support for gender responsive planning, budgeting, monitoring and evaluation’. However, women’s participation at lower government levels has not been necessarily effective because of challenges of low education levels, and socio-cultural and economic constraints faced by women. The number of districts has expanded to 111 district administrative units. These district structures are, for the most part, underfunded, which in turn creates new challenges for a national gender machinery tasked with providing technical, administrative and strategic outreach to its national constituency. The national gender machinery has structural and political linkages at district level through Community development offices, and the Youth and Women’s Councils – but it is constrained by its modest budget and relatively small cadre of technical staff.

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5 Republic of Uganda, The Domestic Violence Act, 2010
6 Republic of Uganda Domestic Violence Regulations, 2011
7 Republic of Uganda, The Prohibition of the Female Genital Mutilation Act, 2010
8 Republic of Uganda, The Prevention of Trafficking in Persons Act, 2009
9 NPA, 2013, Mid Term Review of the National Development Plan, a Study to evaluate the extent to which gender issues were addressed during the implementation of the National Development Plan (NDP), 2010/11-2014/15.
10 Ministry of Local Government Website (2014)
2.3 Gender and the National Gender Machinery

Uganda’s development vision is ‘a transformed Uganda’s society from a peasant to a modern and prosperous country within 30 years’\(^\text{11}\). The vision, expressed in the National Development Plan, also lists ‘gender issues, negative attitudes, mindset, cultural practices and perceptions’ among the key binding constraints on economic and social development (Ibid). The Mid-Term Review of the NDP notes the following:

‘As regards to prioritizing allocation of resources to gender related constraints; the analysis revealed that the NBFP 2010/11 – 2014/15 and associated budgets for FY 2010/11 to 2012/13 focused on implementing the NDP priorities but showed very minimal gender sensitivity in the prioritization of activities and resource allocations. There was limited focus on addressing the key practical gender needs especially for the rural men, women, boys and girls. This notwithstanding, a few sectors specifically allocated funds to activities aimed at addressing both practical and strategic gender needs. This was the case in the sectors of health, education, social development and water and sanitation’\(^\text{12}\).

Despite the strategic actions for promoting gender equality in the NDP, this is not reflected in national financing and budget priorities. The Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development (MGLSD), which is identified in the NDP as the lead institution for 10 out of the 13 strategic actions for addressing the binding constraints for gender, has persistently been under funded by government, receiving less than 1% of the national budget over the last five years\(^\text{13}\). This indicates a challenge in securing the required commitment by government to address gender as a binding constraint to national development.

2.4 The Ugandan women’s movement: many achievements, a history of coalitions, some challenges

The women’s movement in Uganda dates back to independence, with women’s demands for emancipation and protection arising regularly over the past 50 years. The women’s movement, like other struggles for rights in Uganda, was suppressed in the 1970s during the days of Idi Amin. The women’s movement re-emerged in the early 1980s,‘when some form of democratic system started emerging in Uganda’\(^\text{14}\). The processes for women’s emancipation were halted due to constant wars (Ibid). Following on the Nairobi conference in 1985, and after the war ended in 1986, the movement regained momentum. Women’s advocacy organizations, CSOs and NGOs began addressing rights issues.

\(^{12}\) NPA, 2013, Mid Term Review of the National Development Plan, a Study to Evaluate the extent to which gender issues were addressed during the implementation of the National Development Plan (NDP), 2010/11-2014/15.
\(^{13}\) MFPED, Background to the Budget Documents over 5 year period.
Landmark achievements for the women's movement included the establishment of the National Gender Machinery in 1989, ensuring that women's rights are enshrined in the Constitution in 1995, and many other affirmative action provisions in higher education, parliamentary representation and local government act. The women's movement has also been behind the lobby for enactment of gender responsive laws (e.g. the sexual offences bill, Anti-GFM, Domestic Violence and the consent clause in the land Amendment Act).

Like-minded women's CSOs/NGOs organized in the form of coalitions such as the Domestic Violence Coalition, Civil Society Budget Monitoring Groups, Uganda Governance Monitoring Group, Coalitions for Peace in Northern Uganda, Anti-Corruption coalitions, Black Monday Movement, the Uganda Governance Monitoring Group. Partnerships between women’s activist organizations and other stakeholders such as religious and cultural institutions have been forged to influence legislation – most notably on GBV. Although the coalitions have been used to build a strong lobby group for formulation and adoption of laws and changes in policies or legislation, there is generally less involvement of the women’s movement in monitoring of formulated laws, according to the Joint Donor Study on CSO Policy Dialogue.

The women’s movement in Uganda has recently been met with setbacks in the advocacy for passing of the Marriage and Divorce Bill (previously the domestic relations bill) – which has been a more than 50 years struggle for women activists in Uganda. This has resulting in questioning of whether the women’s movement has become weak; some have even questioned whether the women’s movement in Uganda exists. There is no doubt that social, cultural political challenges still remain for achievement of gender equality, especially with respect to addressing the gaps in access to resources, land and fundamental rights to ownership of property. The joint donor study on CSO engagement in policy dialogue on points out that lack of gender-disaggregated data to inform policy, planning and resource allocation, still constrain the evidence collection processes – which would support the arguments for change (DANIDA 2012). According to the study, changing the status quo is a long term and continuous process, requiring commitment of both human and financial resources and considerable investment in capacity building (ibid).

2.5 Declining growth of food and cash crops

Uganda’s real GDP is projected to grow at 6-7% per annum over a five year period by 2017/18. However, the agriculture sector - where the majority of men and women’s labour force is concentrated - has had negative or slow growth, showing 2.9% in 2008/09 and 1.4% growth in 2012/13.
According to the NDP 2010, performance of the agriculture sector raises the need for ‘radical strategies to improve the productivity levels and to modernize the sector.' Both cash crops and food crops experienced declining growth in the last five years (see table above). Yet food crops are the mainstay of women’s economic activities, over which they have some level of influence and social and economic benefits. The macroeconomic section of this paper explores the relationship between women’s empowerment and changes in the agricultural sector in more detail.

Although cash crops tend to be controlled by men, the cash crops have a strong bearing on the household welfare and economic status of a household, and a declining growth will have a major impact on the household income. Household income is ‘a strong predictor of almost all MDG outcomes particularly access to sanitation, child health and progression to higher levels of education.’

2.6 Gender parity primary achieved in primary school; secondary and tertiary still not

Like most other African countries, Uganda is set to meet the MDG target for gender parity for girls and boys in primary education, with the gap first closed in 2012 and girls now overtaking boys. Dropout rates and grade repetition are worryingly high for boys and girls alike (Ibid). The primary school completion rate for boys and girls was reported to be almost at par, at 56% for boys and 51% for girls in 2010, representing an increase of 10% for girls and a drop of 3% for boys from 2002 (Ibid).

Despite the fact that Uganda has some way to go before it reaches the global average of 89% female primary completion rates, recent data shows that Ugandan girls

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19 TBA
are now completing primary school at double the rate they were in 1990 – a remarkable achievement.\textsuperscript{21}

Girls do \textit{better} than boys by some education measures. While on-time completion rates for boys and girls in primary school are shockingly low, it is encouraging that girls’ on-time completion rate is more than double boys’ (7\% vs 3\%).\textsuperscript{22} Equally, their primary completion rates are growing faster than boys’ completion rates are.

As the chart above illustrates, gender gaps grow significantly at the secondary and tertiary levels. Ugandan boys and girls enrol in secondary school at lower rates than do students in other African countries – except at the tertiary level, where Ugandan boys enrol at four times the rate of Ugandan girls, and at twice the rate of boys in other African countries.\textsuperscript{23} The MoFPED’s 2013 MDG report notes that positive trends in secondary and tertiary levels have ‘slowed’.

\textbf{Chart 3: Enrolment in secondary school and tertiary education}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education Level</th>
<th>Uganda Girls</th>
<th>Uganda Boys</th>
<th>SSA Girls</th>
<th>SSA Boys</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tertiary</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Literacy trends are positive for both sexes. The proportion of women who cannot read reduced to 25\% in 2011 from 42\% recorded in 2006, while male illiteracy was at 13\% in 2011 compared to 30\% in 2006\textsuperscript{24}. Youth literacy levels are a healthy 85\% for females and 90\% for males.\textsuperscript{25}

\textsuperscript{21} WB Little Book of Gender Data. 2013.
\textsuperscript{22} MoFPED MDG report. 2013
\textsuperscript{23} There is a lack of clarity in the statistics at secondary and tertiary levels; the 2013 MDG report reports the ratio of girls to boys in secondary school in 2012 was 85.2\% and 78.6\% at tertiary level – which is different than the less equal picture portrayed by the WB figures published in 2013.
\textsuperscript{24} UDHS 2006 and UDHS 2011
\textsuperscript{25} WB Little Data Book on Gender, 2013.
2.7 Reproductive health results

Although the proportion of births attended by health personnel increased somewhat from 42% in 2006 to 58% in 2011, this is still far below the MDG target of 100% by 2015. Comparative data published in 2013 shows that Uganda is doing better than the African average on skilled attendance, and below the global average (see graphic, right). Figures for antenatal care and attended deliveries have both shown steady improvement since 1995. Deliveries in health facilities increased from 33% in 2009/2010 to 39% in 2010/11.26

Chart 4: Birth attended by skilled health staff

2.8 Maternal mortality ‘stagnant’

However, one of the most important indicators of women’s health has plateaued: the maternal mortality rate was 438 per 100,000 births in 2011, representing a slight increase from 2006 and only a small drop since 1995. It is highly unlikely that Uganda will meet its 2015 target MMR of 131, and projections suggest the MMR target will be missed by a tragic 75%. The underlying causes of this disappointing MMR result are no doubt multiple and complex, but it is worth noting that a 2007 research article identified the availability of midwives the ‘most important factor’.27 A 2012 report found that around half of government health care facilities were providing basic obstetric care or were providing at least one staff member qualified to provide care to pregnant women with complications – still not adequate, but an impressive increase from the 3% of facilities that could offer the appropriate level of care in 2000.28

The decline of social services, particularly health services, is likely to be a significant contributor to high maternal deaths in Uganda. The declining quality of Uganda’s health and education services has

26 UBOS 2012 Statistical Abstract; exec summary
been widely noted across the country through the media and other fora, a fact reflected in the steady shrinkage of social sector funding in recent years. (See table below.)

Chart 5: Percentage change average GDP by Economic Activity at constant prices: Social Services 2008/09-2012/2013

<table>
<thead>
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<td>11.8</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>13.8</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.9 Contraceptive use and teen pregnancy: worrying reversals

Likely as a direct result of declining levels of social services, there has been a dramatic decrease in contraceptive use by Ugandan women from 44.9% in 2006 to 24% in 2011. The contraceptive prevalence rate (CPR) was 30% among married women in 2011, a striking fall from 52% in 2006 (DHS). Similarly, contraceptive use among sexually active unmarried women reduced from 75% to 52% in the same period. Ugandan CPR is much lower than in neighbouring Kenya (46% in 2009), Morocco (67% in 2011) and Rwanda (52% in 2010).

The reduction in contraceptive use is irrespective of the contraceptive knowledge by Ugandans, which over the past eight years has been almost universal at over 98% for both men and women (UDHS 2006 and 2011). The total fertility rate for Ugandan women is reported at 6.2 children in 2012, with a very high population growth rate of 3.2 per annum, projected to reach 34.1 million in 2012. The sex ratio of the total population, and life expectancy for men and women has been relatively equal for the past ten years.

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29 Uganda MDG Report 2013, also notes that the quality of public services needs significant improvement.
31 (Ibid)
33 UBOS Statistical Abstract, 2012
34 UBOS Statistical Abstract, 2012
The National Development Plan notes with concern a very high dependency ratio of 1:5 – the highest in the world. The NDP further comments that population trends for Uganda present ‘challenges [to] future growth and structural transformation, unless serious measures are taken to turn it into a population dividend’. Drivers of high population growth are deeply gendered. Causes of high fertility in Uganda are attributed to low levels of education, poor access to family planning services, low contraceptive prevalence rates and early child bearing.

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2.10 HIV and AIDS: increasing prevalence for girls

HIV prevalence rates in Uganda have increased and point to high vulnerability of women and girls arising out of the low status and gender discrimination in the country. The HIV prevalence rates for 15-24 year olds rose from 2.9% in 2004 to 3.7% in 2011. Among this, the HIV prevalence rates for 15 to 19 year olds have very strong gender characteristics, with female prevalence rates having increased from 2.6% in 2006 to 3% in 2011, while male prevalence rates in the same age group rose from 0.3% to 1.7% in the same age group. Prevalence rates among females aged 20-24 years rose from 6.3% in 2004 to 7.1% in 2011. Male prevalence rates in the same age group and year rose from 2.4% to 2.8%. (See chart at right.)

Chart 8: Male and Female HIV Prevalence Rates are rising

Despite the decades of progress made in Uganda to combat AIDS, the HIV prevalence rates are now on an upward trend, with 35% of new infections occurring within monogamous discordant couples, 37% among people reporting multiple sex partners, 18% due to mother-to-child transmission and 19% occurring among sex workers. Just under 40% of both men and women have ‘comprehensive correct knowledge’ of HIV/AIDS. Several studies have linked increased GBV against women among HIV positive women, and among women in HIV discordant relationships.

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37 Ibid
38 MoFPED MDG report. 2013.
39 TBA
2.11 Household wealth and assets: a rising tide combined with rising inequality

While the proportion of the population living in poverty is reported to have declined from 31% in 2006, to 24.5% in 2010, the inequality between wealthy and low income Ugandans has increased. The official overall Gini co-efficient for Uganda for 2011 was 0.4, with more unequal distribution of wealth in rural areas at Gini co-efficient of 0.3 compared to 0.2 in urban areas. Households owning agricultural land in Uganda reduced by 8.5% from 80.8% in 2006 to 72.3% in 2011, which has implications for reduced productivity and increased vulnerability for populations largely dependent on agriculture (see table below). The unequal access to, and control of, productive resources by women, especially land where they contribute over 75% of the labour force, ‘limits their ability to move beyond subsistence agriculture’.

Chart 9: Household Ownership of Productive Assets between 2006 -2011

Increasing ownership of household assets

At the same time that households owning land are decreasing, household assets are growing. Trends show more than a double digit increase in households assets such as cattle goats, sheep, pig and chicken in the past five years (UDHS 2006 and 2011). There is, however, an ownership gap that shows patterns of inequality where the data are available. A 2005 study, for instance, found that even for typically ‘ladies’ livestock’ such as poultry, only 16% of women said they owned chickens vs. 22% of men.

By implication, a growth in household assets suggests an increase in household wealth and income. Ownership of household effects has also grown, with mobile phone ownership leaping from 16.2% to 59.4% between 2006 and 2011 (UDHS). TV, motorcycle and radios ownership also increased.

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40 (Ibid)
41 NPA, The National Development Plan (NDP), 2010/11-2014/15
42 Oluka 2005, cited in ICRW 2011
Widespread access to phones (and presumably to the internet in the not-so-distant future) should provide new and cost-effective approaches to interventions that facilitate women’s empowerment.

Chart 10: Changes in Household Ownership of Communications Effects 2006 – 2011

Household characteristics in Uganda show dependency on rudimentary facilities, which takes a toll on women’s labour and has ‘time poverty’ effects. Although 70% of the population 2011 had increased access to improved water sources, there was only a 3% growth from 67% in 2006. 29% of the population still used non-improved water sources in 2011, compared to 32% in 2006, which poses risks for water borne diseases for many household, as well as has implications on women’s time and health are giving chores. Time for collecting water is still high, at more than 30 minutes for 57% of the population in 2011, compared to 62.4% in 2006. 70% of adult females collected drinking water for the family in 2006, compared to 26.6% of males over 15.
3 Gender and macro-economics

The starting point for this section of the situation analysis is an IMF Working Paper by Stotsky⁴³, which provides a thorough assessment of the relevant research. Stotsky’s starting point is the emerging literatures on gender differences in economic behaviours and on the different effects of public policy decisions on women and men. She explores this literature to identify areas where the findings might be used in macroeconomic analyses, in areas such as women’s access to labour and financial markets and how this might affect economic growth. Perhaps the most important message of the paper can summarised in a single, clear statement: There is a simultaneous relationship between gender inequalities and economic growth. Gender inequalities reduce economic growth while at the same time economic growth [generally but not necessarily] leads to lower gender disparities.

This section follows to a certain extent the structure of Stotsky’s paper and looks at:

- Economic growth and the impact on gender inequalities
- Research findings from Uganda that might qualify the current macroeconomic analyses, and
- The current responses to the issues and how they might be improved.

3.1 Economic growth and gender inequalities in Uganda

There is general agreement in the main macroeconomic analyses that the path that Uganda has followed in the last twenty years has been the right one. The World Bank⁴⁴ makes this case clear in stating that:

Over the past two decades, Uganda has established a strong record of prudent macroeconomic management and structural reform. Through the 1990s, the government maintained a stable macroeconomic environment and continued to undertake private-sector oriented reforms. By 2006, Uganda had graduated into a mature reformer. Annual gross domestic product (GDP) growth rates averaged 7 % in the 1990s and accelerated to more than 8 % over the seven years to 2007/08. However, due to rapid population growth, real GDP growth per capita averaged only 3.4 % in the 1990s and around 4 % in the 2000s. Macroeconomic stability and sound policies have helped sustain growth despite exogenous shocks.

The African Development Bank⁴⁵ brings this analysis up to date, looking at some of the problems faced more recently with inflation: After a year of turbulence, the Ugandan government stabilised the economy in 2012 with inflation falling to 14.6% from 18.7% in 2011. Tightened fiscal and monetary policy helped bring fiscal balances under control. While laying the foundations for recovery and growth, stabilisation came at the cost of a slowdown in gross domestic product (GDP) growth to 3.2% by June 2012. A gradual recovery is expected.

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⁴⁵ AfDB (2013) 2013 Economic Outlook
The World Bank\textsuperscript{46} also makes the case that this reform process is linked to Uganda’s success both in taking the lead in the development of the East Africa Community and in increasing the level of regional exports. It is stated that: During Uganda’s two-decade reform process, the country established a liberal environment to support the free exchange of goods, capital and ideas beyond its borders. The liberalization and reform process that began in 1993 resulted in big gains, increasing the country’s openness, diversifying products and markets, and increasing FDI. Today, Uganda exports almost US$ 5 billion worth of goods and services each year, which represents a value equal to 27% of its GDP. This compares to the early 1990s, when exports accounted for only 7% of GDP. On the other hand, Uganda now imports goods and services worth US$ 7.6 billion, equal to 45% of GDP. By comparison, in the early 1990s, the total value of imports was equal to only 19% of GDP.

The macroeconomic analyses generally make the linkage between economic growth and poverty reduction, including progress towards achieving the MDGs. The AfDB\textsuperscript{47}, for example, makes the case that: poverty levels have declined from 56% in 1991/92 to 31.3% in 2005/06 and 24.5% in 2009/10; Uganda has thus met the MDG target of halving the poverty rate by 2015. However, income inequality worsened, with the Gini coefficient increasing from 0.3 in 1992 to 0.41 in 2005/06.

Uganda is reported to be on track to achieve at several other MDGs by 2015: child mortality, universal primary school enrolment, and drinking water. However, strategic interventions are urgently required to sustain progress and to meet the other MDGs especially those relating to and improving maternal mortality.\textsuperscript{48} The target on addressing gender inequality is measured by: achieving gender parity in all levels of education (for which Uganda is not doing as well as it needs to at higher levels); meeting targets on the number of women parliamentarians; and the share of women in wage employment in the non-agricultural sector.

The African Development Bank’s own Regional Integration Strategy Paper\textsuperscript{49} highlights some of the advantages of integration in eastern Africa, particularly the potential for trade expansion and poverty reduction. With regard to economic growth it is concluded that: On balance, the region weathered the global economic crisis relatively well with positive real growth (5.8%) achieved in 2009. Over the medium term, freer flow of capital, goods, services, skilled labour and technology will benefit all the countries. The analysis also seeks to identify the main beneficiaries in terms of trade, suggesting that: Kenya is the regional trade hub accounting for 33% of intra-regional trade, attributed to its larger private sector, followed by Uganda (21%) and Tanzania (11%). It is worth noting that official statistics often underestimate intra-regional trade as a substantial portion of cross-border trade is regarded as illegal.

In the analysis it is also noted that two of the key trade agreements (EAC and COMESA) have significant focus on gender: The EAC and COMESA have frameworks aimed at gender equality. The EAC Gender Strategic Plan addresses key issues, including the policy and legislative framework for

\textsuperscript{46} World Bank (2013) Uganda Economic Update: Bridges Across Borders - \url{https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/16541}

\textsuperscript{47} African Development Bank (2010) CSP, 2011-15

\textsuperscript{48} Report on MDG Progress; September 2013, Ministry of Finance Planning and Economic Development.

gender equality, gender disparity in power, and gender-based violence. COMESA Gender Policy (2002) aims to promote effective integration and participation of women at all levels, especially at the decision-making level; and to eliminate regulations and customs that are discriminatory against women.

With regard to the impacts of regional trade agreements on gender, the general consensus is that women in particular are still to see the benefits of the changes. For example, a study for the UN Economic Commission for East Africa\(^{50}\) starts with the general statement that:

‘The main finding of the study is that informal cross border women traders across the region do not use available formal systems/structures for most of their transactions. This makes it difficult for regional trade policy initiatives such as under East African Community (EAC) and the Customs Protocol to have any significant impact on this informal trade by women. The women show little evidence of knowledge regarding the East African Community Customs Protocol and even less motivation to use it to facilitate trading activities. Women traders continue to trade, largely the same way they have done for many decades gone by as admitted by majority of respondents who have been in the trade for over ten years.’

These findings are similar to anecdotal reporting by organisations such as the East Africa Sub-regional Support Initiative for the Advancement of Women (EASSI), who reported\(^{51}\) that: Many women informal cross border traders do not understand the content of the Customs Union and the Common Market Protocols that have been ratified to improve the trade infrastructure in the EAC. Studies have also shown that women are not benefitting from these protocols due to various factors including lack of awareness and use of technical terms.

These analyses also highlight some of the limitations of the progress made, namely the growth in inequality and the lack of progress in key areas, such as the provision of services. This section now goes on to consider some research findings from Uganda that might provide useful refinements of the macro-economic ‘headlines’ presented above.

### 3.2 Research findings from Uganda

There is a range of potential issues that could be focused on, but to draw out some interesting gender issues, four issues are highlighted here:

- Inequality
- The agricultural sector
- The informal sector and
- Corruption

\(^{50}\) M Masinjila (2009) Study on Gender Dimensions of Cross Border Trade in the EAC

Inequality

The World Bank\textsuperscript{52} in a recent analysis looks at the successes and risks of Uganda’s growth and poverty reduction. The report highlights a number of elements that require the attention of policy makers: One element is the recent evolution of income inequality, which has increased significantly over the past years. Income inequality has increased among and within regions. Poverty in the North and East, for example, remains four times and eight times deeper, respectively, than in the Central region. Gender inequality is higher in the lagging Northern and Eastern regions.

A second element is related to the opportunities and challenges of the government of Uganda’s strategic vision, the NDP, which rightly puts an emphasis on transformation of the economy into high productivity areas through skill development and value addition, but that could come with more concentration of economic activity and increasing inequality trends.

In an interesting online analysis Lawrence Bategeka\textsuperscript{53} looks at the roots of this growth in inequality: During the past two decades Uganda witnessed remarkable increases in income inequality. The Gini coefficient increased from about 0.32 in 1990 to 0.48 in 2012. The increase in income inequality stood in total contrast to the high rates of GDP growth, which averaged about 7.5\% per annum over the past two decades. Macroeconomic stability coupled with liberalization and/or market based economics were promoted as the right policies that would make Uganda realize the desired high rates of GDP growth. The role of the state in the economy was rolled back through privatization. In line with the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) paradigm, Uganda’s public sector spending (and especially support from the country’s development partners) targeted the social sectors.

As it turned out, sectors that drove Uganda’s economic growth were services (especially banking, telecommunications, transport, and wholesale trade) and construction, which employ a relatively small proportion of the population (less than 15\%). For example between 2005 and 2009 the services sector grew at an average rate of 8.8\% compared to 1.3\% for agriculture. This indicates that agriculture, from which about 70\% of the population earns a living, grew dismally and at rates lower than the population growth rate. The low growth of agriculture compared to the relatively high growth rates of services and construction explains the increase in income inequality as measured by the Gini coefficient.

3.3 The agricultural sector

The Government’s plan for the future is to move Uganda from a peasant economy into a ‘modern’ country with a well-developed commercial agriculture sector. However, the immediate reality for most Ugandan women and men is low-yield subsistence agriculture. Uganda is one of the most rural societies in the world, with 88\% of its people living in rural areas.\textsuperscript{54} As noted above, growth in the


\textsuperscript{53} L Bategeka (February 2013) Tackling Inequality in Uganda http://www.thebrokeronline.eu/Blogs/Inequality-debate/Tackling-Inequality-in-Uganda

\textsuperscript{54} Women’s World Banking Focus Note. Solutions for Financial Inclusion: Serving Rural Women, 2011
agriculture sector has stagnated in real terms, and in relation to more vibrant growth in the service and manufacturing sectors.

A number of analyses show that women play a particularly important role in the agricultural sector, which has seen low growth. For example an EPRC paper\textsuperscript{55} states that: four out of every five women in Uganda are employed in agriculture, according to the 2008 Gender and Productivity Survey (GPS) in Uganda; and 42\% of women in the labour force are unpaid family workers—receiving no income despite contributing the largest proportion of the agricultural labour. 90\% of rural women work in agriculture (53\% of rural men do)\textsuperscript{56}.

From 1988-1995, agriculture accounted for 80\% of total employment and females made up 75\% of agricultural employment. Although, over time the above situation has changed—with more men increasingly involved in commercial agriculture, women still make up the bulk of the agricultural labour force. In 2008, 80\% of the 5.3 million women in the Ugandan labour market were employed in agriculture.

It should be noted that there is some inconsistency in the data and analysis relating to women and agriculture. While the dominant narrative is that the vast majority of women are dependent on agriculture, other sources report a more balanced picture. The UNDP MDG web site, for instance, reports that the proportion of women employed in non-agricultural wage employment was ‘more than 35\% in 2003’—which is more positive than many other sources, and suggests that there may be a need to reconcile and update the literature on women, employment and agriculture in Uganda.\textsuperscript{57}

Male farmers face many challenges in Uganda, but women and girls face additional constraints including: control of land; lack of credit; access to markets; cultural conventions that allocate lower-value subsistence crops to women and cash crops to men; lack of access to tools and transport (such as bicycles) to which men have priority access; lack of skills or confidence; lack of a voice in cooperatives; lack of decision making power over sale, price, and investments.

In the World Bank CAS for 2011-15\textsuperscript{58} there is some analysis of the key gender-based barriers to economic growth and poverty reduction. Women are marginalized in business ownership, skills development, access to financial resources, non-agricultural employment, and inheritance rights. There is also a marked gender gap in access to and control over productive resources. Women comprise 70\% of the work force in agriculture but have unequal access to and control over productive resources, such as land, limiting their ability to move beyond subsistence agriculture.

Looking at cash crops, and particularly coffee, there are further analyses that suggest the limitations that affect both the sector and specifically women. The AfDB CSP\textsuperscript{59} highlights key challenges and weaknesses, including the fact that: Uganda is heavily dependent on coffee as a key source of foreign

\textsuperscript{56} FOWODE 2012, p 13.
\textsuperscript{57} http://www.ug.unpd.org/content/uganda/en/home/mdgoverview/overview/mdg3/
\textsuperscript{58} http://www-wds.worldbank.org/external/default/WDDContentServer/WDSIB/IB/2010/05/04/000334955_20100504033727/Rendered/PDF/541870CASOP11610only10IDAR201010116.pdf
exchange, making the country vulnerable to commodity price changes. Constricting factors to Uganda’s export diversification include stagnant agricultural productivity, low value-addition, regulatory constraints—which inhibit competition in marketing and export of cash crops, and tax policy that promotes non-competitive industries.

In a paper\textsuperscript{60} that carries out a more detailed analysis of coffee production it is suggested that rigid gender roles and struggles over resources persist in the Ugandan agricultural context. These phenomena are likely to be an obstacle to agricultural growth, especially in the cash crop sector. Female household heads are considerably less likely to engage in coffee farming activities, which is increasingly due to deterioration in access to land.

3.4 The informal sector and the ‘youth bulge’

After the agricultural sector, the informal sector plays an important role in employment, particularly for women. The informal sector accounts for the largest share of the Ugandan labour outside agriculture, with at least 15 and 29\% of females and males respectively employed in the informal sector. An EPRC paper\textsuperscript{61} sets out the figures: the informal sector is growing and employs 2.5 million people. The total number of households operating a household enterprise classified under the informal sector was about 1.8 million, around 36\% of the total number of households. The informal sector constituted over 150,000 of the over 160,000 businesses, around 87\%. About 39\% of those employed in the informal sector are female. Women are more likely to be unpaid helpers. 72\% of women are working proprietors, compared to 67\% of men. Informal sector activities are concentrated in the central and eastern regions, with the least activity in Western Uganda.

The paper also sets out what are described as the causes of the informal sector as: the collapse of the economy in the 1970s, the lack of a clear policy to address the costs of the Structural Adjustment Programme, rising poverty and the effects of the HIV/AIDS epidemic.

Girls’ education is widely perceived as a critical pathway to empowerment. This is broadly true, but the pathways may not always be as direct or reliable as we hope. In Ghana, for instance:

‘...quantitative research with 600 women from three age groups in Ghana tested the proposition that higher levels of education are associated with more indicators of empowerment. While this was the case for older women, it was less so for younger ones who are finding it harder than their mothers to get decent jobs in the formal sector of the economy. More educated women compete for fewer opportunities, leaving younger women with less control over their lives than that enjoyed by educated women of the previous generation.’\textsuperscript{62}

The diminishing formal sector opportunities for young female graduates in Ghana may be relevant for young women finishing school and university in Uganda:

\textsuperscript{61} EPRC. April 2011.
\textsuperscript{62} Darkwah (2010)
Recent ActionAid research focuses particularly on the importance of the informal sector to young men and women\textsuperscript{63}. Young people (aged 12-30) constitute over 80\% of Uganda’s population of 33 million and nearly 60\% of the population is under 20\textsuperscript{64}. Uganda has one of the most skewed age distributions in the world, with large numbers of young people in school and finishing school. It also has a limited supply of training providers and a small formal sector.

Despite being the majority of the population and the bedrock of the labour force, the optimal contribution of the youth to the development of the country is hampered by unemployment, low skill level, limited opportunities and vulnerability. With the majority of youth lacking the requisite skills, the informal sector has become the major alternative source of employment and opportunity for job creation. In this regard youth in the rural areas have resorted to small scale agriculture while those in the urban setting are into the petty trade and artisanship.

\subsection*{3.5 Corruption}

The main analyses of the current economic situation (World Bank and African Development Bank) place significant emphasis on corruption as a major issue. This is particularly important given the suspension of aid, and particularly budget support, by a number of donors at the end of 2012. Transparency International’s\textsuperscript{65} most recent analysis shows that Uganda is the worst country in the region, taking the lead for the second year in a row. The likelihood of bribery by sector was led by the Police and Judiciary, with Medical Services and Educational Institutions as the third and fourth.

More detailed research\textsuperscript{66} shows that corruption has different effects on women from men. Men are more frequently in contact with certain sectors such as traffic police and registration authorities and more so in a rural setting like Pader, whereas women appear to be more frequently in contact with medical facilities and schools in both a rural and urban setting. Women in both case studies had a common concern around limited access to justice concerning the police handling of cases of rape, defilement and domestic violence. The women that participated in the study in Kampala seriously complained about corruption related to Mulago hospital. Other reports substantiate that women are severely affected by corruption in the health sector because they are more dependent on access to quality health care since they fall sick more often, they have specific issues related to maternal health and the care burden of children and elderly primarily fall on them.

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{64} Bandiera et al 2012
\textsuperscript{66} Nordic Consulting Group (2009) A Gender Analysis of Corruption- forms, effects and eradication strategies – Research carried out for the Royal Danish Embassy of Uganda
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3.6 Current responses

Gender Responsive Budgeting

Uganda has a long history of gender responsive budgeting (GRB) with work having been initiated in the country in 1999. The EC has supported UN Women to carry out a programme to demonstrate how gender responsive budgeting tools and strategies contribute to enhancing a positive impact on gender equality of aid provided in the form of general budget support.

The report concludes that Uganda has put in place various institutional, legal and operational mechanisms for mainstreaming gender. Unfortunately, many of these good intentions have not been translated into practice largely due to inadequate resources allocated to implement the gender commitments. While this can be viewed as great challenges to GRB, they also reinforce the importance of its application to national planning and budgeting.

The NDP

A good example of how these mechanisms have not been translated into practice is FOWODE’s gender analysis of the recent NDP. The conclusions of the analysis are striking: With regard to how gender is treated in the formulation of the strategic direction of the NDP, the Plan prioritises gender amongst the seven most binding constraints which must be addressed in order to stimulate growth in Uganda. More specifically, the NDP acknowledges that there are obstacles to women’s full participation, such as traditional rules and practices which sanction women’s discrimination. However, the macroeconomic strategy makes no consideration for MDG three which states the need to promote gender equality and empower women.

While gender analysis partly informed the situation analysis, gender is not explicit in the NDP vision and its related attributes. The Plan mentions several ways in which gender inequalities manifest at the macro and the micro level but lacks gender sensitive action indicators. The vision when broken down to the attributes does not expressly provide for gender analyses. It is not surprising then, that the NDP strategic objectives are also expressed in gender neutral terms. Further to this, the Plan only minimally gives gender disaggregated data, yet this is critical in a gender sensitive approach to development.

A recent gender analysis for Uganda carried out by Sida comes to similar conclusions: The 2010 National Development Plan (NDP) recognizes gender inequality as a constraint to national development and identifies strategies to addresses it such as capacity building for gender mainstreaming, affirmative action, promotion of gender equality and women’s empowerment, promotion of equal access to education, ratification and domestication of international principles and

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69 C Coulter and A Okille (2013) Gender Analysis for the Embassy of Sweden, Uganda
protocols, eliminate GBV, mitigating impact of negative cultural values and creating awareness on gender issues, conflict, access to justice and human rights etc. The NDP does address the four priority areas of the UGP, but there are serious inconsistencies in identifying gender issues in the different sectors as well as translating the strategies into concrete actions. According to a study made by CEEWA and ActionAid, the most serious gaps that have been identified are:

- Lack of analysis of gendered impact of Structural Adjustment Programmes;
- Analysis of the primary growth sectors does not articulate the contribution of men and women in these sectors and yet evidence shows that gender differences exist in sectors such as agriculture where women contribute over 70 per cent of their labour but the benefits of the proceeds are marginal.
- While the NDP identifies gender inequality as a constraint to national development, the vision, mission and objectives are gender neutral.
- There is a general inadequate reference to gender disaggregate data and gender analysis across all sub sectors. While the NDP recognizes negative traditional and cultural attitudes there are no concrete actions/strategies suggested to address for example gender inequalities in land ownership.
- The objectives, strategies and actions are either gender blind or gender neutral across most of the sectors.
- The M&E framework is gender blind, contrary to what the UGP demands.

Oil and gender

The Sida analysis draws on Oil in Uganda\(^76\), an online resource, to focus on the ways in which oil affects women and men differently. Women have less access and thereby right to land, yet they are responsible for cultivating and providing for their families; the possible negative health effects of environmental risks will also hit women harder as they shoulder the biggest responsibility in caring for those who are sick; and women’s duties and responsibilities, their lack of skills and education may also hinder them from the benefits of oil-sector employment. The same resource seeks to answer the question, who will benefit most from Uganda’s oil, and who will suffer? In answer it is suggested that:

‘Natural resource wealth often tends to further enrich existing elites —those with the knowledge, connections and power to take advantage of the opportunities oil presents— without doing much for the ‘man in the street’ or the woman labouring in the field. Most vulnerable are those many Ugandans who are already poor, uneducated or only semi-educated, struggling to live from smallholder farming. Such people may find themselves squeezed between their skills deficit and increased concentration of farmland if reduced competitiveness of agriculture encourages a shift to large-scale farming.’

Rather counter-intuitively, growth in the oil sector is not expected to generate large numbers of jobs in this sector. Rather, ‘the oil boom will generate new employment in Uganda’s non-tradable sectors like

\(^76\) http://www.oilinuganda.org/
construction, transportation, and wholesale/retail services’. This analysis would suggest that it might make sense to support efforts to ensure that Ugandan women are well-positioned to take advantage of emerging opportunities in these ‘non-tradable’ sectors. For the jobs that are generated directly from oil exploration and processing, there is some concern in Uganda that men are likely to be preferred employees in the exploration phase. The same research suggests that women may be disadvantaged when claims are decided with regard to resettlement.

The World Bank’s analysis, Promoting Inclusive Growth, draws these two elements together. It first looks at the opportunities and challenges of the government of Uganda’s strategic vision in the NDP, which rightly puts an emphasis on transformation of the economy into high productivity areas through skill development and value addition, but that could come with more concentration of economic activity and increasing inequality trends. It also looks at the potential impact of oil and suggests that there is no doubt that oil will enhance growth prospects, but its effect on poverty reduction will depend on public policies more than on standard trickle-down results. In particular, it is argued that the oil boom may lead to ‘Dutch disease’ pressures in the exchange rate, penalizing other sectors of the economy that are much more labour intensive (e.g., manufacturing or export-oriented agriculture). Consequently, oil-driven growth could increase inequalities. International experience has shown that the government can play a crucial redistributive role through the management of its fiscal revenues.

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<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Possible responses</th>
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<tr>
<td>Creating employment opportunities for the growing ‘youth bulge’ for young women and men</td>
<td>Investing in knowledge and skills that allow young women to share in emerging opportunities at the same rate as young men; changing social norms to allow young women to seize a range opportunities; investing in young women with demonstrated entrepreneurial potential.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Making subsistence and small-scale agriculture more rewarding for women and men farmers</td>
<td>Gender neutral’ interventions that improve agricultural productivity for small farmers (e.g. access to markets, infrastructure such as roads, access to inputs, appropriate technology, etc.). Gender-specific interventions that help with barriers that only women and girls face, including traditions with regard to who markets produce, which crops are ‘women’s crops’, who controls the proceeds of crop sales, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women, girls and oil</td>
<td>A better understanding is needed of: women and girls’ position with regard to compensation; gendered vulnerabilities with regard to oil (e.g. environmental issues; sex work and construction; etc.); gendered differences for new economic opportunities (employment by oil companies; potential to develop businesses in the supply chain); gender-specific implications of potential increases in national and districts budgets.</td>
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71 DFID-commissioned report by the Harvard Centre for International Development; Jan 2014 draft version, not yet for circulation.
72 Governance and Livelihoods in Uganda’s Oil-Rich Albertine Graben. (International Alert, 2013)
73 World Bank (February 2012) Uganda, Promoting Inclusive Growth
4 Women’s economic empowerment

‘Across very different contexts, women’s ability to exercise voice and strategic forms of control over their lives is linked to being able to generate regular and independent sources of income.’

Many fundamental facts of the Ugandan economy and society hold true for both men and women. Examples of features which are realities for both men and women include: an increasingly liberalised and ‘outward looking’ economy, Uganda’s remarkably high population growth, relative decline of the agricultural sector, poor infrastructure, dominance of the informal sector, and small firm size. However, there are important areas in which women’s experiences of economic activities are fundamentally different from men’s experiences. This section offers a brief introduction to those issues which Ugandan data and the international literature show to be of most importance to women’s economic empowerment.

4.1 Definitions/ conceptual scope

What exactly is ‘women’s economic empowerment’? A 2013 UN Foundation research programme helpfully breaks ‘WEE’ down into four main categories: entrepreneurship, agriculture, wage employment, youth employment. There is no shortage of interest in the field, particularly in the past five years. The research literature offers a variety of definitions, and many of the development agencies have crafted their own definitions: the World Bank; DFID, IDRC, and the OECD/DAC to name but a few. SIDA’s definition is perhaps the most useful for our purposes, in that it encompasses the micro and the macro, and (exceptionally) includes reference to unpaid care work:

WEE is ‘the process which increases a woman’s real power over economic decisions that influence their lives and priorities in society. Women’s economic empowerment can be achieved through equal access to and control over critical economic resources and opportunities, and the elimination of structural gender inequalities in the labour market including a better sharing of unpaid care work.’

4.2 Women’s economic opportunity: Uganda’s performance relative to other countries

The past five years have seen a significant amount of research activity on WEE, as well as the emergence of a number of metrics that categorise or rank countries based on different dimensions of women’s economic empowerment. Interestingly, Uganda appears at the upper end of some of these league tables, and towards the bottom of others. The 2013 Economist’s Women’s Economic

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Pathways encompassed regional research institutions and individual researchers in Africa, South Asia, Latin America and the Middle East, and generated over 800 papers and other research products.

75 Tornqvist and Schmitz 2009, quoted in N Kabeer SIG working paper 2012.
Opportunity Index\textsuperscript{76} incorporates data on five variables: labour policy and labour practice; access to finance; skills and training; women’s legal and social status; and the general business environment. Against these measures, Uganda comes in 9\textsuperscript{th} out of the 21 African countries ranked; below Tanzania, Kenya, and South Arica - but above Zambia, Nigeria and Ethiopia. Uganda ranks only 102\textsuperscript{nd} out of a total number of 128 countries ranked worldwide.

The World Economic Forum also publishes an annual rating of different countries, called the Gender Gap report. In contrast to many ‘league tables’ of this kind, its rankings are not based on levels of achievement for women. Rather, they measure women’s situation only in relation to how men are doing against the same measure. A rich country, for instance, with excellent health facilities could still appear further down the list than a poor country if the gap in service delivery or health outcomes between men and women is high (Qatar, for instance is near the bottom of the list). In the 2013 Gender Gap report, Uganda ranks a respectable 37\textsuperscript{th} out of 128 countries measured against ‘economic participation and opportunity’ criteria\textsuperscript{77}. Although these two indices gather data on the same country over the same time period, and against roughly the same measures, the two present different pictures of Uganda. By some measures of women’s economic empowerment, Uganda is lagging behind most other countries; though other measures highlight a number of achievements worth celebrating. In the sections below, we explore where Uganda shines, and where it falls behind.

4.3 Women’s employment in Uganda – an overview

Men and women in Uganda work. When compared to other countries, both Ugandan men and women have notably high rates of labour force participation. 76\% of Ugandan women are working (compared to 50\% of SSA women), and 80\% of men in Uganda work (SSA average of 65\%). The gap between men’s and women’s participation rates is low – for every 100 men who are working, 96 women are also working.\textsuperscript{78} The Ugandan situation is in stark contrast to women in the Middle East and South Asia, whose mobility is much more controlled, where economies are less dependent on subsistence agriculture, and where women’s labour force participation rate is about half that of Uganda.

Although most Ugandan women work, many actually work without being paid. According to a 2013 report commissioned by the National Planning Authority\textsuperscript{79}, women working in the agricultural sector are more likely not to be paid than those working in non-agricultural work (36\% compared with 4\%). Two in three women are self-employed (both the agricultural and non-agricultural sectors). Although women account for more than half of the total labour force, they nonetheless account for only 37\% and 29\% of the labour force of the most lucrative sectors—of public and private sector employment respectively.


\textsuperscript{77} The Global Gender Gap subindex on economic participation and opportunity incorporates three kinds of information; the participation gap, the remuneration gap, and the advancement gap. See http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GenderGap_Report_2013.pdf for more information.

\textsuperscript{78} World Economic Forum, Global Gender Gap Report 2013.

\textsuperscript{79} National Planning Authority. 7 August 2013. A study to evaluate the extent to which gender issues were addressed during the implementation of the NDP’. p 85.
Equal pay for equal work?

For the minority of Ugandan women who have jobs earning wages, several sources report that they enjoy a wage equality gap that is among the smallest in Africa. The Economist Intelligence Unit’s 2012 Women’s Economic Opportunity Index, for instance, showed that Uganda was among the top ten countries for wage equality and the World Bank’s Gender Innovations Lab noted that Ugandan ‘men and women working in the same sectors receive the same earnings.’\(^\text{80}\). The UNDP puts the female to male wage ratio at ‘higher than 0.7 in 2012’\(^\text{81}\). However, a recent MoFPED report directly contradicts these international sources, reporting that men’s median wages are around double that of women’s, ‘regardless of the type of work’\(^\text{82}\). These contrasting statements suggest that the picture on wage equality in Uganda is not entirely clear, and could do with further analysis.

Where the jobs are: sectoral and geographical shifts

While the informal sector and agriculture are by far the main source of employment in the country, there are some structural shifts afoot: the service sector and the industrial sectors have shown growth rates of over 5\% per year since the early 1990s, whilst agricultural sector growth rates have hovered around 2\% for the past ten years. Linked to these trends, private sector non-agricultural wage employment has been growing fast at 12\% per year, the second-highest rate of any African country\(^\text{83}\) (Ghana is first.) The majority of these jobs have been created in ‘low productivity’ subsectors, such as retail trade and hospitality. Unlike some other ‘traditionally male’ sectors, the retail and hospitality sectors do not appear to be particularly difficult for Ugandan women to work in – thought that assumption would need verification.\(^\text{84}\)

Location and ability to migrate will also dramatically affect Ugandan women’s and men’s ability to take any new jobs. Two thirds of the jobs created between 2001 and 2011 were confined to just six districts.\(^\text{85}\) In general, due to the perception that women are responsible for household and caring duties, men are more able to migrate for work than women are. However, there are examples of countries in which this has not been the case – garment workers in Bangladesh and the Philippines for instance and domestic workers in Ethiopia have all migrated internally or internationally in large numbers.

Ugandan business activity is highly concentrated in the central region, and more than half of businesses identify their main focus as ‘trade’. A recent census of 458,106 businesses in Uganda\(^\text{86}\) shows a skewed distribution of businesses, with a strong showing for the central region, where just over 59\% of the businesses are based. (Out of which 30\% are in Kampala and 29\% in other areas in the central region.) The western region recoded 18\% of the businesses, eastern 14\% and with

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\(^\text{81}\) http://www.ug.undp.org/content/uganda/en/home/mdgoverview/overview/mdg3/

\(^\text{82}\) MoFPED Sept 2013 Millennium Development Goals Report for 2013 p 21

\(^\text{83}\) MoFPED Sept 2013 ‘Millennium Development Goals Report for 2013’ p 6

\(^\text{84}\) MoFPED Sept 2013 ‘Millennium Development Goals Report for 2013’ p 6

\(^\text{85}\) MoFPED Sept 2013 MDG report, pg 9.

northern Uganda recording the lowest at 8.2% (ibid). The distribution of the business by industry also shows that 61% of the businesses are in trade, 14% are in accommodation and food services, and 9% are in recreational and personnel services. Agriculture-related businesses including fishing and forestry recorded 1.8% while five other business categories accounted for only 2.2% (ibid).

4.4 Equality and employment law in Uganda

Gender equality with regard to employment law encompasses a number of key issues: segmentation of the labour market, equal pay for equal work, treatment of pregnancy, and discrimination with regard to hiring and firing. The World Bank’s Women Business and Law database provides a snapshot of every country's performance regarding key employment rules. Uganda’s performance, with four ‘ticks’ and three ‘crosses’, is roughly typical of most other SSA countries:

| Law mandates paid or unpaid maternity leave? ✔ | Law mandates paid or unpaid paternity leave? ✔ |
| Law mandates equal pay for work of equal value? ✔ | Law bans gender discrimination in hiring? ✗ |
| Employers may not ask about family status in a job interview? ✗ | Law penalizes or prevents dismissal of pregnant women? ✔ |
| Employers must provide break time for nursing mothers? ✗ |

Labour regulations in Uganda are more equality-friendly than in Zambia and Ethiopia, which in 2013 resided at the bottom of the SSA list. However, many countries in the region do markedly better than Uganda on employment legislation, including Tanzania, Nigeria, Chad, Cote d’Ivoire, Rwanda, Burundi, Angola, Togo, and Nigeria. Kenya’s recent adoption of laws mandating equal pay for equal work, and making sexual harassment in the workplace may be of interest in the Ugandan context, as neither law is part of the Ugandan legal code.88

Recent findings from a five-year international study on Pathways to Empowerment have shown that paid maternity leave that is covered by private employers (rather than the state) can in fact be a barrier to women’s wage employment, since some businesses are reluctant to take on female employees that may be a significant cost to the company, should them become pregnant.89 Uganda’s legislation puts the obligation of maternity leave pay squarely on the shoulders of the employer – which, given the unexpected negative consequences of the same policy in other countries, raises the question of its actual impact in the Ugandan context. It may be that the employer-paid maternity cover is achieving its intended equality outcomes, or it may be that a state-provided policy would generate more opportunities for women. This may be an area for further research, as part of a wider examination of the range of factors that keep women from achieving full equality in the formal labour sector.

87 Information and Community Services, Finance and Insurance, Transport and Storage, and Mining and Quarrying, Construction and Utilities.
88 Parliament has passed the Sexual Offences Bill, which should provide for these protections – however, it has not been signed into law.
89 Darkwah 2010.
4.5 Labour market segmentation

Simply put, labour market segmentation by gender means that some jobs in society are considered ‘men’s jobs' and some jobs or occupations are considered ‘women’s jobs'. Perceptions and realities about labour segmentation change across time and space. Two generations ago, for instance, women doctors and lawyers were rarities in North America and Europe. Today, there are roughly equal numbers of male and female doctors and lawyers in those labour markets. In some societies, women commonly plough. In other societies, strong taboos may prevent women from even touching a plough.

In Uganda today, labour market segmentation is a significant limit on women’s economic empowerment. A recent analysis of human resources in the health sector, for instance, revealed the following:

‘The study findings indicate that women and men are concentrated in ‘male’ and ‘female’ jobs in the health sector. This includes the concentration of men at the top of occupational hierarchies and of women at the bottom. Human Resource Information System data show that in eight district health facilities and four national facilities, men occupied 77% of senior management jobs, while women occupied 23% of them. Sixty-three % of middle management jobs were occupied by men and 37% by women. There was also a concentration of men and women in different jobs. Women dominate nursing and midwifery and are concentrated in U5 to U7 employment grades; men dominate clinical services such as medicine and are concentrated in the relatively higher U1-U4 positions. This disparity points to unequal opportunities for men and women and an associated wage differential’.\(^9\)

A 2011 study showed that it was not only jobs in the health sector that followed relatively strict sex-determined and discriminatory patterns.\(^9\) The study found that although women account for more than half of the total labour force, they nonetheless account for only 37% of the public sector jobs and just 29% of the private sector work force.

Such stark segmentation in the formal, waged sector of the labour market is striking, since it is in the formal sector where non-discrimination regulations and equal opportunities legislation would potentially have the most impact. Segmentation in the informal sector may be even more severe, according to recent research in rural Ghana and Uganda, which shows that gender inequality effects are stronger for self-employment income than they are for wage income.\(^9\)

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\(^9\) EPRC. April 2011.

4.6 Women entrepreneurs

A recent gender analysis commissioned by Sida identified at least three different types of women in business in Uganda: those with no experience or understanding of business; those with established businesses with limited profitability; those with well established businesses who need support to expand further. IDRC researchers have identified what they are calling a spectrum of entrepreneurs, ranging from ‘subsistence entrepreneurs’ or ‘necessity entrepreneurs’ right up to entrepreneurs who are ‘transformative’ and who are employers in their own right.

There is no ‘one size fits all’ programme that would be appropriate for this wide range of entrepreneurs. Each type of business woman would need tailored support. Further distinctions among Ugandan women entrepreneurs include: self-employed vs employers in their own right; rural vs urban location; agricultural vs non-agricultural business; and young women vs married/older women. Each of these ‘entrepreneur profiles’ will bring different strengths and have different needs – thus any donor-funded programme would need to first determine what target groups they want to support. Strengthening the culture of independent impact evaluations could also help ensure more effective programming of support for entrepreneurs. (See, for instance, the forthcoming Women Mean Business evaluation.)

In her 2013 book Expanding Economic Opportunities for Women in Africa, WB economist Mary Hallward-Driemeier shows that sub-Saharan Africa boasts the highest share of women entrepreneurs, but they are disproportionately concentrated among the self-employed rather than employers. Relative to men, women are pursuing lower opportunity activities, and their enterprises more likely to be smaller, informal, and in low value-added lines of business. She argues that the challenge in expanding opportunities is not helping more women become entrepreneurs but enabling them to shift to higher return activities. The Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development reports that new enterprises tend to have poor survival prospects, and notes that the entry of ‘small and microenterprises [are] likely reaching a limit’.

Watch this space: forthcoming impact evaluation on Women Mean Business in Uganda
Many “business development services” and “entrepreneurship training” programs target SMEs in developing countries, but there is almost no systematic evidence on the effectiveness of such programs. A Poverty Action Lab randomised control trial is being run as part of a detailed impact evaluation of Women Mean Business, a Ugandan programme that trains and mentors female entrepreneurs to develop the skills they need to run successful businesses. The objective of the evaluation is to measure the impact of an increase in “managerial human capital” on business outcomes for entrepreneurs who receive training, as well as the spillover impact of such an intervention on competing and collaborating businesses. It also compares the relative cost-effectiveness of skill transfer through a more time- and resource-intensive training approach, versus a less intensive one. Results forthcoming in late 2014: http://www.povertyactionlab.org/evaluation/impact-entrepreneurship-training-women-uganda.

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94 MoFPED Sept 2013 ‘Millennium Development Goals Report for 2013’ p 10
A familiar entry point for donors interested in supporting poverty reduction and women’s income generation has been support for micro-entrepreneurs, including the provision skills training, mentorship and microfinance. In light of the emerging evidence from the research literature and from MFPED, it may be time to re-think this approach – or at least to consider which profile of entrepreneur development agencies should seek to help.

4.7 Access to finance: no overt discrimination, but outcomes are not equitable

More men than women access finance from the formal banking sector, and the issue of women and land titling is an important factor. But there is more to the question of credit than land title. Research on new-entry entrepreneurs across the SSA region shows that women’s businesses have less access to finance than men. However, women’s lack of access to finance is strongly associated with the nature of their business rather than banks’ discrimination or indeed (in this study) the question of collateral. Rather, women tend to start smaller and less capital-intensive firms, in less profitable lines of work – both of which make them less attractive to banks. Women’s relative lack of education, business experience and employment status – not their gender per se – disadvantage them with regard to formal sources of finance.\(^{95}\) Further, World Bank Enterprise Surveys have shown that ‘access to formal sources of finance rely more on the size and registration status of the firm than on the gender of the manager’.\(^{96}\)

The IFC-supported DFCU programme is an example of how a commercial bank in Uganda has worked with women entrepreneurs to help them build a credit history through leasing equipment, and to build business skills through a range of activities. The programme was started in response to the fact that women owned 39% of the registered businesses in the country, but accessed less than 10% of the commercial credit. Centenary Bank has also started a women-focused programme in partnership with UWEAL.

A further question is whether – and how – women could be supported to start the types of businesses that are likely to be more profitable and to grow faster than the ‘typical’ businesses women entrepreneurs start. Typically male lines of work, such as metal work, tend to be more profitable businesses than typically female businesses such as small-scale brewing or food production.

Micro-finance: valuable for some, but with limited reach

Despite the dominance of women in the agriculture sector, opportunities for low-income rural women to access financial services are limited and less than 1% of women in Uganda access micro-finance (ibid). The study reveals that even the most established micro finance providers in Uganda ‘have a … focus on poor women and serve between 50-70% women, but have yet to reach sufficient scale to

\(^{95}\) Hallward 2013: p 181.  
\(^{96}\) Cited in Hallward 2013.
make a sizable impact on the rural market’. The average loan size for the top five MFIs is US$1600, which is ‘20% higher than the annual GDP per capita in Uganda’ (Ibid).

Friends and relatives are major of credit for the smallest businesses, while NGOs are the main source of credit for the top 20% of informal sector businesses. There are a range of different microfinance structures in Uganda, including the government-promoted Savings and Credit Cooperatives (SACCOS), village savings and loan associations, and community savings self-help groups.

4.8 Land and property rights

Across Africa, some land laws are gender neutral, some favour men, and some have explicit provisions for women. The dual system of customary tenure and private property impose different rights and constraints for men and women, including use rights, inheritance, and sale. Cultural interpretations of men’s and women’s roles tend to be particularly strongly reflected in customary tenure systems. However, formal ‘modern’ tenure systems often incorporate explicitly discriminatory rules about property ownership – particularly with regard to inheritance and marriage. Effective control over land – even if it’s jointly titled – is severely limited for many women. A 2005 study of Uganda, Burundi, and Zambia reported that the majority of men reported unfettered rights to give land to family members, but less than 5% of women could do the same.

As noted elsewhere in this paper, Uganda is well ahead of its African peers on many important measures of gender equality: domestic violence legislation, affirmative action, and political representation are held up as exemplars of equality. However, when it comes to property rights and equality, Uganda is strikingly out of step with the rest of the continent and the world. Only a handful of other African countries fare as badly as Uganda against the World Bank’s three key criteria:

- Married men and women have equal property ownership rights? (though effective control over that property is often limited in practice)
- Sons and daughters have equal inheritance rights?
- Female and male spouses have equal inheritance rights?

In contrast to Uganda’s rather poor record, a large and diverse group of African countries are able to pass the ‘✔’ test for all three of the criteria above: Chad, Liberia, Ethiopia, Nigeria, Kenya, Angola, Ghana, Malawi, Mozambique, Burkina Faso, Benin, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Togo. Sudan and Senegal are among the only other African countries which share Uganda’s rather disappointing profile on property rights.

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99 F. Place (1995)
Despite the legal constraints on inheritance rights, there has been some progress on the proportion of women owning registered land, increasing from 20% in 2009 to 39% in 2011. Ugandan figures published in 2013 show that of women who do own property, most own it jointly. 25% of women now own land jointly, and 14% own land individually. 29% of women own a house jointly; 15% own a house as an individual. However, the majority of women, especially those in rural areas and with limited education, do not have property rights, and have limited access to other productive assets such as livestock and other household properties. A study by the Uganda Land Alliance shows a major discrepancy between Ugandan land law and its implementation, noting that traditional institutions involved in the mediation of land disputes have not incorporated national and international human rights norms into the administration of land law at the local level -- in particular with respect to age and gender equality. The study further notes that customary laws and practices give ownership of land to men or male heads of extended families, while women enjoy ‘secondary’ rights in the form of access to and use of land through their husbands, fathers, brothers, or other male relatives (Ibid).

African countries with higher shares of women employers (female-owned business who in turn hire employees) are also countries in which women have more secure property rights. The research emerging from across Africa suggests that a growing economy alone will not provide the ‘rising tide’ that will allow women to grow their businesses and become employers: ‘Closing the gender gaps in legal protection and strengthening women’s property rights in particular will require active engagement and will not simply follow from a rise in a country’s income.’

An unorthodox perspective: customary tenure systems are not inherently bad for women

Most governments and development agencies agree that formal titling of land and security of property rights are essential preconditions for economic growth and ‘modernisation’ of economies. Further, the literature on women’s economic empowerment emphasises the major obstacle that lack of formal title plays for women entrepreneurs seeking credit. However, there is a minority view in parts of academia and with some CSOs in Uganda. This view asserts that customary land tenure systems often provide women with security, and are not necessarily fundamentally inequitable or disadvantageous to women. They note that the actual experience of women in customary systems varies widely from community to community, and that there are gaps in the system of adjudication of land disputes. But some researchers and civil society organisations argue that a wholesale abandonment of the customary system will not render women more equal – that in fact a ‘rush to title’ will result in men

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101 National Planning Authority. 7 August 2013. A study to evaluate the extent to which gender issues were addressed during the implementation of the NDP, p 5.
102 National Planning Authority. 7 August 2013. A study to evaluate .... p 82.
104 Hallward 2013, p 66.
105 Ibid.
owning the land outright, instead of holding it in trust for the next generation. They claim that rural and uneducated women in particular will be left behind in the process of introducing formal titling.  

4.9 Shifting women to more productive work: within and beyond agriculture

Agriculture is of course of central importance to women in Uganda. However, some sources suggest that it would be a mistake to focus on agriculture as a main vehicle for empowerment. Uganda has one of the lowest agricultural productivity levels in the world; land plots are small and most tasks are performed by hand, with basic tools. Improvements in agricultural productivity in Uganda are ‘likely to lower demand for labour’, not raise it. ‘The challenge for Uganda is therefore to create productive jobs in non-agricultural sectors to absorb the labour released from agriculture and that generated by population growth.’ As economies grow, self-employment tends to fall, and the numbers of men and women working for wages tends to increase. When given a choice, it seems that ‘necessity entrepreneurs’ (in agriculture and outside agriculture) shift into more secure and better-paid jobs in the waged sector. Further, ‘In Uganda, most women are not aware that male-dominated industries are more profitable. Providing accurate information could encourage more women to cross over in to more profitable work.’ This may be true, but it is unlikely that simply supplying of accurate information that will encourage women and girls to seek jobs in traditionally male-dominated sectors. Presumably there is more complex work to be done to ensure that girls to take up training and education for new skills, and that workplace cultures change sufficiently to allow for female entries into male-dominated sectors.

Given that the Ugandan economy is changing, and women tend to prefer wage labour to subsistence agriculture, what does the literature tell us that might be helpful to those interested in moving away from low-return agricultural employment? A report based on household survey data collected in Egypt, Ghana and Bangladesh as part of the Pathways of Women’s Empowerment Consortium concluded that:

‘Three broad areas of interventions that are needed to transform the gender-specific constraints that keep women out of the market or trapped in poorly paid activities. Creating a more enabling regulatory environment will, among other things, require action to address discriminatory legislation, such as inheritance laws, and promote legislation that seeks to level the economic playing field for women and men, such as state support for maternity leave. Social protection policies are also important as they assist women and men to cope with, and recover from, the various kinds of risks and insecurities associated with globalization. The gender transformative

106 See, for instance, Land and Equity Movement ‘Fighting the Wrong Battles?’. December 2008.
107 Ibid.
potential of an inclusive growth strategy could be enhanced if, for example, provision is made for child care for women participating in these programmes or minimum quotas are put in place to ensure women’s participation. Last, supporting women’s organizational capacity can give them a greater voice and influence in advancing their own needs, interests and priorities and larger capacity to address barriers to women’s progress. This support can assist women to become strong agents for social transformation.\(^\text{110}\)

This analysis suggests that DPs interested in women’s economic empowerment will need to appreciate the close relationships between WEE: sustained commitment to legislative and regulatory reform; social protection as part of an inclusive growth strategy; and women’s collective action.

### 4.10 The care economy: ‘unpaid but not free’

Most care and household tasks are provided through family obligations. Throughout the world – and particularly in the developing world – women most often provide care for the old, the young, and the sick. Countries such as Uganda have a high HIV-AIDS burden and therefore Ugandan women carry even more care obligations than countries that are not living with a large HIV+ population. Some economists have characterised the care work and household duties as ‘unpaid but not free’. They are unpaid in that that women and girls are rarely paid for these duties. But are not free because they have social costs: women doing housework and providing care are not available for work outside the home. The costs of care are ‘paid for’ by reducing the opportunities of carers, which in the Ugandan context effectively means reducing the economic and social opportunities for girls and women.

To improve female labour market opportunities, many countries are considering how fathers can become more involved in child care and housework. Despite strong policy statements about the importance of women’s labour contributing to economic growth in Uganda, there appears to be little discussion of how to release more women’s time for paid work. A recent study of care provision in Tanzania has highlighted the fact that reliance on unpaid care work is attractive to governments with resource constraints\(^\text{111}\). But a small treasury may not mean that there are no alternatives to continuing to rely on women as the only carers in society. ActionAid has just begun a multi-country programme in Uganda, Kenya, Nigeria and Nepal, focused on women’s unpaid care work. ActionAid’s goal is to respond to these rights violations with the aim of making this work more visible and valued by women and men, community leaders and government.\(^\text{112}\)

Cultural change will not happen overnight, but there are signs that change is possible. In communities in Uganda and Nigeria, women reported that men are now helping them with tasks in which they did not previously engage. For instance, in Pallisa, a community in rural Uganda where ActionAid is

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\(^{110}\) Naila Kabeer. 2013. ‘Paid Work...’
\(^{111}\) Budlender and Meena. (2009)
active, some men are collecting water and carting it back to their homes on their bicycles. A woman in Pallisa explained:

‘I used to carry two hoes, one for myself and the other for my husband, whenever we would go and come back from the garden, but now he carries his own hoe and when we get back home he helps me take care of the children. For instance sometimes he bathes them and takes them to sleep as I do other housework like washing of dishes and cooking’\textsuperscript{113}

Men: an essential ally

- Fathers’ attitude towards educating daughters affects girls’ ability to achieve and progress in school.
- Men’s response to women’s increases in income needs to be understood and monitored.
- Men’s lack of reproductive health knowledge can have adverse effects on women’s HIV status and on family planning.
- Men tend to prefer larger family sizes than women – and often have the ‘final say’ in contraceptive use.
- Women’s ability to engage in paid work outside the home or in civic activities is directly constrained by men’s relatively limited contributions to caring for children and old people, and their small contribution to household chores.

Longer-term efforts to change cultural practices efforts merit DPs’ consideration, given the importance of tackling one of the most fundamental constraints to women’s economic empowerment. The extent to which women’s care obligations can be shared with men will necessarily feature in any theory of change for women’s economic empowerment. The Government of Uganda would presumably be open to discussions about how adjustments to the distribution of caring responsibility could potentially ‘unleash’ more women’s earning power in the labour market. Well-designed early childhood education programmes, for instance, have the double benefit of children’s development and reducing care responsibilities for women. Similarly, social protection programmes can contribute to how care work is perceived. If the burden of caring duties does not shift, a potential unintended consequence of encouraging women to engage in paid work is that women experience more stress and more time poverty. This scenario would not constitute empowerment, by any definition.\textsuperscript{114}

4.11 Gender, macroeconomics and women’s empowerment in Uganda: possible responses

The macroeconomic and economic empowerment sections have introduced a wide range of data, theories and analysis of women’s place in the economy. In the table below, we summarise the main themes and provide potential policy options and interventions for discussion. Please note that there are range of existing interventions and policies in the areas listed below, which would be important to review before undertaking any programming. This paper was not able to document and review all of the past and current efforts that should inform future activities.

\textsuperscript{113} http://www.actionaid.org/sites/files/actionaid/making_care_visible.pdf.
\textsuperscript{114} See, for instance, Cook and Dong 2011.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Possible responses</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Labour market segregation – formal sector</td>
<td>Sustained programme to close the gender gap in the civil service; Qualitative research on the effect of employer-paid maternity leave policy; Reform vocational training programmes and educational pathways so they do not unnecessarily limit boys’ and girls’ career options. Encourage unions and the private sector to play their part in closing gender gaps. Consider the potential role of a renewed affirmative action policy. Challenge government and the private sector to recruit, train, retain, and promote more women.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Labour market segregation – informal sector</td>
<td>Providing gender-specific support to entrepreneurs, including advice on how to enter markets in growth sectors such as construction - which are better-paying but seen as ‘male’ e.g. metal work, masonry, etc. Analyse and address the ‘youth bulge’: what training and skills do young people need to survive and thrive in the current and future economy? Consider interventions that help women engage in parts of the economy that are currently largely ‘off limits’, e.g. organising crèches at construction sites.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Women and land: practical use and formal title, links to credit, security when widowed or divorced, advantages and disadvantages under customary and mailo systems.</td>
<td>Legal reform, particularly around inheritance laws; enforcement of existing land laws that protect women’s rights; examination of traditional land practices – which can be both beneficial and harmful to women.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Women’s access to credit and business skills</td>
<td>Land title; alternative approaches to credit such as leasing rather than buying equipment; microfinance; business training; women’s cooperatives; freeing up women’s time on care work and house work so they have more time for business.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Unequal responsibilities for house work and caring</td>
<td>Follow up on Action Aid activities on gender norms and care work; commission qualitative research to understand the situation better and to better design interventions to help create a more balanced distribution of care duties between men and women; examine the role that schools play in perpetuating gender stereotypes with regard to house work.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5 Women’s Rights: GBV and Legal Reform

5.1 Legal rights

The basis for the observance of fundamental rights of all Ugandans and equality between men and women is the Constitution of Uganda (1995)\textsuperscript{115}, which was formulated by a representative Constituent Assembly (CA) of Ugandans. The Constitutional objectives and principles therein, direct the State to provide for empowerment of women and other marginalized groups\textsuperscript{116}; ensure gender balance and representation of marginalized groups\textsuperscript{117}; equal treatment under the law regardless of sex\textsuperscript{118}; protection from deprivation of property\textsuperscript{119}; equal rights during and after marriage\textsuperscript{120}; and; provides for affirmative action for marginalized groups on the basis of gender, history, traditions or customs\textsuperscript{121}. Uganda is among 13\textsuperscript{6} countries whose Constitutions have explicit guarantees for the equality of all citizens and non-discrimination between men and women (World Bank: 2012)\textsuperscript{122}.


Important gains in legislation …

The past five years have seen the passing of laws aimed at protection of persons categorized as ‘marginalized’ by the Ugandan constitution. Key among the legal reforms is the enactment of three particularly important laws. The first is the Domestic Violence Act (2010) and Guidelines (2011). One of the key landmark achievements of the law that its definition of ‘abuse’ includes abuse that does not result in physical injuries.\textsuperscript{123} The law recognizes emotional and verbal and psychological abuse, harassment, intimidation and economic abuse.

The Prohibition of Female Genital Mutilation Act (2010) and the Trafficking in Persons Act (2009) were also passed in the last five years. The Land Act was amended to provide some level of protection to women and children above 18 years to have a say before the sale of matrimonial property. Although the law offers an opportunity for formal redress for those seeking justice, most

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\textsuperscript{115} The Constitution of the Republic of Uganda1995
\textsuperscript{116} The Constitution of the Republic of Uganda, Objective II Part i, and ii.
\textsuperscript{117} Ibid, Objective IV
\textsuperscript{118} Ibid, Article 21
\textsuperscript{119} Ibid, Article 26,(1)
\textsuperscript{120} Ibid, Article 31 (1)
\textsuperscript{121} Ibid, Article 32 (1)
\textsuperscript{123} CEDOVIP: 2012. Economic Costs of Domestic Violence in Uganda, Study by I Kasirye (July 2012)
women are not in practice in a position to protest sale of the household estate because of their limited negotiating power in the household and in the community.

Other Ugandan laws passed that should eventually benefit women: the Employment laws passed in 2006, the Law on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities passed in 2006, the Equal Opportunities Commission (EOC) Act of 2007, and the National Equal Opportunities Policy. In principle, the EOC should address issues of violations of marginalized people’s rights, and ensure equitable access of all persons to prevailing opportunities. Operations of the EOC are still limited by resources and staffing capacity constraints.

... but other laws that challenge the gender status quo still stand

Progress in passing gender related laws has been very slow, and constrained protection and promotion of rights and status of women. Notable among the laws consistently rejected for more than 30 years, by consecutive Ugandan parliaments and governments, is the Marriage and Divorce Bill. Elements of the bill that proved most controversial included: the separation of property at the time of divorce, the rights of cohabiting couples, and marital rape. Other controversial clauses include the language on impotence and sterility as grounds for divorce, co-habitation, and polygamy.

According to gender activists, the bill was drafted by a government body – The Law Reform Commission, and presented by a government Minister, following wide consultations, backed by country wide research and studies, as well as evidence of abuse of women’s rights during marriage and divorce. (See chart below.) If passed, the Bill would have provided for equal opportunities and rights between women and men during marriage and divorce, including crucial protection of the rights of women and men in marriage on matters of property rights, and inheritance.

Chart 11: Women who have experienced sexual violence by marital status

The Bill had the potential to fundamentally reform power relations between husbands and wives. Powerful interest groups have been opposed to the bill, including political, religious, and cultural groups across different divides. Lack of political will has been at the forefront of resistance of the bill, manifested from the political mobilization from the highest levels of government to the individual members of

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The bill was pulled off the floor of Parliament in 2013, after passing almost 20 clauses, on the pretext that sufficient consultations were not made, and that the Ugandan society was not yet ‘ready’. The lack of a comprehensive law on marriage and divorce continues to undermine the status of women.

Uganda is largely a conservative and patriarchal society where the family is a highly moral issue\textsuperscript{126}. The argument that legislating for marriage and divorce will lead to breakup of marriage and eroding of family values has been advanced by many politicians and religious leaders in Uganda. However, gross human rights abuses of women and children commonly take place inside the family - within marriage. Sexual and physical violence are common within Ugandan marriages. National data shows that 65\% of divorced women have experienced physical and sexual violence, compared to 42\% of married or cohabiting women, and domestic violence is said to be a major cause of marriage breakdown. Child abuse inside families is also high. Parents and step parents are reported to be major perpetrators of violence, according to the UDHS 2006 and 2011. The worst forms of violence also take place during pregnancy across different religions - which does not reflect well on the argument for maintaining ‘family values’ (see chart).

Studies show that a biased legal framework that favours men, unequal rights to the control of resources in the home, the patrilineal customary norms such as payment of bride price that create a sense of ownership of women by husbands and unequal power relationships continue to be among the root causes of violence.\textsuperscript{127}

\textsuperscript{125} The debate in parliament was halted after the President met the ruling part MPs outside parliament to discuss the bill.

\textsuperscript{126} Embassy of Sweden Uganda. October, 2013. Gender Analysis. Chris Coulter and Ashnaut Okille

\textsuperscript{127} CEDOVIP: 2012. Economic Costs of Domestic Violence in Uganda, Study by I Kasirye (July 2012)
Delayed legislation = delayed justice for women and girls

Two important laws, the controversial HIV/AIDS Prevention and Control Bill has not been debated by parliament, and the Sexual Offences Law has not been ascended to by the President. If enacted, the Sexual Offences Bill will address rampant sexual offences that continue to undermine the dignity of girls and women (ibid). A UWONET study reveals that in 2007, out of the 12,230 defilement cases reported to the police countrywide, about 8,170 are pending inquiry while only 4,060 were taken to court -- with only 23 convictions. According to the report, of the 599 rape cases that were reported in the study period, 341 are pending inquiry, 258 were taken to court and only five cases were heard and convicted (Ibid).

Defilement (sexual abuse of a minor) tops the list of criminal activities in Uganda over the last few years, according to the Uganda Police Force Annual Crime Reports 2007-2011 (see table). However, about only 30% of the cases of defilement are taken to court, and out of these, only a tiny fraction is tried and prosecuted. Likewise, about one third of the reported rape cases are taken to court and few prosecuted.

Summing up: the legal context

Although the constitution of Uganda guarantees gender rights, the constitutional provisions for gender equality and marginalized persons not fully implemented because most of the lower laws have not been harmonized to reflect the rights guaranteed by the constitution. There is need to strengthen the justice system to address the gender inequality. Policy interventions should lead to the enactment and implementation of policies and legislation to eliminate gender based discrimination, strengthen women’s legal rights and promote inclusion of marginalized persons. There is need to tackle the systemic social and cultural norms constraining women’s socio-economic and political rights and opportunities. Women’s empowerment will require strengthening women’s voices and opportunities for accessing property, inheritance rights, ownership and control of productive resources especially land, as well as access to opportunities for quality education and healthcare.

Women’s reproductive health rights are still constrained resulting in high fertility rates, high maternal mortality and high HIV prevalence. There is a need to strengthen systems and service delivery mechanisms for reproductive health. Investment in reduction of women’s high fertility rates, adolescent pregnancies and high HIV/AIDS prevalence rates should take priority. Policy interventions should address the institutional weaknesses and failures such as the perpetual lack of investment in strengthening the national machinery and committing to mainstreaming gender equality across all sectors and policies limits the potential for addressing fundamental barriers to gender equality and women’s empowerment. Actions should aim at strengthening the development of the new ways and innovations that strengthen GEWE approaches and institutional mechanisms. Investment will be required in innovative strategies, processes, research and collection, analysis and use of gender disaggregated data and evaluations.

5.2 Gender based violence

Definition and interpretation of gender based violence in Uganda

The Uganda Domestic Violence Act (2010) defines Domestic Violence as ‘any act or omission of a perpetrator which harms, injures or endangers health, safety, life, limb or wellbeing, whether mental or physical, of the victim or tends to do so and includes causing physical abuse, sexual abuse, emotional, verbal and psychological abuse and economic abuse’. Domestic violence, according to the law, also constitutes harassment, harm, causing injury, or endangering the victim with the view to coerce him or her or any other person related to him or her to meet any unlawful demand for any property or valuable security. It also includes threatening the victim or any person related to the victim, or injuring or causing harm whether physical or mental to the victim. The Act provides a wide ‘catchment area’ for domestic violence through elaborate interpretation of economic abuse, verbal and psychological abuse, harassment, intimidation, physical abuse, sexual abuse and who the victim

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129 Definition includes Gender Based Violence, Domestic Violence and Violence Against Women
131 Ibid
is. The Uganda National Action Plan on 1325\footnote{Republic of Uganda, The Uganda Action Plan on UN Security Council Resolutions 1325 and 1820 and the Goma Declaration. Commitments to Address Sexual Against Women in Armed Conflict. MGLSD: Dec 2008.} defines Gender Based Violence to include, among other things, violence perpetrated or condoned by the State including: battering, sexual abuse of female children in the household, dowry related violence, marital rape, female genital mutilation\footnote{A separate Act has been developed in Uganda to address FGM. The Prohibition of Female Genital Mutilation Act, 2010.} and other traditional practices harmful to women, non-spousal violence and violence related to exploitation. The UNAP definition also recognizes sexual violence as a profound human rights violation impacting severely on the mental and physical health of the survivors, both in the short and long term.

**GBV prevalence**

GBV prevalence in Uganda is among the worst in the world, with 56% women and 55% men aged between 15-49 years having experienced violence since the age of 15\footnote{UBOS, 2011. Uganda Demographic and Health Survey 2011.}. Violence against women from their spouses was reported by 37% of the women who experienced violence, compared to 26% of the men who reported the same. Teachers ranked highly as perpetrators of violence towards children at 57%, followed by step-mothers or mothers at 24% and step fathers at 21%. 29% of women experienced sexual violence at least once in their lifetime, and 9% of men had experienced sexual violence. 55% of women who reported sexual violence named the perpetrators as their spouses, and 38% of men reported the same. (All UDHS 2011)

**Root causes and risk factors of GBV**

GBV is a global public health and human rights issues, which causes an imbalance of power between women and men\footnote{Raising Voices/CEDOVIP/. SASA, Mobilising Communities for Social Change, Candy Carlson/Raising Voices.}. Risk factors for GBV prevail at different levels including, individual, family, community and society levels and are influenced by factors such as education, residence, social behaviour, peer pressure and cultural beliefs about men and women by perpetrators and victims. Perpetrators and victims are likely to manifest risk factors that include low levels of education at individual level, parental violence, substance abuse, (alcohol and drugs) at a young age\footnote{Rachel Jewkes, South African Medical Research Council, in “What Works in Preventing VAWG”}. Gender factors for male perpetrators commonly cited include ‘traditional masculinity’ and their physical, sexual and emotional abuse while for female victims; the additional risk factors include ‘acquiescent femininity’ (Ibid). At the level of relationships, factors fuelling GBV include peer group pressure including gangs, as well as anti-social behaviour groups (Ibid). At the community level, the GBV thrives when there are weak community structures, while societal level, traditional gender norms, social norms supportive of violence, and weak societal sanctions increase the risks (Ibid).

The role of economic factors on women’s risk of violence has been cited, however, it is said to be a ‘complex, context specific, and contingent on other factors, such as partner employment, level of
education. Research suggests that economic empowerment of women in some situations can perversely increase the incidence of partner violence, at least on the short term, however, it is common in situations where a man is unable to fulfil his gender ascribed role as a bread winner and a woman is beginning to contribute relatively to family maintenance, or where a woman takes a job that defies prevailing social convention (Ibid). On the other hand, anecdotal evidence from smaller sample studies shows a decrease in fighting between couples that fight because of financial pressures. A study of Northern Uganda showed that ‘fighting couples’ who received more income were more consultative of each other in decision making, and had a stronger social support system for occasions when couples fight. Data from the 2006 DHS does not show significant differences in the prevalence of GBV for women based on economic status or level of education.

Despite emerging evidence of high-quality work on GBV in Uganda in recent years, there is still much to be done. Particularly worrying is Ugandan women and men’s attitudes to wife beating in the context of a wife disagreeing with her husband. Uganda tops the global league tables in proportion of the population who find wife beating acceptable. The chart below shows how acceptable wife beating is to the Ugandan public. It also shows that roughly equivalent numbers of Ugandan men and women accept wife beating – in contrast to Ghana, where women are twice as ‘accepting’ as men, and Armenia, where men are more likely than women to accept the practice.

Chart 16: Percentage of Women and Men who agree that wife beating is acceptable if a wife argues with her husband

Where there are high levels of social acceptance of wife beating, it tends to be seen a method of disciplining of wives who challenge male authority, or who fail to adequately fulfil their perceived roles as wives and mothers. In Uganda, data indicates that cultural beliefs and attitudes of women and

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137 Strive, Dec 2011, Lori L. Heise: What Works to Prevent Partner Violence, An Evidence Overview
140 Strive, Dec 2011, Lori L. Heise: What Works to Prevent Partner Violence, An Evidence Overview

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men on the role of women and expectations of male masculinity are risk factors for GBV. DHS 2006 indicated that 7 out of 10 women find wife beating justifiable in certain circumstances and cite ‘justifiable’ reasons which include child neglect (56%), going out without a husband’s consent (52%), argument with a husband (40%), denying sex (21%), and burning food (23%). Comparatively, 60% of the men agreed with wife beating where there is a ‘justifiable reason’. Education, wealth and residence of men are likely to influence their perception and acceptance of wife beating as justifiable under certain circumstances. Findings indicate that 49% of men with secondary education, 50% in the highest wealth quintile, and 45% of urban residents were less accepting of ‘justifiable reasons’ for wife beating\textsuperscript{141}. In contrast, 63.3% of men resident in the rural areas agreed with at least one ‘justifiable’ reason for wife beating compared to 44.6% men who are residents in the urban areas (Ibid).

Perceptions about the acceptability of wife beating are not limited to older people – worryingly, it is the youngest age group of Ugandan women surveyed that was the most likely to say that a husband beating his wife is acceptable (62%). Women aged 30-34 had the lowest acceptance rate, which was still high at 53\%\textsuperscript{142}.

**Prevalence varies across regions; but is relatively consistent across religions**

Gender Based Violence is highly prevalent in Uganda and cuts across all age groups, education, location rural or urban, levels of income and wealth, marital status, and religious affiliations. GBV is probably one of the national catastrophes in Ugandan society affecting 60\% of households and families. About 60\% of married women surveyed in the 2011 DHS had experienced at least one form of spousal violence (emotional, physical, or sexual), and about 15\% had experienced all three forms of spousal violence\textsuperscript{143}.

In Uganda GBV has a regional dimension with high physical and sexual violence in some parts of Uganda more than others. (See chart below.) The top five regions with highest level of physical violence are Eastern Uganda (East 66.4\% and East Central 61.9\%), Northern (60.6\%), South West (57.1\%), West Nile (56.4\%) and Central (54\%). Findings reveal that out of the 10 regions of Uganda, eight regions recorded 50\% or more prevalence of violence. Only two regions had less than 59\% (albeit close) - Kampala (49.5\%) and Karamoja (47.3\%). Sexual violence was recorded highest in Central 2 at 34.7\%, followed by East Central at 34\% and East and Central 1 at 32.9\% and 32.7\% respectively. Statistics from six other regions range from Karamoja’s low of 17.6\% to 24.6\% in the North. The regional differences in GBV prevalence call for tailored interventions that address the range of root causes in diverse communities.

\textsuperscript{141} UBOS: UDHS 2006 and UDHS 2011
\textsuperscript{142} UBOS 2012 pg 230.
\textsuperscript{143} UBOS: Uganda DHS 2011
In Uganda GBV cuts across the religious divide, and is prevalent among all religions. Physical violence is highest among the Pentecostals (60.5%) followed by Protestant (56%), Catholics (55.7%) Muslim (54.2%) and Seventh Day Adventists and ‘other’ at 48.3%. Sexual Violence is highest among Muslims (30.2%), followed by Catholics (28.6), SDA and Other (28.3), Pentecostal (26.6) and Protestant (26.1). An Irish Aid-funded study of religious leaders in Busoga sub region, where GBV is highly prevalent, perceived ‘acts of domestic violence as sins but not necessarily criminal offences’.

Predominant examples include misunderstandings in families, denial of sex, sexual abuse especially defilement and rape. Domestic violence in the study area was at 39.5%, defilement at 24.4% and child abuse and neglect at 11%. The acts were mostly perpetrated by men towards women, and by step parents (especially step mothers) towards children. Some religious leaders attributed high GBV to a lack of self-control especially from men, alcohol, drugs and uncontrolled tempers.

Perpetrators
The UDHS shows that majority of sexual violence happens inside a marriage, perpetrated by a husband or partner, accounting for 49.3% of sexual violence. Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) is the most prevalent with 62% women who have experienced physical violence and 65% who experienced sexual violence citing husband/partner or former husband/partner as perpetrators (UDHS 2011). Violence happening inside a marriage is potential ground for marital rape. Both women and men

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144 IRCU/Irish Aids, September 2012. Capacity Assessment of Religious Leaders on Gender Based Violence in Busoga Region.
reported experiencing controlling behaviour from their spouses. Women reported the following controlling behaviours from their husbands:¹⁴⁵

- 59% of women experienced jealousy or anger from husbands if they (women) talked to other men
- 56% of women experience husbands insisting on knowing where they are at all times
- 34% of women are accused by husbands of being unfaithful
- 29% women were not permitted to see female friends.

Chart 19: Top 5 perpetrators of sexual violence against women

Teachers, schools and violence

The top five perpetrators of physical violence are husband/ partner; teacher; mother/ step mother and former partner/ husband. (See pie chart below, presenting UDHS 2011 data.) Teachers are the second highest single perpetrators of physical violence against women at nearly 20% in 2011, rising from just over 17% in 2006 (UDHS). Next to ‘other’, the teachers also top the list of highest perpetrators of physical violence against men at (21%) in 2001 and 28.4% in 2006 (UDHS).

Chart 20: Share (%) of the top physical perpetrators of GBV

The impact of perpetration of violence by teachers on children’s education should be further investigated. Teacher-perpetrated violence of this magnitude suggests that the school environment could be a key factor for breeding GBV in Uganda, with consequences for negatively impacting the quality of education and drop-out rates. Exposure to violence in childhood has been shown to predispose individuals to perpetrate partner violence in adulthood, and increases women’s risk of being a victim.

¹⁴⁵ UBOS: UDHS 2011
of IPV\textsuperscript{146}. Additionally, many Ugandan schoolchildren will have come from a home environment that is included in the 60% of the nation’s households that is affected by GBV. The impact of violence on masculinity is reported to include low self-esteem, aggressive behaviour, ideas and practices that ‘valorise toughness and strength, and dominance and control over women, including dominant idea of male sexual entitlement and use of violence against women\textsuperscript{147}. Ugandan priorities for preventing violence in schools could include implementation of policies against corporal punishment in schools and building support mechanisms for protection of children from teacher perpetrators of GBV or child abuse.

Links between violence and HIV
Violence against women is both a cause and consequence of HIV and AIDS (CEDOVIP/Raising Voices). Women may experience violence as a result of disclosure of HIV status to their partners and ‘can become infected with HIV as a result of violence and an imbalance of power particularly in their intimate relationships\textsuperscript{148}. A South African study revealed that one in seven new infections among women were attributed to violence from male partner or lack of relationship power (Ibid). Findings further indicate that ‘the extent of control women have over when and with whom they have sex has important implications for outcomes such as transmission of HIV and other sexually transmitted diseases’ (Ibid). Domestic violence exposes women to the risk of contracting HIV/AIDS, and is a leading cause of family breakups in Uganda (CEDOVIP: 2013)\textsuperscript{149}. Limited negotiations capacity of women around their sexuality and sex predisposes them to dangers of HIV infection, and denial of sex to their partners may lead to sexual violence. A great number of women (60%) women believed that there were rational justifications for denying sex to a husband, among them, sexually transmitted diseases, sex with other women, being tired, or not in the mood\textsuperscript{150}. Eighty percent believed it was justified to refuse sex with the husband if he had STDs (Ibid). The highest rates of new infections of HIV/AIDS happen inside marriage in Uganda with 35% of new infections happening in monogamous discordant couples – findings which correspond with high levels of sexual violence inside marriage, which account for 49% of sexual violence cases reported by the UDHS 2011.

High social and economic costs of GBV
The social and economic costs of GBV at individual, household and national level is very high. Very few victims of GBV are reporting or disclosing violence outside family circles. Only 28.9% of women said they seek help from family members after physical and sexual violence occurs; 18.6% reporting seeking for

\begin{itemize}
  \item 32% women and 24% men: suffered cuts, bruises or aches
  \item 19% women and 18% men: suffered eye Injuries, sprains, dislocations, burns
  \item 14% women and 9% men: Suffered deep wounds, broken bones, broken teeth or other serious injuries
\end{itemize}

Source: UBOS: UDHS 2011

Physical Injuries from GBV Sustained by Married Women and Men from Spouses

\textsuperscript{146} Strive: Dec 2011, Lori L. Heise: What Works to Prevent Partner Violence, An Evidence Overview
\textsuperscript{147} Rachel Jewkes, South African Medical Research Council, in “What Works in Preventing VAWG
\textsuperscript{148} SASA, Mobilizing Communities for Social Change, Candy Carlson/Raising Voices
\textsuperscript{150} UBOS: UDHS 2006

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help from the spouse’s family; while only 6.6% women said they reported to police. Others disclose to a friend (4.8%) or neighbour (3.5%) or other (12.8%). Men tend to mainly report sexual violence (21.7%) to the family members and report physical violence to the police (9.1%)\(^{151}\). Reasons cited why only a small fraction of victims of violence go to the police include apathetic attitudes among police officers towards domestic violence; high costs associated with accessing police services; and the desire by the victim to keep the family together\(^{152}\). According to the survey, GBV is perceived as a private matter, and a large proportion of victims depended on the perpetrators for sustenance, and seeking legal redress could ‘compromise their livelihoods partly explaining why there is under reporting of such cases’ (ICRW 2009/ CEDOVIP 2012)\(^{153}\). The impact of violence on women and men’s physical health and productivity is very high, with reported repeat aggression and injuries. Studies conducted in Uganda found that many women were unable to work following a violent incident, and 9% took off work with and average of 11 days missed. About 13% of the respondents temporarily stopped housework, and 2.2% said their children had missed school\(^{154}\).

Costs in human life are high, with an average of 165 deaths per year from domestic violence in four years from 2008-2011, reported in the Uganda Police Annual Crime Reports. The four-year trend shows a modest increase in reported deaths from domestic violence (156 in 2008 and 181 in 2011). In 2011, on average, one person died every two days from domestic violence. The data does not disaggregate by gender, age or ethnicity of the victims.

The economic costs of GBV in Uganda are significant: a 2011 estimate put the cost at Uganda shillings 55,673,219,178 (Billion), equivalent to United States $ 22,083,784\(^{155}\). According to the study which used costs from different service providers, the total cost of GBV is equivalent 0.35% of GDP in 2011 and 0.75% of the National Budget 2010/2011, as shown in the table below.

### Table 1: Uganda: Estimated cost of providing GBV Services in 2011 for 415,145

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Service</th>
<th>UG Shs (Annually)</th>
<th>Estimate US$</th>
<th>% GDP/Budget</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Health Care Providers</td>
<td>18,326,891,542</td>
<td>$ 7,269,691</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>19,464,769,187</td>
<td>$ 7,721,051</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Council</td>
<td>12,709,425,165</td>
<td>$ 5,041,422</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shelter</td>
<td>5,172,133,285</td>
<td>$ 2,051,620</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Annual Estimated Cost of GBV</strong></td>
<td><strong>55,673,219,178</strong></td>
<td><strong>$ 22,083,784</strong></td>
<td><strong>0.35%/0.75%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: CEDOVIP :2012\(^{156}\)*

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\(^{151}\) UBOS: UDHS 2011  
\(^{153}\) Ibid  
\(^{154}\)(Ibid) ICRW 2009/CEDOVIP 2012  
\(^{156}\) Ibid
GBV interventions in Uganda

Recent GBV programmes in Uganda have put a high premium on GBV response and protection in the last five years. GBV programmes have provided support for victims in the form of eight GBV shelters across the country. While the shelters provide short and mid-term relief to survivors who live in the catchment area, some shelters may not yet meet best-practice standards, and have been criticized for not providing sufficient protection for the victims/survivors. Although there is now a more coordinated and multi-sectoral approach in addressing physical and psychosocial strategies for GBV response in Uganda, some stakeholders interviewed felt that the focus on GBV response and protection has not been balanced with addressing the structural causes of GBV. Addressing GBV requires a multi-sectoral strategy that also addresses the multiple needs of survivors and the socio-economic status of the potential victims. Organizations working with GBV survivors mentioned challenges and gaps in meeting multiple needs of the survivors, some of them too complex. Some of the areas that need more investment include legal aid, emergency treatment (including PEP, emergency contraceptives, etc.) and longer-term health support, and psychosocial support including life skills development and strategies to earn enough money to support themselves and their children.

Gaps still exist due to a lack of professionalism of law enforcement organizations, especially the police. A Domestic Violence Directorate dedicated to addressing increasing GBV cases has been set up by the Uganda Police. The police is also working with government and CSOs to develop GBV modules for integration in the police training curriculum. Likewise, practitioners are working with the Judicial Studies Institute to introduce GBV modules in their training curriculum for the judiciary. Challenges remain with the national structural and institutional challenges and operational resource constraints of the police that constrain their capacity to provide timely and effective response to GBV crimes.

A major gap cited includes the lack of a coordinated strategy on GBV prevention, as well as a more sustained approach to address the contributing factor for GBV. There is a need to adequately address the social tolerance of GBV, structural causes of GBV, and to invest in changing norms, behaviours and the belief systems in Uganda. A national GBV prevention strategy is needed.

Regulations for the Domestic Violence Act were developed in 2011, however, operationalization of the Domestic Violence Act still lags behind partly due to the high costs associated with its implementation. The Sexual Offences bill has not been assented to by government, although it was passed. Overall, the cost of implementing the Domestic Violence Act in the first year has been estimated at 6.4 billion shillings, which would require an increase of 20% over the 2011 social

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157 Outcomes of UNJPGE, GBV Joint Programme in MGLSD, GBV Joint Programme under UNFPA
158 Interview with CEDOVIP and MIFUMI
development budget of 31.9 billion shillings\textsuperscript{160}. The study concludes that ‘without implementing the Domestic Violence Act, Ugandans will continue to spend colossal amounts dealing with Domestic Violence’ (Ibid). This is due to the substantial social and economic costs of GBV – costs that are borne by victims, employers and service providers alike.

**Best practice: Uganda and beyond**

- **GBV best practices prioritize working with religious leaders and organizations and local government leadership** to address the root causes of violence, a strategy already being used with some level of success in Uganda with programmes such as the Irish Aid supported GBV Joint Programme between MGSDL and CSOs (CEDOVIP/ UWONET/ MIFUMI), and the DFID-funded UN Gender Joint Programme on gender Equality (UNJPGE).

- **A lifecycle approach in recognition** that GBV can occur throughout and affect the lifecycle has been used by the US Government programmes\textsuperscript{161} on GBV. The strategy targets GBV interventions on vulnerable and underserved populations especially women and girls living in poverty, girls with disability, engagement of change agents and allies in policy and programme development, advocacy and implementation (ibid). Identifying and working with change agents and allies is also advised, and these may include women and girls, GBV survivors, or CSOs. Allies are identified among boys and men, religious leaders, community leaders, business leaders, local government leaders, health care providers. Furthermore, best practice recommends investment in understanding the causes and social cultural dynamics perpetuating GBV.\textsuperscript{162}

- **Existence of a strong women’s movement** is a major precursor for governments and society to take action on GBV. A global study of 70 countries found that ‘a strong autonomous feminist movement is both substantially and statistically significant as a predicator of government action to redress violence against women’\textsuperscript{163}. The study further notes that countries with strong women’s movement tends to have more comprehensive policies on VAW than those a weak or non-existent women’s movement (Ibid). The study concludes that women’s movements are a positive catalyst for policy development and women’s organizing vital for public exposure of violence, and formulating and monitoring domestic legislation to confront GBV. As is the case in Uganda, the existing gains for implementation of GBV legislation and GBV programming have been attained through combined efforts of the national gender machinery, women’s CSOs, and DPs including bi-laterals and UN Agencies. The most effective interventions have taken a multi-sectoral approach, and have often included the Justice Law and Order Sector, Education Sector, Health Sector and the local governments.

- **Interventions that have worked at international level focus on four aspects:** 1) the drivers or GBV risk factors; 2) what to change, 3) changing social norms; behaviour change; and 4) ‘how


\textsuperscript{161} United States Strategy to Prevent and Respond to Gender Based Violence Globally

\textsuperscript{162} United States Strategy to Prevent and Respond to Gender Based Violence Globally

\textsuperscript{163} Laurel Weldon & Mala Htun 2013. Published in Gender and Development: Feminist Mobilization and Progressive Policy Change: Why Governments take Action to Combat Violence Against Women".
to or methods and approaches -- for example use of the mass media, training and couple counselling and economic empowerment of women\textsuperscript{164}. Strengthening the link between GBV and livelihoods has been used as a strategy by Action Against Hunger in Northern Uganda, using cash transfers.\textsuperscript{165} Other strategies include training of service providers, cross-agency coordination, policy monitoring by CSOs, and ensuring adequate budgets for implementing GBV programmes\textsuperscript{166}.

- **Professionalization of GBV approaches and development of tools** have helped develop a strong GBV networks of advocates and activists. The CEDOVIP/Raising Voices partnership in Uganda has provided learning lessons and international best practice. Strategies used for local Community Activity Reports and outcome tracking, media and advocacy, communication materials, training, monitoring and rapid assessment surveys.\textsuperscript{167} SASA in Uganda targets both men and women, and takes people through a process of social transformation, working with community leaders and community activists, according to CEDOVIP. The community volunteers help raise awareness on the benefits of non-violence; introduce the idea that perpetrators are accountable and need to change; and give people knowledge and skills so that they can change\textsuperscript{168}.

- **Partnerships with non-traditional actors in GBV.** Collaborative and coordinated mechanisms that involve religious leaders, local government and central government to address GBV. Religious leaders (both Christian and Muslim) include GBV messages in their pastoral work. Local government leaders have helped victims to seek for justice for GBV Survivors, while community and traditional leaders help in coordination of GBV players, establishing a GBV register at community level, strengthening community members’ skills, popularizing relevant laws etc.\textsuperscript{169}

- **Addressing knowledge gaps in GBV.** Knowledge gaps still exist globally to measure evidence of benefits from interventions intended to benefit GBV survivors\textsuperscript{170}. For example, evidence-based programming is important in order to measure the changes, as well as understand the practical aspects of SASA’s approach (Ibid). Addressing the knowledge gaps in livelihood programmes that address GBV, for example the impact of conditional cash transfers in women’s risk of partner violence has been suggested.\textsuperscript{171}

**Summing up: GBV**

The GBV challenge in Uganda is considerable, and the response to date has not focussed enough on addressing the structural causes of GBV. There is need for a balanced, multi-sectoral and holistic approach to prevention and protection strategies of GBV. There is need for development of comprehensive national GBV strategy, and Institutions such as the MGSLD and law enforcement

\textsuperscript{164} Rachel Jewkes, South African Medical Research Council, in "What Works in Preventing VAWG".
\textsuperscript{165} AAHI Evaluation, 2012 Uganda
\textsuperscript{166} Pathways Policy Paper, What Makes Domestic Violence Legislation More Effective; Cecilia Sardenberg, October 2011
\textsuperscript{167} Ibid
\textsuperscript{168} Interview with CEDOVIP, February 2014.
\textsuperscript{169} See IRCU/Irish Aids, September 2012. Capacity Assessment of Religious Leaders on Gender Based Violence in Busoga Region,
\textsuperscript{170} DFID IFP/Jewkes
\textsuperscript{171} Strive, Dec 2011, Lori L. Heise: What Works to Prevent Partner Violence, An Evidence Overview
organizations will require further strengthening. Global lessons indicate that the strength of women’s movements in a country corresponds with the progress on GBV. There is need to invest in systematic and more sustainable strengthening of women’s movement, including CSOs that address gender equality. The high socio-economic costs of GBV on the affected individuals, institutions and the nation needs to be addressed. Strengthening the justice system, implementation of GBV related laws, including fast tracking gender related legal reforms should be prioritized. The national GBV mechanisms should be strengthened and linkages established with the local levels in order to have a more coordinated response to GBV.

Cultural norms and practices around GBV need to be challenged and – ultimately - changed. Distinct regional and religious dimensions of GBV suggest that targeted interventions will be required to address the root causes of GBV in these areas. Partnerships with religious and cultural institutions, and with local governments should continue to be supported. The high incidence of sexual and physical violence inside marriage requires specific interventions that can tackle the gender dynamics and rights within relationships. Teacher perpetration of violence in schools is likely to be a driver of GBV in future generations, and as such the issue should be a priority for communities, policy makers and funders alike.
6 Joint working: evidence and lessons

Perhaps the most convincing and broad-ranging evidence about the successes and limitations of joint working in development has been the Paris Declaration Phase II Evaluation, published in 2011. The Main Report, synthesising the findings of more than 50 studies in 22 partner countries and across 18 donor agencies, which was carried in two phases between 2007 and 2011, contains some clear messages. Many of these messages are echoed in the Uganda Country Report, also published in 2011.

Looking first at the Main Report\(^{172}\), the main messages highlighted here relate to donor partner behaviour, increased effectiveness of assistance and a focus on the poorest:

- With a number of striking exceptions, donors and agencies have so far demonstrated less commitment than partner countries to making the necessary changes in their own systems. Some have been too uncoordinated and risk averse to play their expected proactive part in the relationship. Most have set high levels of partner country compliance as preconditions for their own reforms rather than moving together reciprocally and managing and sharing risks realistically. Peer pressure and collective donor action are not yet embedded in many donor country systems, so that they are left vulnerable to uninformed policy changes, for example when governments or ministers change. The country reports often point to the greater freedom of multilateral agencies to apply some good practices – for example in making multi-year aid commitments – and the relative insulation of these agencies from short-term political pressures.

- A strong cross section of the country evaluations found evidence that Declaration type measures, launched either before or since 2005, but reinforced since then, have contributed to more focused, efficient and collaborative aid efforts, particularly at the sectoral level. These evaluations then found plausible evidence that those efforts had already contributed to better development results, with good prospects of being sustainable. Although insufficient capacity remains a formidable obstacle in many countries and aid could help more than it does, there is evidence that aid and aid reform have made at least some contributions to the long-term strengthening both of institutional capacities for development and of social capital.

- On the whole, there has been little progress in most countries in giving greater priority to the needs of the poorest people, particularly women and girls. However, there is evidence of some positive contributions by aid and some value added by reforms

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Advice for donors, from the Pathways research project

‘Supporting women’s empowerment is a long-term agenda that requires identifying and helping to strengthen locally generated transformative processes. Effectively supporting women’s empowerment requires good grounded analysis, flexibility, imagination, investing in relationships, responsiveness, and modesty in ambition.’

(Eyben 2011.)
and Declaration-style operations since 2000-05. This disconnect drives home the essential precondition of a powerful and sustained national commitment to change. Without this in place, aid and aid reforms are limited in their capacity to address entrenched inequalities.

Other analyses have highlighted the influence that the aid collaboration efforts in Uganda have had regionally – see for example, J Ernst (2011)\(^ {173} \). However, the messages in the Paris Declaration Main Report are similar to those found in the Uganda Country Report Paris\(^ {174} \), highlighting the limitations of donor partner actions, with some more limited evidence of the effectiveness of assistance:

- The Phase I Evaluation of the PD concluded that the Division of Labour exercise had been to some extent successful with some donors rationalising their sector presence to concentrate on fewer sectors where they had a comparative advantage. However, the DoL suffered from lack of strong government leadership. SWAps, on the other hand, led to more systematic dialogue between donors and the government, strengthened state party leadership and improved aid coordination.
- Rigid perceived sector mandates, interests and comparative advantage of some DPs have kept those DPs in some sectors like health and education even though such sectors have clearly been congested, leaving behind sectors such as environment and agriculture underfunded.
- Transaction costs remain high and these are associated with demands DPs are continuing to place on Government in terms of time, reporting needs, and use of the resources through numerous missions and meetings. Although coordination of missions has improved with a larger proportion of missions being carried out jointly and with good coordination, the improvement is not large enough to equally significantly reduce the absolute number of missions that are uncoordinated.
- Aid flows remain highly unpredictable and may remain so in some cases until some of the donor countries shift from annual budget cycles to multi-year commitments. Multilaterals already provide aid through multi-year commitments, but what needs to improve is the system of some bilateral donors which confine aid commitments to annual cycles.
- There is no convincing evidence to conclude that the PD has necessarily influenced priority setting in favour of the needs of the poorest, who include women and girls and those socially excluded. Both national plans developed prior to and after signature of the PD (PEAP and NDP) defined appropriate strategies for dealing with social exclusion. Despite existence of these strategies, social vulnerabilities and gender disparities remain.
- Uganda is on course to achieving at least two of the eight MDGs by 2015 (Goals 1 and 3). ODA has clearly had an impact based on its weight in government expenditure, and the fact that it has become more aligned to government priorities, especially at sector level. Over the last five years, the PD has been a clear unifying factor behind DP and Government joint


efforts to devise more effective strategies and keep a clear focus on accelerating the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals through better aid partnerships.

Again, drawing on international experience, the Inter-agency Task Force on Violence against Women has piloted a multi-stakeholder joint programming initiative to address violence against women in ten select pilot countries\(^{175}\) involving all relevant stakeholders at the national level, including government actors, the UN country team and civil society stakeholders. A review carried out by UNFPA in 2011\(^{176}\) highlights a set of interesting and general lessons for joint working:

- **Building Consensus:** Initiating multi-stakeholder joint programmes on violence against women can entail high-level interactions, complex negotiations and consensus-building to agree on multiple stakeholder joint programming and the joint programming agenda. It may also entail higher transaction costs, especially when multi-stakeholder joint programmes are initiated on issues that are ‘deemed sensitive’ in a particular country context.

- **Facilitating Coordination:** Slow and time-consuming processes that are involved in initiating a multi-stakeholder joint programme may hinder implementation on many fronts. Coupled with limited staffing capacities, implementation can often pose a challenge. Building rewards in the system may be explored for developing effective coordinating frameworks, as weak coordination/communication structures hinder effective service delivery and reporting mechanisms and can lead to duplication of efforts.

- **Developing Capacities:** It is important to recognize that one size does not fit all; for instance, responses to addressing issues of violence in middle-income countries may differ from responses in the least developed countries. It is also necessary to balance the need to ‘get the job done’ versus the need to invest in systems that, in the longer term, lend resilience and sustainability to a system. Therefore, it is important to make policy and investment choices that reflect more than the immediate imperative and focus on the longer term ability to carry the same mandate.

- **Investing in Monitoring and Evaluation:** Monitoring and evaluation serves its intended purpose best when it is used as a learning intervention as opposed to a compliance intervention. Self-assessments and participatory monitoring generate useful insights and identify entry points that can be leveraged for significant impact.

- **Ensuring Sustainability:** Stakeholders in the pilot countries have voiced concerns about lack of human, financial and technical resources to initiate, implement and sustain the multi-stakeholder joint programme. Meagre resources for which participating agencies compete (or which at times are unavailable to program) can prove a serious challenge. In such resource-scarce settings, it is important to build synergies and pool resources to ensure their optimal use.

\(^{175}\) Burkina Faso, Chile, Fiji, Jamaica, Jordan, Kyrgyzstan, Paraguay, Philippines, Rwanda and Yemen

6.1 Gender Development Partner Group

Direct funding support from bilateral donors for girls and women is estimated at US $50m annually, to ‘targeted programmes for women and girls’\textsuperscript{177}. Funding mechanisms vary ranging from Joint programmes such as the DIFID supported UNJPGE, Irish Aid support to the GBV programme in partnership with MGSLD and CSOs, and Norwegian support to the UN Joint Programme on Gender Based Violence (GBV).\textsuperscript{178} Other donor joint mechanisms such as the Civil Society Fund and the Democratic Governance Facility have some initiatives that address gender. Direct funding to government for gender work through the Ministry of Gender has been modest. No tracking of gender funding has been done for indirect government support for gender goals through sectors such as education, health and agriculture.

The GDPG has been important in providing a forum for donors to share lessons and disseminate what they are doing in support for gender equality in Uganda. At the same time, several members of the group have expressed a degree frustration at the overall lack of a strategic focus in the work of the group and a linked feeling that this has made the group less effective than it could be. There appears to be a mismatch between the group’s level of ambition (including considerable work plan) and the reality of how much time and effort its members have to give. There have been attempts to address this lack of strategic focus, through the situation analysis, and there have been some efforts to map GDPG member’s gender work. Others informants outside the GDPG have highlighted the lack of consistency of support to gender equality in Uganda and the unintended (and negative) consequences that some types of donor funding can have on both civil society and government organisations involved in GEWE.

6.2 GDPG Survey Results

Part of the preparation of the situation analysis involved a short survey sent to all seventeen members of the GDPG. There were twelve responses in total, two-thirds from bilaterals and one third from multilaterals. There are a number of points that are worth highlighting, which may be of interest if the GDPG would like to reflect on its way of working.

Firstly, there is a considerable diversity of perspectives in the group on what joint working means, running along a spectrum from:

- More general coordination, information sharing, learning and ensuring general complementarity (5 responses)

\textsuperscript{177} Situation Analysis, Terms of Reference

\textsuperscript{178} DPs investing in Gender include Sweden, Austria, DANIDA, Irish Aid, DFID, and Norway. Others such as Irish Aid and DANIDA (in the past) have directly supported the MGSLD to spear-head gender related policies and involve CSOs as partners. Programmes supported includes the UN Gender Joint Programme through UN Women (DFID support), UN GBV Joint Programme through UNFPA (Norway supported), GBV Gender Joint Programme with MGSLD & CSOs (Irish Aid supported). In the past, instrumental support came from DFID, Civil Society Umbrella Programme which funded Women’s CSOs to engage in pro-poor policy dialogue, and WID/GAD-DANIDA support to MGSLD which established structures and policy for gender in the country.
Through, more specific coordination of advocacy and harmonisation of programmes, in order to jointly contribute to results (4 responses),

To, pooled resources and joint development and implementation of programmes and projects (3 responses).

Secondly, there is a large degree of overlap and agreement in terms of both current and future priority sectors in gender, with:

- Current priorities being GBV as the top priority (11 responses), Maternal Mortality and Policy Advocacy next (both with 8 responses), and Girls’ Education, Sexual and Reproductive Health, WEE and Gender and Macroeconomics with similar results (6 or 7 responses each, and
- Future priorities being slightly more focused, with GBV as the top priority (11 responses), WEE (with 9 responses), Girl’s Education and Maternal Mortality (both with 8 responses), and then Sexual and Reproductive Health, Gender and Macroeconomics and Policy Advocacy (each with 7 responses).

Finally, there are some interesting results on funds spent and funds available for gender-specific work. The responses indicate that:

- Roughly $25 million has been spent over the last five years;
- There is likely to be less than $21 million for the next five years;
- But perhaps of most interest in the context of joint programme design, there is very limited flexibility in the allocation of these funds, with the majority of response indicating that there is 50% or less flexibility.
7 Preliminary findings and conclusions

What, then, might this overview of GEWE in Uganda mean for the diverse assembly of Gender Development Partners Group members? The findings and conclusions of this paper are presented in two parts. The first part recounts the general findings emerging from the situation analysis. The second part offers a selection of gender-focussed 'headlines' relevant to specific sectors or issues: health, education, agriculture, women’s economic empowerment, legal reform and GBV.

General findings

- There are multiple ‘pathways to empowerment’ – for each country, and for individual women. The struggle for equality is necessarily a long-term undertaking. Women’s empowerment in Uganda will not be a linear process – there will be multiple setbacks along the road to equality if expected reforms do not take place in the 3-5 year period of a DP funding cycle, it does not mean necessarily mean that the programme was a failure or did not have any effect.

- It is clear that a growing economy does not necessarily bring greater gender equality. Lack of vigilance may mean that a more prosperous future is still a future in which women have fewer opportunities than men. Invest in programmes that help ensure the future is substantially more equal for Ugandan men and women: creation and implementation of appropriate laws and regulations; support for a vibrant women’s movement; support for research that tracks progress on GEWE; support for programmes that help break down the gendered segmentation of the labour market; use social media and television to help change social norms about men’s roles and women’s roles; explore opportunities for ensuring that care work is more equally shared between men and women or compensated in some way.

- Throughout the world and in Uganda, a strong women’s movement is an essential component in making progress on a number of key frontiers: women’s equality in the workplace, reducing GBV, and ensuring greater equity in national budgets, to name but a few. DPs’ own GEWE ambitions are for the most part mirrored directly in the work of local women’s organisations. Be cautious about potentially undermining or destabilising the women’s movement through ill-conceived and short-term funding arrangements.

- Adolescent girls merit special attention. Uganda has the highest proportion of young people of any country, and girls and young women have a vital role to play in sustaining Uganda’s growth and development. Yet Ugandan girls are vulnerable to their teachers in school; their contraceptive use is low; and their risk of drop out in secondary school is high. Ugandan girls are more likely to become pregnant than most of their peers in the region; their knowledge of

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These should be considered preliminary findings and conclusions, since they are primarily based on a short desk review. More refined conclusions will no doubt emerge in discussion with the reference group, and in the workshop with GDPG members in late March. Still further analysis would be necessary if DPs decide to invest in a particular area.
land rights is low and they are more likely than older women to accept that a husband can beat his wife.

- Eyben (2011) draws attention to both the positive and negative effects of what she calls ‘multiplier empowerment effects’: Careful attention to project design can encourage and strengthen empowerment processes, taking advantage of the possibility of multiple entry points. The idea of multiplier effects is that supporting empowerment in one domain - economic, social or political - can have wider positive effects. Lack of attention can however have adverse disempowering effects even when the intervention aims to be empowering. There is considerable scope in Uganda to look across traditionally defined sectors to identify potential multiplier areas, such as: changing social norms and working to reduce the vulnerability of adolescent girls in secondary schools; or, developing economic opportunities for women in rural areas and building their confidence to use legislation to access resources and support.

- Donor GEWE strategies will need to take account of changing aid dynamics. DPs’ influence in Uganda has been waning as aid flows become less significant in the budget. Despite some short-term reversals, this trend is likely to intensify when oil revenues begin to make their way to the treasury. Recent passage of a bill that criminalises homosexuality has met with sharp criticism from most donors, and an equally sharp rejection of foreign commentary by Government. The ‘gender status quo’ typically represents deeply held beliefs and cultural values that deeply influence families, society and the economy. Like the LGBTI debates, perceived challenges to the status quo between men and women may trigger responses by those who claim that progress on equality is ‘foreign’.

- Joint work on GEWE presents both challenges and opportunities. On the negative side, significant ground work must be done to establish a common vision and approach; transaction costs can be high; and conflicts about ‘branding’ and attribution can erupt. Incentives to put the head office demands first and joint working second can be overwhelming. On the more positive side, better results can be had if the burden of coordination for government is reduced; if some donors are willing to play a ‘silent partner’ role, some donors provide top-notch technical assistance, and others focus on promoting GEWE in sectors in which they have particular expertise.

The section below is a quick journey through some of the possible implications of the situation analysis, across five sectors and from the point of view of prospective donors. DPs might like to reflect on whether these issues are already being tackled appropriately -- or if there are perhaps opportunities for DPs to increase their commitments, or work in a different way.
For DPs engaged in health, HIV and GBV:

- Tackle the high rate of teen pregnancy. Consider the long-term implications for girls who become pregnant too young: diminished educational chances, lower incomes, less healthy families.
- Support efforts to make human resources in the health sector more equitable.
- To tackle MMR, help the government train, recruit and deploy more midwives.
- A sustained response is required, and Uganda’s GBV challenges are among the worst in the world. GBV prevention and response will likely require support from DPs for many years to come. Consider carefully the quality standards of services being funded, and invest in learning more about cost-effective methods for IPV prevention.

For DPs in education:

- It is popular in development circles to think of girls’ education as a magic bullet, or ‘the ultimate multiplier’. There is a considerable body of evidence that demonstrates this is often true. However, this general narrative needs to be interrogated closely for each country context. Recent research, for example, has shown that expansion of girls’ opportunities to finish secondary school has been the root cause of dramatic improvements in large numbers of young women’s lives in Bangladesh. On the other hand, research from Ghana in the same period showed that younger women in Ghana have not experienced the previous generation of graduates much more direct link between finishing school and getting a job. Therefore extra effort is needed to improve Ghanaian (and probably Ugandan) girls’ access to labour markets.

In Uganda, the data suggest that a few areas merit particular attention:

- Invest in ensuring that more girls complete secondary school. Reverse the slight downward trend in girls’ enrolment in secondary school. Work to reduce the high risk of girls being sexually assaulted by their teachers.
- Unlike their peers in most other African countries, Ugandan girls’ enrolment in tertiary education lags well behind Ugandan boys. If it has not already been done, analyse the reasons for this inequality, and ensure that Ugandan girls are as well-equipped to take advantage of future opportunities for university graduates as boys are.

For DPs in agriculture:

- Supporting women and girls to achieve bigger gains from their agricultural work requires detailed knowledge of the sector, including capacity to undertake gendered analysis of: ownership and control of land and other property; credit and other forms of finance; appropriate agricultural technologies; gendered access to markets; women’s experience of collective action and cooperatives. Effective interventions in women’s empowerment and
agriculture are likely to require relatively complex designs and strong knowledge of the overall agriculture sector in Uganda.

- Agriculture overall is not growing as fast as other sectors, and its returns are generally low; but it does employ the majority of women and girls in Uganda.

- One conclusion the relatively large literature on women in agriculture does agree on: it is socially constructed differences that hold women back in agriculture. Women farmers are ‘just as productive as men and receive just as high prices as men when they farm with equal resources and sell their crops in the same way’ and that ‘the problem lies with women rarely having access to assets and markets that is similar to men, which shapes how the produce and market crops’.\footnote{Hill and Vigneri 2009, pg 28. Cited in Combaz 2013.} There is an emerging literature on many aspects of how women’s engagement in agriculture can be made more equitable, including some research specific to Uganda.\footnote{See, for instance, Goldstein and Munoz Boudet - forthcoming (moving from low value to high value sectors in Uganda and Benin); Dimova 2013 (Female Empowerment through High Value Agriculture - Malawi); Quisumbing et al 2013 (Value Chain Projects in Agriculture);}

For DPs interested in WEE:

- Distinguish between those reforms or programmes that are essential for supporting economic empowerment of both men and women, and those interventions that are specifically about discrimination of women or the particular needs of women workers or entrepreneurs. A pure focus on ‘just women’, rather than on a wider understanding of the labour markets and business environment, is not likely to deliver results for women. Equally, interventions that focus exclusively on providing support to women in isolation, without understanding the social context in which she lives and works, could lead to backlash or unintended negative consequences.\footnote{Consider the ‘household approach’ UWEAL is beginning to take, which has parallels in HIV and GBV work.}

- Consider commissioning a robust review of existing WEE initiatives in Uganda, including but not limited to improving women’s access to finance and land.

- Are DPs focussed on poverty reduction at the household level, or a growth-transmission model in which medium and larger scale enterprises are supported to create more jobs? Reflect on whether it makes sense to invest in support for yet more micro-entrepreneurs in Uganda.\footnote{Hallaway 2013} Consider focusing instead on the ‘transformative’ end of the spectrum, so that more women-owned businesses are more profitable and employ more people – rather than adding more to the large and relatively unprofitable pool of self-employed ‘necessity entrepreneurs’.

- Consider strategies for breaking down labour market segmentation and prompting a transition to higher-value jobs. Because they are (arguably) easier to influence than the informal sector, consider targeting the formal sector, including the health service and other parts of the civil service.
For DPs engaged in justice, law and order

- Despite some recent advances in joint titling, women’s property rights in Uganda are still less secure than in most other African countries. This position leaves many women without collateral and beholden to men in a way they would not be if they had more equal property rights. Research in other countries has shown that unlike gender gaps in education, gender gaps in property rights are tend to persist even in the face of growth and rising incomes. As a recent review of experience in Africa shows, simply raising a country’s income is unlikely to be sufficient to give women equal ability to control assets or have greater voice, Hallward notes, ‘more proactive steps will be needed’.

- The prosecution rate for GBV cases is so low that it can only be a message to survivors that there is no use in seeking justice. Progress on this issue would represent a fundamental advancement of women’s human rights – but solutions are likely to be costly, complex and long-term. Not likely to be an area for ‘casual’ investments of less than five years, nor for donors without some relevant in-house expertise.
8 Annexes

8.1 Annex 1: Donor groups on gender and social inclusion

Donor working groups on gender vary widely in their ambition and their effectiveness. This case study offers an example of a donor group in Nepal that moved from a fairly low-key study group to a strategic group with considerable national influence. Note the ‘social inclusion’ in the title of the group. This reflects the importance of caste and ethnic identity as drivers of exclusion in Nepal. Note also the references to shared learning, and to supporting better integration of gender into donor’s own practice. Commissioning joint analyses on key issues were also a part of the agenda, as was a commitment to join forces on important – but quite specific – issues. The country contexts are of course different, but the experience of the Social Inclusion Action Group in Nepal may generate some discussion on the ways in which the Ugandan GDPG might want to refine its ways of working.

Nepal’s Social Inclusion Action Group, described by a member of the group

‘This group started in 2003 as the DFID ‘Learning and Sharing Group’ on gender and social inclusion. It included interested DFID staff, and staff from our projects and form partner organisations. After about 18 months, it became so popular that the group joined with the UNDP group working on affirmative action, and became a true multi-donor group. Initially, we were focused on sector programs, and on supporting better monitoring and evaluation of outcomes for women and excluded groups, and had some real success within the forestry and later health sector programs. But we still had limited influence, as we didn’t have a long term or formal program of work or resources per se.

Then in about 2008/9, the group started being funded by both DFID (for program funds), and the UN Res Coordinators office (who provided administrative funds - for a program officer and meetings). It was then that we developed a vision, mission, key objectives, and an annual plan with budget etc. - we also started bringing government in more regularly, as well as broader civil society and national researchers.’

Below is a short profile of the group, taken from a DFID internal document:

The Social Inclusion Action Group (SIAG) is a group of development partners committed to addressing gender inequality and social exclusion who have come together over the past 5 - six years to form an ‘action group’. The group grew initially out of the coming together of several different groups: DFID’s Social Development Learning Group, UNDP’s Social Inclusion and Affirmative Action Network and the WB Gender and Social Exclusion Assessment Team, but has since grown to include members from a dozen different bilaterals, multilaterals and UN agencies. The main objectives of the group are to learn from one

185 With thanks to Dr Rebecca Calder for this case study. (Rebecca represented DFID on the SIAG.)
another and to build on each other’s experiences, in order to bring about change within our own organisations, and to positively influence government and civil society. Members help each other keep abreast of key processes and moments where a gender equality and social inclusion lens is crucial, and ‘join forces’ where possible to influence this to happen.

DFID supported SIAG in two ways: (i) through providing funds for a secretariat (SIAG Coordinator) through the UN RC’s office, and (ii) for key program activities. Over a two-year period, the SIAG work program focused in two key areas (with two sub-areas in each): (a) diverse human resources, where SIAG will support activities on member agency workforce diversity and activities on excluded group internships; (b) gender and social inclusion within their own agency policy and programming, through conducting a multi-agency gender and social inclusion audit and developing a coordinated response.

Within the diverse human resources focus SIAG will carry out a stocktake on present workforce diversity of each SIAG member organisation and disseminate outcomes as an update to the SIAG workforce diversity study, published in 2008. SIAG will also provide support GoN to establish a system for recording the social identity of civil servants, in order to better track and address diversity issues within the civil service. This will help to provide the baseline data for GoN’s program of affirmative action in the civil service.

For the second area of work focused on GESI within organisations, SIAG will support a GESI audit of select development agency processes and programs across the policy and program cycle, to identify key processes and moments for ensuring that GESI is embedded in program and policy work. Monitoring results will be a key focus. The specific work to address GESI internally in DFID will be part of this broader work. It will build on the older DFID Nepal Livelihoods and Social Inclusion Monitoring System, and will aim to incorporate more strongly elements of Safe and Effective Development (SED). More in-depth GESI audits of specific ‘sectors’ such as peace building, local governance, education, climate change and market development could also be incorporated to give DFID a clear approach to addressing GESI issues in these areas of work. In addition, it will form an important part of DFID’s own work on results and value for money, with particular reference to work on the country results framework.'
### 8.2 Annex 2: Joint Programming Modalities: A Snapshot

*Draft as of 23rd March; for discussion and refinement in a workshop session on 28th March.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic features</th>
<th>Pros</th>
<th>Cons</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Civil Society Fund (HIV/AIDS - Uganda)</td>
<td>A managed fund, put out to tender and won by Deloitte; initially 4 bilaterals’ funds pooled in a common basket plus USAID’s ‘parallel fund’ which operated under different rules. Roughly US$ 25m per year for five years. Prime client was initially USAID, then transferred to DFID. In its peak year, the Fund disbursed 244 grants to CSO. 80 local govt bodies also received funds.</td>
<td>All fiduciary risk transferred to the managing agent. After some teething pains, joint management among the group of donors seemed to be well established. Well-attended monthly steering meetings were essential. First-phase design meant that grant-making and M&amp;E functions were done by different organisations, which might have limited the potential for learning to inform grant-making decisions. Heavy emphasis on staffing the financial accountability element of the service; seemed to be minimal technical knowledge e.g. OVC programming, etc. Zero-tolerance for fiduciary risks means emerging or low-capacity CBOs are unlikely to be reached – which may in turn mean that the most vulnerable</td>
<td>The CSF in its current form is in transition from Development Partner management to a new management arrangement. This form of managed fund which is tendered for private sector contract is an increasingly common approach (HIV, climate change, etc.). Around 2010, a steering committee member requested that gender feature in the Fund’s work; gender was then incorporated into applications forms, etc. Management costs varied from roughly 7%-12%.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN Joint Programme on Gender Equality (Uganda)</td>
<td>2010-2014, with likelihood of no-cost extension til mid-2015. Funds for both GoU and civil society. Seven-person secretariat situated in its own Kololo office.</td>
<td>Provided support to both civil society and government. Engaged in new areas of GEWE work, for instance 4 shelters and some services for survivors.</td>
<td>Initially included 11 implementing partners; therefore very complex to administer. Significant adjustments needed on original design. Transaction costs for distributing small amounts of money to numerous partners could be considered high. Single funder, but jointly implemented.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Democratic Governance Facility (Uganda)</strong></td>
<td>Current funding committed for 2011-2016. Eight founding donors; steering committee; board; programme support unit; managed by the Danish Embassy in Kampala; 50b shillings disbursed in FY2012/2013. Grant-making and some capacity building for NGOs and CBOs. DGF also facilitates public debates and events, and some research by its partners.</td>
<td>Jointly funded, jointly governed. Some nominal govt oversight, but GoU not closely engaged. Professionally staffed PMU (including technical expertise such as legal and rights specialists). Appears to be smooth-running.</td>
<td>Limited connection to government (though DGF does provide 30% of UHRC’s budget; GoU is represented at Board level, but they do not regularly attend. This relatively low level of GoU participation does not appear to impede DGF’s work; but it might be a design consideration if the themes gender DPs wanted to focus on required close government engagement. DGF does not have a dedicated capacity building component (or CB budget line). Limited Institutional funding for CSOs/NGOs. Some see this as a design flaw.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World Bank Trust Funds (Uganda and</td>
<td>Uganda TFs examples: US$ 9m for environment; health,</td>
<td>Can support the work of recipients, DPs, or</td>
<td>There are significant administrative costs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Global Guidance</td>
<td>Energy. WB currently managing 7 TFs for Uganda. Some are relatively small research or evaluations funds (a subset of TFs, called EFOs – Externally Financed Outputs). TFs can be WB managed or recipient-govt managed, or a hybrid. WB levies a management fee.</td>
<td>the WB. Can be thematic, country-specific, global or regional. Well established: 200 different donors contribute to 1000+ different TFs. Associated with setting up a WB TF. Some bilateralists advise that new TFs of less than £3m/ $5m should not be established. TFs work best when they are in thematic areas in which the local WB office has a comparative technical advantage. WB’s Uganda office working with the WB Gender Lab.</td>
<td>Should be invested to review the experience of gender TFs in other countries. Is a new mechanism needed in Uganda, or could existing funding mechanisms be used? The WB is establishing ‘umbrella trust funds’ in gender in some countries. Is there one planned for Uganda?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note:

DPs interested in jointly investing in gender work should consider building on lessons from existing mechanisms such as DGF, CSF, UNJPGE and others. Many of the organisations involved in the GDPG appear to have insufficient time to participate in regular meetings to which they are already committed. Once the issue of joint work is identified, and the DPs interested in working on that issue are known, a more in-depth analysis of these modalities could be commissioned as part of a joint programme design. Considerations would include: cost-effectiveness of each modality; ease of administration; effectiveness of governance; potential relevance to gender programming and the theme of the work (e.g. women’s subsistence agriculture; adolescent girls’ vocational training; GRB; etc.)
9 People met

Judy Adoko, Executive Director, Land Equity Movement Uganda
Hudan Addou, Country Representative, UN Women
Ritah Akankwasa, Project Coordinator, MIFUMI
Irene Among, Social Development Advisor, DFID Uganda
Dorothy Kanduhukye Asiimwe, Information and Membership Administrator, Uganda Women Entrepreneurs Association (UWEAL)
Mercy Babirye, Programme Officer, Uganda Women Entrepreneurs Association (UWEAL)
Catherine Barasa, World Bank, Uganda Country Office
Lars Christensen, Head of Programme, Democratic Governance Facility
Robinah Kajwenje, Programme Officer, Voice and Accountability, Democratic Governance Facility
Betty Kasiko, Programme Manager, Uganda Women’s Network (UWONET)
Susan Labwot, Programme Officer, Women and Governance, Uganda Women’s Network
Caroline Kego Laker, Social Development Advisor, Irish Aid
Tina Musuya, Executive Director, Center for Domestic Violence Prevention (CEDOVIP)
Cate Najuma, Economist (Gender Focal Person), DANIDA
Agnes Ndamata, Programme Manager, DFID Uganda
Rachael Waterhouse, Social Development Advisor, DFID Uganda
Joel Wanjeru, Finance Department, Office of the Prime Minister
Robert Waweru, Director Consulting, Deloitte Uganda
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