UNPAID CARE WORK AND WOMEN EMPOWERMENT IN UGANDA: THE CASE OF KAMPALA CITY

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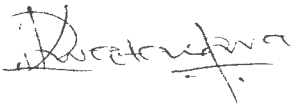
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DECLARATION

I **Rose Kwatampora** hereby declare that this thesis is my original work, has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university, and that the sources I have used have been fully acknowledged by complete references. This thesis is submitted in fulfilment of a PhD in Public Management and Governance at North West University, South Africa.

Signature  **Date:** 15th March 2015

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DEDICATION

“Because you had a dream, I became me”

Dedicated to you Mum

ABSTRACT

Women all over have been stereotypically known to perform unpaid care work tasks that were allocated to them by culture and tradition. This perpetuation of gender stereotypes, resonates with the devaluation theory which under values women and the work they perform. Yet, one of the major aspects of empowerment is the recognition of unpaid care work. Uganda is reported to be at the forefront in women empowerment initiatives. However, despite her efforts, the gaps in the recognition of unpaid care work still persist. This study sought to find the major factors behind the non-recognition of unpaid care work so as to propose a model that informs policy on how best to address the issues of unpaid care work in Uganda. This study used an exploratory research design to explore why government policies on empowerment have failed to recognise unpaid care work in Uganda. The case study of Kampala City was selected to contextualise and to get a comprehensive understanding of the issues of unpaid care work in Uganda. The study which was conducted in the 5 divisions of Kampala City, adopted a non-probability sampling technique and data was collected using document review, in-depth interviews and Focus Group Discussions, all engaging men, women and policy makers. From the study findings, the main factors that affect recognition of unpaid care work in Uganda included the cultural and traditional influences that still prevail in Uganda. Furthermore, decision makers who often times are men have been influenced to undermine the contribution of unpaid care work and therefore, never allocate any resources for its recognition. The women themselves emerged as another factor that has an impact on the recognition of unpaid care work in Uganda. And lastly, politics was found to be one of the factors that affect the recognition of unpaid care work. The study came up with a 3R Categorisation Model which was designed to propose how best unpaid care work can be recognised, reduced and redistributed but also taking into consideration the main players; the men, women and the government. The model emphasises strategies to be customised for the categories of people that affect and are affected by unpaid care work.

Keywords: Unpaid care work, paid labour force, women empowerment, gender.

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LIST OF ACRONYMNS

AAI	Action Aid International
ANC	African National Congress
BPFA	The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women
ECO	Early Childhood Orientation
EOC	Equal Opportunities Committee
EU	European Union
FGD	Focus Group Discussions
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEM	Gender Empowerment Measure
GNP	Gross National Product
GoU	Government of Uganda
GPS	Gender and Productivity Survey
HDR	Human Development Report
IDS	Institute of Development Studies
ILO	International Labour Organization
INSTRAW	International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women
KCCA	Kampala Capital City Authority
LST	Labour Saving Technologies
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MoES	Ministry of Education and Sports
MoFPED	Ministry of Finance, Planning & Economic Development
MoGLSD	Ministry of Gender, Labour & Social Development
NDP	National Development Plan
NGP	National Gender Policy
NRM	National Resistance Movement
NWU	North West University

OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
RoI	Return on Investment
RPF	Rwanda Patriotic Front
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
UBOS	Uganda Bureau of Statistics
UGP	Uganda Gender Policy
UK	United Kingdom
UMI	Uganda Management Institute
UN	United Nations
UNCST	Uganda National Council for Science and Technology
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNRA	Uganda National Roads Authority
UPCW	Unpaid Care Work
URA	Uganda Revenue Authority
USA	United States of America
UWOPA	Uganda Women Parliamentary Association

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1 Orientation to the Study

Historically, the genesis of conflicting work-family relations can be traced to the differentiation of gender roles at home and in the workplace (Antonopoulos, 2008:35). In the past, what was considered as "work" was paid employment, which was predominantly performed by men, while the roles performed within a family setting were left for women. These domestic roles were not regarded as "work" and were considered less prestigious than men's roles (Swiebel, 1999:29). Globally, paid employment included tasks done outside the home and they were accorded some value, while unpaid work constituted tasks within a home, which were normally care-related and were perceived to be solely women's work (Swiebel, 1999:11).

By 1975, this traditional perception had changed in Western Europe and other developed countries because it was seen as resulting from an unjust stereotypical allocation of roles based on gender (Swiebel, 1999:11). This division of work can further be traced to social norms that considered care-giving as a family issue primarily left to the women (Thorpe *et al.*, 2016:6). According to Thorpe *et al.* (2016:16), these social norms also determined the roles of men and women that were culturally acceptable and any attempt to deviate from them was considered 'unnatural'. Therefore, allocation of work, whether paid or unpaid, was based on culture and depended on the gender composition of the household (Swiebel, 1999:1). Unpaid care work mainly included cooking, cleaning, shopping, care of children, the sick, and the elderly (Budlender & Moussié, 2013:10; Chopra, 2015:1; Dong & An, 2015:540).

In a study by Chopra in 2015, it was reported that according to the International Labour Organization (ILO), of the 53 million domestic workers worldwide, 83 per cent are women. This reflects the gender stereotype that perpetuates these jobs as being 'women's work' (Chopra, 2015:1). This responsibility for care giving was hardly recognized, accorded any monetary or economic value, and remains invisible in the national statistics (Budlender & Moussié, 2013:4). This lack of reward points to the fact that women have historically been unconsciously

disempowered by their traditional specialization in unpaid care work (Folbre, 2008:184; Dong & An, 2015:540) while men have remained favoured in paid work. Gender based segregation of duties has increased the gap between the two but it has mostly distressed women (Antonopoulos, 2008:2). Therefore, policy makers need to make decisions that will address these gaps in order to empower women and give them autonomy and promote gender equality (Antonopoulos, 2008:1). This policy shift will require all actors, especially government, to allocate resources for interventions that give recognition for unpaid care work.

Empowerment of women is all about expanding opportunities and supporting them to make choices for their wellbeing from the available options. Such choices may include undertaking paid work, having the power to negotiate their working conditions and remuneration (Deepta & Müller, 2016:2). Deepta and Müller (2016:2) emphasise that women empowerment is a means by which women attain autonomy and self-determination in order to achieve developmental goals through strategies that enable them to get out of poverty. Women empowerment also enables women to take control of their lives, set their own agenda, help each other and make demands on the state for support and on the society itself for change Young (1993), cited in (Rahman, 2013:4).

Despite the demonstrable results that empowerment generates, a number of governments have not done enough to empower women (Duflo, 2012:1052). Duflo adds that women in developing countries still lack autonomy to make decisions and personal choices. In Uganda, for instance, the traditional division of labour manifested even at decision making levels continues to be a barrier to women empowerment, although there are registered efforts being made to address the barriers that prevent women from achieving their full potential (Jones, 2013). When gender disparities are not addressed, it in turn increases gender inequality, which promotes women's marginalization in many nations (Duflo, 2012:1054).

One of the major foundations of gender inequality is the way women and men are expected to spend their time allocated to paid and unpaid work (Duflo, 2012:1059). This perpetuation of gender stereotypes, primarily traced to the perceived unequal worth of women and men (Risman, 2011:34), resonates with the devaluation theory which holds that women are culturally

undervalued and the activities they perform are less important (England/Budig/Folbre, 2002; Kilbourne et al., 1994; England, 1992, cited by Mulvaney, 2013:39). This attitude can be explained by the devaluation theory, which emphasizes that cultural biases limit state support for care work as it is primarily associated with women. This association leads to cognitive errors in which decision makers, influenced by opportunistic behaviours, underestimate the contribution of unpaid care work (England, 2005:382).

According to (Coffey, 2014:35), decision makers should be aware that unpaid care work duties are ideally not free. As women perform unpaid care work tasks, they are left with less time for participation in investment, socialization as well as political related activities compared to men (Coffey, 2014:35; Dong & An, 2015:540). Therefore, women's responsibility for caregiving leads to the violation of their basic human rights to education, political participation, decent work and leisure. This form of violation is confirmed in a study by Budlender and Moussié (2013:9), which emphasizes that unpaid care work equally demands energy and time and failure to recognize its contribution to the wellbeing of its beneficiaries, impacts on their basic human rights and empowerment in general. Decision makers should note that care work provides important resources for the development of human capabilities. Thorpe *et al.* (2016:5) notes that through production of goods and services, unpaid care work provides both social and market support for development.

As a result of this contribution made by unpaid care work to development, it is increasingly becoming an issue of global concern (Evans & Atim, 2011:1438). OECD (2012:10) reports that if the unpaid care work was assigned a monetary value, it would constitute between 10% and 39% of GDP, thereby contributing to economic growth. However, assigning it monetary value alone is not enough; governments should recognize the value of unpaid care work if they are to realize economic growth. The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (BPFA 1995) recognized the gaps in care work, specifically its devaluation, and implored governments to recognize its value, reduce the burden of unpaid care work on women, and encourage a more equitable distribution of unpaid care work between men and women (Dong & An, 2015:541).

Folbre (2006:184) suggests that policies for unpaid care work can be supported by developing costs and rewards. There should be increased recognition of the way unpaid care work supports thriving economies (Duflo, 2012:1053; OECD, 2012:21; Rahman, 2013:2). Some policy makers have proposed debates to recognise unpaid care work, and overhauling institutional structures to promote equality; for instance, encouraging men to participate more actively in family care and public support for such work (Folbre, 2006:184).

Globally, the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) was established in 1979 to explicitly prohibit discrimination against women (Ogato, 2013:362). The Convention states that governments should adopt temporary special measures to correct persistent imbalances in women's access to public life and other areas, with a particular focus on eliminating discrimination in laws and policies and putting in place measures to ensure that women are able to enjoy equality in practice (Madanda *et al.*, 2014:15). Having ratified this and many other treaties, Uganda is at the forefront in implementing gender mainstreaming policies with women movements becoming strong and an affirmative action programme incorporated into the political structure (Warrington, 2013:403). The country has made some strides in addressing gender imbalance through the national gender policy and legal framework, which are aligned with key international and regional commitments that the country has ratified such as CEDAW and BPFA.

The Government of Uganda (GoU) has aligned a range of its policies and actions to these international commitments (Madanda *et al.*, 2014:16). According to Madanda *et al.*, (2014:16), these policies are manifested in the national legislative progress through the enactment of the Employment Act of 2006; the Equal Opportunities Act 2007; the Domestic Violence Act 2010 and the Land Amendment Act 2004, all of which have gender specific provisions. Madanda *et al.*, (2014:16) further observes that the Government of Uganda has adopted various policies to promote gender equality and eliminate discrimination against women. Examples include the National Action Plan on Gender for monitoring the implementation of CEDAW for the period 2007 to 2010 and the Uganda Gender Policy (UGP) of 2007. Through the UGP 2007, the GoU has offered a guide to all ministries, departments and agencies on key priorities of action to

address gender concerns. The aim of the UGP is to guide all levels of planning, resource allocation and implementation of development programmes from a gender perspective.

However, despite these efforts by the GoU to address gender imbalances and align policies with international commitments, gaps still persist. For instance, there is failure to recognize unpaid care work in the national statistics and to develop models that can compensate for the unpaid care work (Madanda *et al*., 2014:16). While the national policies seem to advocate for the importance of women empowerment in Uganda, there is no evidence to affirm that there have been national debates on the recognition of unpaid care work as a way of empowering the women (Coffey 2014:19).

According to the 1992/93 and 2005/06 time use trends in Uganda, women spend 60 per cent of their total working time on unpaid care work, while men spend only 30 per cent on the same (UBOS, 2013a:86). When it comes to married couples, UBOS (2013b:85) reports that the burden of unpaid care work increases as children and husband demand for care from the women. In the UBOS report of 2005/06, women's unpaid care work was reported to have increased by almost an hour when a husband was around and by almost two hours when there were young children in the house (UBOS, 2013:85). To affirm this, statistics reveal that in 2005/06, women spent 7.0 hours more per day doing unpaid care work than men (0.7 hours) with the same marital status. This suggests that married women may have to forego participation in employment-related work to engage in unpaid care work since there are only 24 hours in a day and it may not be possible to do both kinds of work simultaneously (Antonopoulos, 2008:45).

The Uganda Gender and Productivity Survey (GPS) 2008 reveals that 42% of women in the labour force are unpaid family workers receiving no income despite engaging in agricultural labour which contributes the largest proportion of Uganda's Domestic Product (Coffey, 2014:19). Their ability to participate in the labour market is constrained by their higher allocation of time to unpaid care work in the household which leads to their lower earnings, reinforces the established inequalities, and affects their empowerment (UBOS, 2013:87). To address these challenges, traditional structures that oppress women in local communities should be reformed (Ogato, 2013:359).

Scholars such as Cynthia Wood (1997, cited in Swiebel, 1999:8) attribute non-monetisation of care work to male chauvinism especially in the developing economies where decision-making is dominated by sexist males who devalue women and the work they do. This partly explains the Government of Uganda's failure to monetize the value of unpaid care work in the national accounts, which motivated this study to come up with strategies that will increase visibility of unpaid care work and how it may influence women empowerment in Uganda. Much as the devaluation theory assumes low pay for care related work, the theory does not explicitly explain the Ugandan context where care work is largely not recognized in national accounts.

1.2 Problem Statement

Empowerment is important because it brings on board people who were previously left out in the decision making process (Rahman, 2013:2). According to Kabeer, (1999), quoted in Alkire *et al*., (2013:71), empowerment expands people's ability to make strategic life choices, particularly in contexts in which they had been earlier denied those choices. It further involves undoing negative social construction so that individuals, especially women, realize their capacity and right to act and influence decisions (Rahman, 2013:3). Therefore, women empowerment should create opportunities for them to make their own choices, to have access to resources and influence social and economic directions at home and in the wider society (EU, 2016:10). Such choices may include decisions concerning their unpaid care work, which provides critical inputs required for growth and healthy development of families (Bibler & Zuckerman, 2013:2; Marphatia & Moussié, 2013:586).

In an effort to support unpaid care work and women empowerment, and guided by the Platform for Action, the GoU set an agenda for gender equality and advancement of women and to deliver inclusive, equitable and sustainable development through the National Action Plan for women. Government also utilized the Platform for Action to integrate gender perspectives in policies, plans and programmes using the concrete actions of the critical areas of concern spelt out in the Beijing Platform for Action (MoGLSD, 2014:i, 1). Uganda's gender responsive constitution also provides the overall legal framework for the Uganda Gender Policy, which recognizes equality between women and men. It advocates for gender balance and the role of women in society and

also articulates outlawing customs, traditions and practices that undermine the welfare, dignity and interests of women (MoGLSD, 2007:2; Madanda *et al.*, 2014:16).

Madanda *et al*., (2014:22) acknowledge that the GoU has made strides in empowering women and addressing gender inequalities with a number of gender sensitive provisions in the national constitution and key legislations and policies. For example, each district in Uganda has a female Member of Parliament who is elected by adult suffrage; a measure that has put the percentage of women in parliament at over 35 per cent, placing Uganda in the sixteenth position globally in terms of women's political representation (Madanda *et al.*, 2014:15). The Parliament of Uganda has also established an Equal Opportunities Committee (EOC), mandated to monitor and promote measures designed to enhance the equalization of opportunities and improvement in the quality of life and status of all people, especially women (Madanda *et al.*, 2014:22). In line with the UN General Assembly's 2030 agenda for sustainable development, sub-section 5.4 of the Strategic Development Goal (SDG) 5 recognizes and values unpaid care work (EU 2016:16). The GoU, UGP (2007) instructed the Ministry of Finance Planning and Economic Development to monetize the contribution of the care economy in the national accounts (MoGLSD, 2007).

Further to the efforts made by GoU, the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) in partnership with Action Aid International (AAI) developed advocacy strategies to make unpaid care work more visible. These strategies have registered positive impact on women's lives by changing men's attitudes towards unpaid care work and its distribution between men and women (Nesbitt-Ahmed & Malinga Apila, 2015:21). Research has also shown an increase in men's participation in unpaid care work, which has resulted into a convergence in time spent on unpaid care work by women and men (Hook, 2006:640). This gives women an opportunity to participate more in the paid labour force (Scott & Clery, 2013:134).

Despite the efforts espoused by different players such as government, IDS and INSTRAW to support recognition of unpaid care work and women empowerment, the situation seems to remain static (Budlender & Moussié, 2013:8). Budlender and Moussié (2013:8) reports that in Uganda there is no record in the budgeting or implementation process that adheres to government's instruction through MoFPED to recognise and monetise unpaid care work. This is

a reflection of government's failure to change the current status quo (Budlender & Moussié, 2013:8). In addition, policymakers in the MoFPED have not been able to access statistical data, which enables them to assess the impact of unpaid care work on the overall wellbeing of society (Budlender & Moussié, 2013:8). This is consistent with the devaluation theory, which underscores that cultural prejudices have limited government and community support for care work as it is predominantly associated with women (Bigo, 2010:117). These cultural processes which devalue activities associated with women are reflected in political decisions of the state (England, 2005:385)

Unfortunately, the empowerment of women has not yet yielded positive results towards the recognition and monetisation of unpaid care work (Risman, 2011:18). Resulting from the above situations, there have been reduced opportunities for women in developing countries such as Uganda to release themselves from continuously engaging in unpaid work tasks which do not translate into the most productive use of their time (Duflo, 2012:1052). Care work continues to be highly gendered thus reproducing inequality between men and women (Folbre, 2008:376). This deprives women of autonomous income and bargaining power both within the household and in the marketplace (Duflo, 2012:1059)

Women in paid work seem to have abandoned the struggle for the recognition of unpaid care work, and this is frustrating for those that desire to have unpaid care work recognised so that they reduce the burden on those that perform it (Risman, 2011:18). Women who have been empowered have resorted to hiring other persons (such as domestic workers) to perform the unpaid roles on their behalf. This reduces their burden but never addresses the global concerns about recognising unpaid care work (Gupta & Ash, 2008:116). The devaluation of unpaid care work influences decision makers to under-estimate the contribution of women at home and in other organizations (England & Folbre, 2005:382). Care work usually would not attract any pay and where a return is given, evidence suggests that less than expected is provided (England & Folbre, 2005:383; Folbre, 2008:378) yet it requires the same effort, time and risk just as paid work (Bigo, 2010:118). If the challenges of unpaid care work are not addressed, they may result into women's continuous dependence on men with no autonomy to make personal life choices as

well as access to other opportunities such as education or leadership positions that empower them.

Scholars such as Duflo (2014) and Atim and Evans (2011), have done researches on unpaid care work and women empowerment in developing countries, but there have not been matching results in the visibility of unpaid care work in government policies and programmes (Budlender & Moussié, 2013:7). According to Antonopoulos (2008:38), its contribution to development remains outside the scope of national income. Based on this observation, therefore, this study has been motivated by government's failure to recognise unpaid care work and its effect on women empowerment in Uganda. Drawing on concepts in devaluation theory, the study proposes a model that seeks to strengthen institutional reforms in order to promote visibility of unpaid care work in the national economy. The study results will be disseminated to key stakeholders including policy makers and practitioners through a seminar organized and funded by Uganda Management Institute (UMI).

1.3 Research Questions

The study was guided by the following questions:

(a) What can be learned from theoretical and conceptual issues related to unpaid care work and women empowerment in Uganda?
(b) How do historical, cultural and past traditions affect the recognition of unpaid care work and women empowerment in Uganda?
(c) How do opportunistic behaviours influence decision-making in the recognition of unpaid care work in Uganda?
(d) How have the women contributed to the recognition and failure to recognise unpaid care work in Uganda?
(e) What role has politics played in recognition of unpaid care work and empowering women in Uganda?
(f) What model can be developed to recognise unpaid care work in Uganda?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

This study aims to assess the effects of unpaid care work on women empowerment in Uganda. Specifically, the objectives of this study are:

(a) To establish the theoretical and conceptual issues related to unpaid care work and women empowerment in Uganda.
(b) To establish how the historical, cultural and past traditions affect the recognition of unpaid care work and women empowerment in Uganda.
(c) To investigate how opportunistic behaviours influence decision making in the recognition of unpaid care work Uganda.
(d) To find out how women have contributed to the recognition and failure to recognise unpaid care work in Uganda.
(e) To find out the role played by politics in the recognition of unpaid care work and women empowerment in Uganda.
(f) To develop an appropriate model that will recognise unpaid care work in Uganda.

1.5 Research Methodology

This study employed a qualitative research methodology, which guided the researcher to answer the above research questions. Qualitative research is about seeking answers to problems by examining various social settings and groups or individuals who inhabit these settings (Berg & Lune, 2014). The methodology guided the study that sought to explore why government policies on empowerment have failed over time to recognize and monetize unpaid care work in Uganda. In addition, the qualitative approach enabled the researcher to follow an open, flexible and unstructured inquiry in order to get a description and narration of feelings, perceptions and experiences of the respondents (Kothari, 2007).

1.5.1 Research Design

This study used an exploratory research design. Exploratory studies address the "what" and "how" questions (Neuman, 2007:16). They help the researcher to discover and understand components and variations in practical manifestations of a concept (Payne & Payne, 2004:118). The design was, therefore, used to explore how unpaid care work affects women empowerment in Uganda. In addition, this study was guided by exploratory designs because it ventured into a

new area (Creswell & Clark, 2007:33) of unpaid care work and women empowerment where few studies have been conducted in Uganda.

The study used a case study to get a comprehensive understanding of unpaid care work and women empowerment in Uganda (Tellis, 1997:1). Yin (1993), quoted in Tellis (1997:1) confirms that case studies can be used in exploratory research designs. In this study, the case study was helpful in providing a multi-perspective analysis where not only the voice and perspective of the actors was considered but also of the relevant groups of actors and interactions between them (Tellis, 1997:2). Kampala City was used in the case study to contextualize the effects of unpaid care work on women empowerment from the viewpoint of the participants (Tellis, 1997:1).

1.5.2 Population and Sampling

Population refers to all items in any field of inquiry (Kothari, 2004:55). This study targeted 69 respondents comprising 30 women and 30 men all from the 5 City Divisions of Kampala City in Uganda namely: Kawempe, Rubaga, Nakawa, Makindye and Central. And an additional 9 policy makers were interviewed from the three ministries of Education and Sports, Finance Planning and Economic Development and that of Gender Labour and Social Development.

The first category of respondents were women who were perceived to be empowered in areas of education, employment and decision making in the 5 city divisions of Kampala City. This category was chosen because they are beneficiaries of government policies that have empowered women in the areas of education, decision-making and employment in Uganda. A total of 15 women were targeted, 3 from each city division.

The second category included 3 policy makers from each of the 3 government ministries: Gender, Labour & Social Development (MoGLSD); Finance, Planning & Economic Development (MoFPED); and Education and Sports (MoES). MoGLSD was selected because it is mandated to mainstream gender in all sectors of Uganda by setting key priority areas of action at National, sectoral, district and community levels. The MoFPED was selected because it is responsible for monetizing the contribution of the care/domestic economy of women and men's contribution to the national accounts. MoES was also selected because it takes the lead in

providing a framework of implementation and monitoring of a gender sensitive and responsive education system in Uganda (MoES 2012:4).

The third category targeted women who are fully engaged in unpaid care work activities in the 5 city divisions of Kampala City. Three women were considered from each city division making a total of 15. The fourth category comprised 30 men, 6 from each city division who are educated, employed and are decision makers in the 5 city divisions of Kampala City. This fourth category was used to establish the double burden of employment for women who are perceived to be empowered.

1.5.3 Sampling Techniques

This study adopted non-probability sampling which was used to select cases that were used to clarify and provide an in-depth understanding in the phenomena under study (Neuman, 2007:141). Being an exploratory study, a purposive sampling technique was used to select all the four categories of the target groups (Neuman, 2007:142, 143). In addition, respondents who have information about the subject under study were identified to help in gaining a deeper understanding of unpaid care work and women empowerment in Uganda.

1.5.4 Data Collection Strategy

The study used both primary and secondary sources to collect data.

1.5.4.1 Document Review

The study reviewed literature in the area of unpaid care work in Uganda from a historical perspective by exploring traditions and cultural beliefs in the area of study. The study also analysed data by other scholars, as well as reports and existing policies (Neuman, 2007:230). These were used to make comparisons across groups and countries, and to draw conclusions based on different interpretations that have been made by other scholars and policy makers (Walliman, 2011:71). This brought out the traditional and current debates in the area of unpaid care work and women empowerment and was used to triangulate the findings from the primary data to enrich the study (Walliman, 2011:78). This strategy enabled the researcher to collect data on the past traditions and conceptual understandings regarding unpaid care work and women

empowerment in Uganda. Furthermore, the method guided the researcher in identifying models that recognise and monetise unpaid care work that had been successfully implemented elsewhere and could be adopted by the Government of Uganda.

1.5.4.2 Face-to-face interviews

Face-to-face interviews were used to collect data from the respondents using unstructured and open-ended questions. These enabled respondents to freely express their opinions on the concept of unpaid care work and women empowerment in Uganda (Kothari, 2004:99). The researcher considered this data collection method appropriate for a study, which is centred on description and narration of people's feelings, perceptions and experiences. The technique was applied to 15 women who were perceived to be empowered, and they comprised 3 from each of the 5 city divisions of Kampala City. It was also applied to the disempowered women who are fully engaged in unpaid care work activities also comprised 3 from each of the 5 city divisions of Kampala City, and 9 policy makers comprising 3 from each of the 3 target government ministries.

The method enabled the researcher to collect information about past traditions and conceptual understandings with regard to unpaid care work and women empowerment in Uganda. The strategy further enabled the researcher to collect qualitative data on individuals' perceptions of the factors influencing government's failure to recognise and monetise unpaid care work in Uganda. They also gave views on models that recognise unpaid care work, which had been successfully implemented elsewhere and could be adopted by the Government of Uganda.

1.5.4.3 Focus Group Discussions

Five Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) one in each division of Kampala City were deployed to collect data from those men with homogenous attributes like education, employment and decision-making. Each FGD comprised 6 to 8 participants and a standard set of questions were asked to stimulate discussion on unpaid care work and women empowerment in Uganda. A moderator's guide with themes related to the study was used to facilitate the discussion (Berg, 2004:120). FGDs were instrumental in providing checks and balances among participants, which helped to weed out false or extreme views. They were also used to assess men's consistent and

shared views on unpaid care work and women empowerment in Uganda (Flick, 2009:196). The FGD enabled the researcher to collect respondents' perceptions on past traditions and conceptual understandings with regard to unpaid care work and women empowerment in Uganda. The method enabled the researcher to gather respondent's opinions on factors influencing government's failure to recognise and monetise unpaid care work in Uganda and their knowledge about alternative models that could be implemented by the Government of Uganda.

1.5.5 Data Analysis

Using Miles and Huberman's model of three concurrent flows of actions (1994: 10–12), data was analysed through data reduction, display and drawing conclusions. Data reduction entailed coding, clustering and summarizing findings. This process begun during data collection, where responses were processed in order to make them useful. This helped to structure the information while the details were still fresh in the mind of the enumerator and to identify gaps and allow new ideas to develop and challenge any assumptions and biases (Walliman, 2011:132). A standard set of themes prompted the ordering of information (Walliman, 2011:132). Sub-themes were established under each theme to help organize amorphous material and to identify patterns in the data. Any differences in the patterns or categories formed the basis of developing explanations and conclusions.

After data was collected, it was then arranged and categorized into themes in a way that enabled the researcher to determine the relative importance of different factors (Walliman, 2011:137). The data was then displayed using role-ordered displays, which helped to illustrate different expectations and perceptions from the different categories of the respondents (Walliman, 2011:138). Role-ordered displays helped to investigate whether people in the same or different roles were unified in their views. This study ensured standardization of writing of notes to ensure comparability of perspectives of the collected data. Furthermore, the enumerators were trained and the researcher occasionally checked the interview guide for quality assurance and improvement of enumerators' comparability (Flick, 2009:386). The study ensured free narration of feelings by respondents without interruption by the researcher. After collecting data, the researcher then differentiated it and checked for correctness of content, social appropriateness, and judged the sincerity of the presentation made by the interviewee (Flick, 2009:386).

1.6 Ethical Considerations

The researcher sought ethical approval from the ethical committee before proceeding to the field. This was followed by an application for clearance from the Office of the President through the Uganda National Council for Science and Technology (UNCST), which was granted. In line with the ethical guidelines at NWU, the study ensured that all subjects knowingly participated in the study by seeking informed consent in writing at least 24 hours prior to the interview. The researcher kept all consent forms and data collected. The study was conducted in a conducive environment to ensure that respondents were not exposed to any risk associated with participating in social scientific research which could include physical, psychological or social injury (Berg, 2001:56; Neuman, 2007:50).

The study deployed qualified data enumerators who were trained on the objectives of the research, the research instrument and ethical issues in research. Respondents were not coerced to participate in this study and they were informed of their voluntary participation and that they were free to withdraw from the study in case they did not feel comfortable to participate (Berg, 2001:52). In addition, participants were informed about confidentiality, and protection of their privacy; that their details and responses would only be used for the research and could not be disclosed. All the data collected is kept in a management information system stored on a cloud server by use of a username and password that can only accessed by the researcher and supervisor. The details of the respondents are kept under pseudonyms to strengthen the protection of the respondents (Berg, 2001:52).

1.7 Chapter Classification

This section presents an outline of all the chapters in this study. All the empirical chapters in this study are written in article format with each chapter presenting specific literature review on the phenomenon under investigation, specific methods employed for the chapter as well as discussion of findings and conclusion. The chapters include;

Chapter 1: Introduction and Orientation to the study

This study was conducted to explore unpaid care work and women empowerment in Uganda. This chapter presents the overall background to the study. The chapter is further structured into the statement of the problem, objectives and justification of the study.

Chapter 2: Unpaid Care Work and Women Empowerment in Uganda: Conceptual and Theoretical Perspectives

This chapter explores the conceptual and theoretical perspectives on the devaluation of unpaid care work and how it has affected women empowerment in Uganda. The chapter further conceptualises the study and presents a diagrammatic representation of the conceptual framework.

Chapter 3: Unpaid Care Work and Women Empowerment in Uganda: Historical and Contemporary Debates

This chapter presents the historical and contemporary debates on unpaid care work and how they are influencing unpaid care work and women empowerment. The chapter presents empirical findings on the respondents' perceptions on the traditional and contemporary perspective of unpaid care work and women empowerment.

Chapter 4: Opportunistic Behaviours in Critical Decision Making in the recognition of unpaid care work in Uganda

The chapter teases out the key factors that have caused behavioural patterns that are evidenced in critical decision-making regarding recognition of unpaid care work. The chapter presents arguments from scholarly and practitioner literature as well as empirical findings on actions taken by decision makers in allocation of resources towards the recognition of unpaid care work in Uganda.

Chapter 5: The Ironic Manifestation of Women's Role in the recognition of Unpaid Care Work

This chapter tackles the role of women and their efforts towards the recognition of unpaid care work in Uganda. It explores various ways in which women have been responsible for supporting

as well as frustrating the efforts aimed at ensuring that unpaid care work is recognised in Uganda.

Chapter 6: Role of Politics and Unpaid care work in Uganda

The chapter discusses the role of politics in empowering women in a bid to create platforms that facilitate the recognition of unpaid care work. The chapter covers the gender quota system as a political process as well as politics and women in decision making. Empirical findings on the role of politics in recognition of unpaid care in work in Uganda is discussed.

Chapter 7: Evolution of the 3R Categorisation Model Through a Design Thinking Approach

This chapter presents a new model that has been developed out of the study findings. The chapter also gives a diagrammatical presentation of the new model and how the model will be implemented as well as policy implications.

CHAPTER TWO

CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON UNPAID CARE WORK AND WOMEN EMPOWERMENT

2.1 Introduction

In many cultures, women have been placed in a subservient position to men and anything associated with them is considered inferior (Budlender & Moussié, 2013:4). Men have thus enjoyed a superior position in society orchestrated by the patriarchal systems, which have generated a gender-biased social construction of males and females. This stereotype has defined the skills that are valuable, desirable and profitable within a given society and for a long time, many issues associated with women have attracted poor or no value compared to those associated with men (England, 2005:382; Perales, 2013:601). In addition, social cultural constructs have assigned men a higher economic status. Lyonette and Crompton (2014:37) emphasise that this construct proliferates from men's paid roles which are outside the home, compared to women's domestic responsibilities that are not assigned any pay.

Brynin and Perales (2015:163) argue that even when women find paid jobs, they are generally absorbed in poorly paid occupations and often times care-related tasks. This has been attributed to assumptions that women have a lower productivity value compared to men. Something that has denied women, especially in developing countries, opportunities such as financial autonomy, education and decision making, thereby increasing their dependence on men which in turn affects their empowerment (Nesbitt-Ahmed & Malinga Apila, 2015:12; Thorpe *et al.*, 2016:10). It is unfortunate that many women are yet to attain autonomy in making decisions about their life choices (Alkire *et al.*, 2013:71) which have been denied, unrecognized and largely devalued.

This chapter explores the conceptual and theoretical perspectives of unpaid care work and women empowerment. The chapter is structured in the following sections: Section one presents the introduction to the study, while Section two discusses devaluation theory in relation to unpaid care work. the conceptualisation of terms are presented in section three where women empowerment is discussed. Section four presents unpaid care work while section five discusses

the relationship of unpaid care and women empowerment. Section six highlights the methodology for the study. While section seven highlights the conceptual framework of unpaid care work and women empowerment in Uganda with a diagrammatic presentation of the framework.

2.2 Devaluation Theory

The foundation of devaluation theory is the placement of women in an inferior position in society as dictated predominantly by social cultural constructs (Grönlund & Magnusson, 2012:87; Leuze & Strauß, 2016:274). The devaluation paradigm holds that certain tasks are socially and economically depreciated when they are done mostly by women (Ochsenfeld, 2014:3). According to England (2005), cited by Ngomane (2016:50), the "devaluation" framework highlights the cultural biases that exist between men and women in the division of labour and the way they determine the reward for either sexes in performing tasks based on gender differences.

Mulvaney (2013:39) notes that cultural under-valuation of women has crafted the gender division of labour, which explains the wide gender gaps that exist in many communities to-date. The theory assumes that women are culturally devalued and the tasks they perform, such as caring and nurturing are usually undervalued and considered unworthy of recognition or reward, its contribution to wellbeing notwithstanding (England & Folbre, 2005:26; Perales, 2013:602). Devaluation, therefore, emphasizes that traditionally feminine tasks are undervalued because they are associated with women (Grönlund & Magnusson, 2012:87).

The theory further posits that even where care work requires the same skills and efforts like any other job performed by men, it is often times accorded less value simply because it is a women's task (England & Folbre, 2005:26). Cotter *et al.* (2003:20) elucidate that the low rewards for women's work is not based on their occupations but rather on their status composition. Perales (2013:601) postulates the view that higher value is accorded to jobs or occupations typically carried out by men or associated with male-stereotyped skills.

Traditionally, women are seen as a weak sex which limits their assumption of certain roles in society (Cotter *et al.*, 2003:20). As a result of women's physiological and cultural position, they are allocated 'easy work', including domestic work associated with unpaid care work which does not require 'so much energy' and 'effort' to perform. The proponents of this view have used it to justify the devaluation of women's work and thus attaching low or no value to their work (Balme & Bulbeck, 2008:8). This explains the genesis of the traditional male breadwinner/female carer model. Those who subscribe to the male breadwinner model suggest that men are accorded priority to access paid work in the labour market, as the female workplace remains the home and unpaid care work tasks (Appelbaum *et al.*, 2002:122). This divide explains the birth of gender gaps and devaluation of women in the labour market and at home.

However, it should be noted that women have now began to penetrate the labour market and in some cases they are swapping roles with men (Lyonette & Crompton, 2014:24; Kleider, 2015:1). As they take on the new roles, their efforts and work remain low-rated compared to that of their male counterparts. The devaluation theory acknowledges that female-dominated occupations are undervalued due to the biases held about women. Such occupations are characterized by wage penalties comprising low wages, poor working conditions and slow career growth (Perales, 2013:601).

The devaluation theory has also been integrated in the workforce environment where all male-dominated occupations are accorded greater value and are often more highly rewarded than female-dominated occupations. The social structures have assigned 'women's work' a low value. The argument is that occupations designed for women pay lower wages perhaps due to employer discrimination against women as a result of personal or other cognitive biases which compromise women opportunities (Leuze & Strauß, 2016:805). Employers justify their cognitive biases that devalue women by claiming that there is a cultural devaluation of women's work, which assigns women less worth than men (Grönlund & Magnusson, 2012:89).

In addition, cultural devaluation explains that female-dominated occupations generally pay less for both men and women compared to male dominated jobs (Grönlund & Magnusson, 2012:87; Brynin & Perales, 2015:162). This line of reasoning is rather surprising given that devaluation

theory attributes the lower wages in female dominated occupations to social devaluation of women and their work (Grönlund & Magnusson, 2012:90). Workers in female-dominated occupations also have lower earnings and fewer opportunities for career advancement (Grönlund & Magnusson, 2012:87).

Devaluation theory has also been entrenched in the labour norms in society. Proponents of this view argue that tasks that are designed for 'men,' whether in terms of working time or physique, are assumed to represent responsibility and authority to earn higher status. These jobs pay more because they demonstrate some physical masculinity which represents power (Leuze & Strauß, 2016:807). On the other hand, female related work is less valuable because it is linked to family responsibilities and is thus considered less productive. Some debates have centred on prestige as a measure of devaluation (England, 2005:382). For instance, England (2005:382) notes that societies have defined division of labour between men and women with their separate roles and responsibilities. The argument is that the devaluation of women's work is not merely emerging out of ignorance or simple bias but rather from social constructs, which have accorded men positions of power and privilege in society. According to Goldthorpe and Hope (1974) such positions are often times regarded prestigious by the communities with a lot of value accompanying them. It is not surprising therefore that these tasks are predominantly taken on by the men who command a superior position in community.

Soetan (2001:17), notes that policy and decision makers who are pre-dominantly men give attention to areas that are considered valuable to them when drawing government plans and programmes. In due process, devaluation of women influences them in ranking low women's needs for resources, especially in unpaid care related work (Ferrant *et al.*, 2014:1). Devaluation determines so much the fate of women such that even when they work in occupations that have as much prestige as male occupations, female occupations pay less (Grönlund & Magnusson, 2012:90). Other studies, however, have not found any gender differences in occupational prestige (Grönlund & Magnusson, 2012:89).

As women continue to defy the odds and demonstrate that they are able to perform even better in previously male dominated roles, many of them still engage in the low valued unpaid care roles

(Lyonette & Crompton, 2014:23). This results in what is known as a 'double burden of employment' when women juggle life between paid and unpaid care work roles. The devaluation framework thus gives a negative relationship between the share of females in their occupation and wages (Grönlund & Magnusson, 2012:7). The theory emphasises low pay or low value for women's work and hence the reward not being commensurate with the effort. It should, however, be noted that this assumption applies in the context of the developed economies where some recognition and compensation is accorded to women for unpaid care work. In developing countries, care work is generally recognised nor paid for at all. As Cohen and Huffman (2003:443) observe, the tendency to devalue women's work maybe a common practice but it also highly depends on the local beliefs which account for the variations across local areas.

The devaluation theory is critical here because it guides the study in discovering how historical and contemporary factors are shaping unpaid care work. It will also guide the study in assessing the extent to which men in their decision making roles and women at various empowerment levels do affect the recognition of unpaid care work in Uganda. The theory will further guide the study to determine the role of politics in recognition of unpaid care work. The devaluation theory will then guide the study to comprehend how unpaid care work has been constructed and this will develop a foundation for designing an appropriate model that will guide policy on how best it can be recognised, reduced and redistributed (Kamberidou, 2011:7). The theory, therefore, triggers curiosity to understand why care work is not recognised and not rewarded and how this affects the empowerment of women in Uganda. From the literature, it is evident that devaluation theory features several aspects of life in explaining some of the challenges that are affecting women and stifling their empowerment. It is important to understand the status of women empowerment as a precursor to unlocking unpaid care work.

2.3 Women Empowerment

The concept of empowerment has undergone a paradigm shift in its original definition, which denoted women's autonomy (Dyson & Moore, 1983). Other scholars later realized that autonomy was not adequate because it implied independence rather than interdependence (Heckert & Fabic, 2013:322; Malhotra *et al.*, 2015). It also ignored collective decision-making, which is key in giving women autonomy. More comprehensive definitions have been developed,

all aimed at collaborative decision-making (Alkire *et al.*, 2013:71). Rahman (2013:2) observes that individuals are empowered when they are able to maximize the opportunities available to them without any constraints. This expounds the definition of empowerment to encompass not only participation in decision-making but to also include the processes that lead people to perceive themselves as able and entitled to make decisions (Rahman, 2013:2). For Braunstein (2009:12), empowerment also gives women the ability to assert themselves and a voice to make personal life choices.

Economic empowerment of women comprises both the market economy where women participate in the labour market, and the care economy, which sustains and nurtures the market economy (Chopra, 2015:1). This offers a basis why women must be empowered, given that they greatly impact on the levels of development for a number of economies across the world (Ogato, 2013:362). The Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) developed by UNDP denotes that empowerment of women is based on women's participation in economic, political and professional activities (Porter, 2013:5). However, this view contradicts the devaluation theory, which not only exposes the devaluation of women but also emphasises the adverse effects of the devaluation on women empowerment processes (Kamberidou, 2011:7).

The UN World Survey Report reveals that women's active participation in decision-making facilitates the allocation of public resources to investments in human development priorities, including education, health, nutrition, employment, and social protection (Leuze & Strauß, 2016). The World Bank (2011) also reports that women empowerment has contributed to an increase in women's' life expectancy by 20–25 years in developing countries over the past fifty years, compared to that of males which did not improve as much. All these positive reports point to the fact that women empowerment does not only benefit the women alone but the entire economy. However, one of the major aspects of empowerment is the recognition of unpaid care work which is believed to slow down efforts of women empowerment especially in developing countries.

The unequal share of unpaid care work tasks translates into a burden for the women because it requires effort, energy and time to be performed, which represents social investment made by

those that perform the task (Daly & Lewis, 2000:253). This implies that the time women would have spent on economic and social empowering activities like paid work, education, running for political office is reduced (Marphatia & Moussié, 2013:586). Ferrant *et al.* (2014:1) agrees that time being a limited resource needs to be fairly divided between labour and leisure, as well as between paid and unpaid work for both men and women. Therefore, every minute that a woman spends on unpaid care work translates into a minute less than what she could have probably spent on paid work or investing in her education and leisure activities, and this limits her empowerment dream (Ferrant *et al.*, 2014:1).

For instance, Uganda's progress report on unpaid care work activities by Nesbitt-Ahmed and Malinga Apila for the period 2012-2014, indicates that unpaid care work in Uganda had a significant impact on the lives of women and girls which in turn affected their levels of empowerment (Nesbitt-Ahmed & Malinga Apila, 2015:21). This implies that women do more unpaid care work than men and the work volume robs them of empowerment opportunities (Marphatia & Moussié, 2013:586), which has a negative bearing on their wellbeing (Nesbitt-Ahmed & Malinga Apila, 2015:7). This situation violates women's basic human rights to decent work, leisure time, education, political participation and women empowerment as a whole.

2.4 Unpaid care work

The concept of "unpaid care work" includes activities such as cleaning, cooking, child and elderly care (Antonopoulos, 2008:3). Unpaid care work here being the work performed by women in the home, undertaken out of a sense of responsibility for society and the community (Marphatia & Moussié, 2013:586). It further includes the nurturing and caring for personal and family wellbeing to nourish and sustain society (Herd & Meyer, 2002:672; Marphatia & Moussié, 2013:586). Swiebel (1999:2) views unpaid care work as a traditional women's activity in and around the household. It comprises domestic work that is not measured in terms of the valuable contribution it makes.

While the definition of unpaid care work is widely embraced, policy makers are still unable to measure and attach a value to it **(**Kishor and Subaiya 2008), cited by (Wiig, 2013). Although its contribution is not tangible and may not be visible to the decision makers, unpaid care work is

important for people's social well-being (Anker, 1998:224; Antonopoulos, 2008:38). While work should be measured accurately and compensated, this has not been the case with the work performed by women (Soetan, 2001:18; Budlender, 2004:9). Bibler and Zuckerman (2013:2) agree that care work is indeed as essential to the daily life of a family as it is to the health of a national economy. In addition, the drudgery involved allows the nurturing of young children who will mature into responsible adults (Herd & Meyer, 2002:672).

According to the Uganda Bureau of Statistics (UBOS) report (2013), women in Uganda contribute substantially to economic welfare through undertaking large amounts of unpaid care work, which often remains unaccounted for in terms of GDP (UBOS, 2013:87). Hence, there is no motivation for it to be recognised or rewarded. As observed earlier, the differences in reward and recognition of work performed by men and women explains the well-known cultural devaluation of women's work (Cohen & Huffman, 2003:443).

In view of the contribution of care work to economies and society at large, this study aims at finding an explanation as to why unpaid care work is not recognised. Grounded in the devaluation theory, this study will contextualise strategies to guide the recognition of unpaid care work and promote women empowerment in Uganda.

2.5 Unpaid care work and Women empowerment

For women to be empowered, they need opportunities that will raise them into positions of authority and give them financial independence. This can only be possible when their burden of unpaid care work is reduced so that they have more time to engage in paid work (Ferrant *et al.*, 2014:1; Sepúlveda Carmona & Donald, 2014:453). The achievement of women empowerment is among others measured against the level of income which is a function of women's participation in the labour market (Deepta & Müller, 2016:3). However, the entrance into the labour force, which gives them financial opportunities, has been greatly defined basing on gender and is highly discriminatory to women (Deepta & Müller, 2016:3).

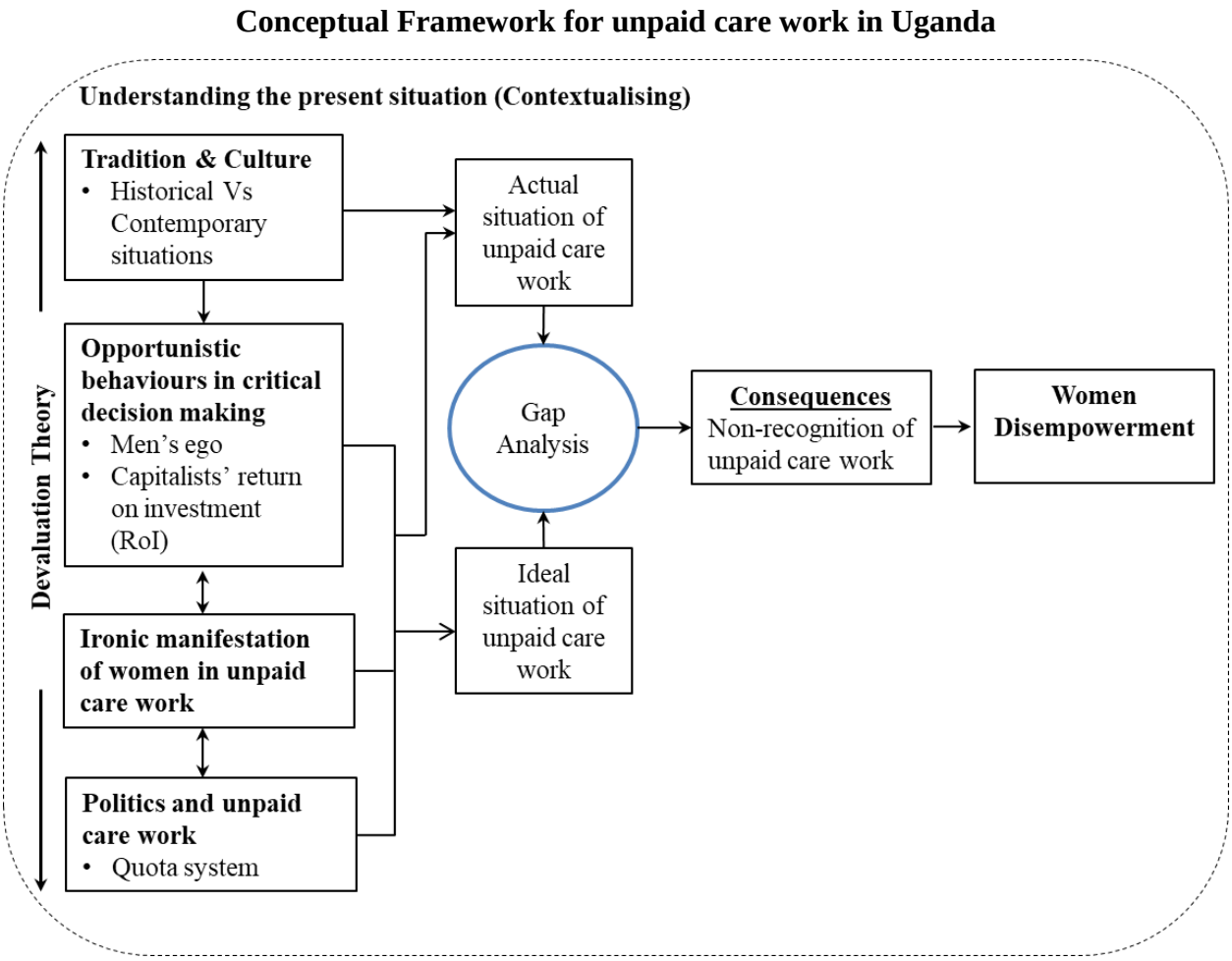
These discriminatory practices that culturally placed women in roles that are of no monetary gain draw one's attention to the fact that empowerment of women has a cultural context (Porter,

2013:2). And as Lyonette and Crompton (2014:23) put it, as long as the 'traditional' assignment of these duties to women endures, it is difficult for women to compete on an equal basis with men in the labour market. Sepúlveda Carmona and Donald (2014:453) point out that in the struggle to combat this practice, it requires putting women at the forefront by engaging them in those roles that attract pay so that they can earn income. According to Porter (2013:2), because of the cultural aspects that manifest in the empowerment of women, it is important that efforts to advance women's concerns be carried out with strict adherence to the cultural and local understanding of the issues at hand. This is clear evidence of the strength of the cultural influences in the empowerment of women. If women's efforts are not recognised, they will remain in a vicious cycle of poverty and vulnerability that hinders gender equality and women empowerment (Deepta & Müller, 2016:2).

2.6 Conceptual Framework unpaid care work and women empowerment in Uganda

The logic of this framework is guided by consideration of the contextual dynamics affecting unpaid care work and subsequently women empowerment in Uganda. The framework was built on the historical and traditional factors that shape the roles and responsibilities between men and women. In addition, the policy and decision-making process as well as the nature of support from the women and the political factors affecting the recognition of unpaid care work, were also considered. Unlike other studies that generalize the factors affecting unpaid care work, this study adopted an exploratory review of literature which focused on unlocking the different groups of people affecting and being affected by unpaid care work.

Figure 2.1 showing conceptual framework for unpaid care work in Uganda



Source: Own illustration (2017)

The framework in figure 1 above illustrates the dynamics influencing unpaid care work and women empowerment in Uganda. The presumption is that the themes identified are critical in designing a model that facilitates the recognition of unpaid care work that consequently will improve women empowerment in Uganda.

Literature denotes that culture and tradition are responsible for the gendered division of labour which has apportioned women predominantly with unpaid care work roles (Badgett & Folbre, 1999:311). These cultural influences are still strong and scholars believe that they continue to prevail in the foreseeable future (Wiig, 2013:106). Culture frames women as subordinate to men

and thus they should remain in domestic roles, with hardly any room for role reversal (Wiig, 2013:106; Deepta & Müller, 2016:4). The study investigated how culture is shaping the recognition of unpaid care work, and whether there's room to re-think the cultural distribution of roles between men and women. It further explored the contemporary debates surrounding the recognition of unpaid care work. While cultural aspects have made popular the prevailing distinctions of roles for unpaid care work tasks between men and women, the framework took into consideration the current gender equity trends in Uganda.

The study also analysed the opportunistic behaviour of male decision makers who are reluctant to recognise unpaid care work and therefore the decisions made do not reflect opportunities for women. Some scholars postulate that men in decision-making positions protect their interests by guarding against being taken over by women. On the other hand, the economists also challenge women to prove that there is return on investment in their demand for recognition of unpaid care work (Williams, 2010:17). Since unpaid care work has been framed as having no value, economists cannot allocate resources to the sector to enable women get out of the brunt of unpaid care work.

It is evident that women are at the forefront of promoting the recognition of unpaid care work and, therefore, which will influence their empowerment. The study examined the effort women put in to transform the perception of unpaid care work among societies. The rationale is that women have generally been promoting gender equality and equity without necessarily unpacking unpaid care work. While some scholars have broadly demonstrated support for women's empowerment, they have not explained to what extent it has contributed to recognition of unpaid care work (Deepta & Müller, 2016:2; Thorpe *et al.*, 2016:9).

Politics is one factor that cannot be ignored when analysing government's failure to recognise unpaid care work in Uganda. The study analysed the role played by politics in the recognition of unpaid care work. The motive behind this, resulted from the efforts by government to empower women for which it has been commended. Since government was popular for women empowerment initiatives, this study sought to find out how much contribution had been realised by the women from these politically motivated initiatives in the recognition of unpaid care work.

The study, therefore, adopts the above themes to explore how they have shaped unpaid care work and women empowerment in Uganda vis-à-vis the ideal situation of unpaid care work. the framework illustrates the gap created once the ideal is not met by the actual situation of unpaid care work which results from the failure by the above themes to give sufficient support for the recognition of unpaid care work, the resultant being disempowerment of women. The findings will be used to develop a model that informs policy on the best strategies that can be adopted for the recognition of unpaid care work so as to empower the women in Uganda.

Given the historical connotations attached to gendered division of labour, the next chapter in-depth explores the cultural and traditional roles in affecting the recognition of unpaid care work in Uganda. The chapter further highlights the contemporary debates around unpaid care work and women empowerment in Uganda and how the debates relate with the cultural and traditional factors that affect unpaid care work.

CHAPTER THREE

HISTORICAL AND CONTEMPORARY DEBATES ON UNPAID CARE WORK AND WOMEN EMPOWERMENT

3.1 Introduction

Historically, culture and tradition have defined expected attributes and behaviour appropriate to women (Kabeer, 2012:9). By defining which behaviours were deemed acceptable or unacceptable in a society, traditionalists greatly influenced gender roles to the extent that they dictated allocation of work between men and women (Ferrant *et al.*, 2014:7). The traditional gender division of labour allocated care tasks to women, which constituted work that was not paid (Hook, 2010:640). The centuries that followed witnessed swapping of roles where men got involved in care activities with domestic work done by the men (Hook, 2010:640; Lyonette & Crompton, 2014:37). Women increasingly entered into paid work (Scott & Clery, 2013:117). Emerging from this trend of events, the traditional gender division of labour has evolved, and attention has now been shifted to unpaid care work as the main concern, especially its recognition and how it is shared in the household.

This chapter explores the historical and contemporary perspectives on unpaid care work and women empowerment. It discusses the traditional and current aspects embedded in unpaid care work. The chapter is divided into 5 sections. The first section provides the introduction to the study followed by section two which presents the historical perspectives of unpaid work. The third section discusses the contemporary debates on unpaid care work and presents some insights in the current thinking with regards to the subject matter. Section four presents the methods used to collect the data and how it was analysed. The fifth section discusses the empirical findings on the cultural and traditional influences on the recognition of unpaid care work, followed by the conclusion for this chapter in the sixth section.

3.2 Unpaid care work and women empowerment: Historical perspectives

Traditional norms widely view unpaid care work as a female birth right (Ferrant *et al.*, 2014:1). Hence, performing unpaid care work is often seen as a "natural" role for women (Antonopoulos,

2008:9). Cultural, traditional and social constructs have structured division of labour by tasking women to perform non-monetary roles that are widely considered less valuable to society (Sepúlveda Carmona & Donald, 2014:443). On the other hand, we noted earlier that men engage in monetary tasks which give them not only higher earnings, but also social prestige and recognition (Sepúlveda Carmona & Donald, 2014:443). Yet, as Marphatia and Moussié (2013:585) put it, all members in a family should be able to make equal contribution towards the work load in ensuring the smooth functioning of the household.

Gender is highly structured by traditional beliefs and practices and in most cultures, being female is associated with care for others (Badgett & Folbre, 1999:311), while working for pay is considered a masculine task (Ferrant *et al.*, 2014:7). These culturally specific roles are occasionally referred to as "doing gender" (Badgett & Folbre, 1999:311). Such constructs of gendered behaviour have created societies where men have far more cultural and economic power to make decisions which disempower the women (Badgett & Folbre, 1999:317). Wiig (2013:106) further agrees that traditional gender roles give men responsibility for tasks, which have an economic value. Traditional roles are associated with cultural taboos against switching gender roles and responsibilities**.**

Traditional and cultural beliefs in gendered division of labour are so solid that attainment of economic empowerment for the women does not imply an end to these traditional gender roles (Deepta & Müller, 2016:4). While women empowerment is concerned with increasing women's autonomy to make personal choices in terms of what they can do given the available options from which to select (Deepta & Müller, 2016:8), cultural and traditional practices, tend to disempower them by restricting their decisions, choices and behaviours (Ferrant *et al.*, 2014:7). Regardless of their socio-economic status, women tend to conform to these cultural norms and expectations of performing domestic roles (Antonopoulos, 2008:3).

The traditional norms and cultural dimensions that are frequently used to explain this gendered division of labour do create strong pressures for differentiation of roles by gender (Badgett & Folbre, 1999:316). This division of gender roles in any culture can create a complementary or competitive relationship between men and women. Until the mid-1970s, many traditions

considered the husband as breadwinner and the wife as homemaker and this programmed social attitudes regarding paid and unpaid care work (Appelbaum *et al.*, 2002:122). The acceptable norm in society was that a male must be the head of the family unit and he must make decisions on how to manage the household (Warren, 2011:4). Therefore, tradition regarded women as peripheral, viewing them mainly as wives and not as producers (Warren, 2011:4). According to Duflo (2012:1059), this view deprives women of autonomous income and bargaining power within the household and the market, hence affecting their empowerment by making them dependants. The belief is that the benefits that accrue to the men in paid work thus would automatically 'trickle down' to the women in the home (Soetan, 2001:18).

Culture and tradition have created stereotypes in society which resist the changes that come along with emerging trends in gendered division of labour. Because of resistance to change, Anker (1998:28) advocates for the need to challenge these stereotypes. However, Badgett and Folbre (1999:318) argue that challenging stereotypes is not easy because where men dominate these stereotypical beliefs, they resist change because they are the major beneficiaries of the traditional division of labour. They also hold the economic and cultural power to defend their beliefs (Badgett & Folbre, 1999:318).

For instance, in Uganda patriarchal patterns and stereotypes are prominent and they limit women's ability to make meaningful life choices such as participation in paid work in addition to land and property ownership that would otherwise have empowered them (Nesbitt-Ahmed & Malinga Apila, 2015:21). Indeed, the country's National Development Plan (NDP) 2010/11 to 2014/15 acknowledges the role that culture and tradition plays in discrimination against women in Uganda and proposes measures to address these traditionally gender-related constraints to development (Nesbitt-Ahmed & Malinga Apila, 2015:6). Discussions on gender labour supply tend to neglect the role of culture on women's ability to enter and remain in paid work, yet culture still plays a big role in women's participation in the labour market (Ferrant *et al.*, 2014:4). It is, therefore, important to note that while discussing issues concerning women's empowerment, one should carefully consider the cultural context and incorporate culturally appropriate information (Heckert & Fabic, 2013:341).

While women and men's opportunities and behaviours are determined as much by cultural and traditional gender roles and beliefs, it has also been proved that these are determined by the conditions of the communities and countries in which they live (Ferrant *et al.*, 2014:7). However, regardless of the country's and communities' perception of women and their functions, women still carry out more domestic chores than men which is a manifestation of the persistence of traditional forms of gendered division of labour (Lyonette & Crompton, 2014:37) (Warren, 2011:5). The entrance of women into the paid work has challenged traditional gender division of labour, with men and women engaged in paid work. Nevertheless, this has not been the case with domestic work where the traditional gender division of labour persists with women predominantly performing unpaid care work.

Daly and Lewis (2000:284) observe that while the traditional gendered division of labour that was a common experience at the end of the nineteenth century is being eroded away, the gendered division of unpaid care work still persists. This could be attributed to the fact that culture and tradition continue to dictate how women should spend their time, with less personal autonomy and minimal influence over their life choices (Kabeer, 2012:9). It would, therefore, be wrong to think that challenging traditional gender roles is anywhere near complete as Scott and Clery (2013:134) suggest.

3.3 Unpaid care work and women empowerment: Contemporary debates

The last three decades have been characterised by a substantial decline in public support for traditional division of gender roles within the home and the workplace (Scott & Clery, 2013:123). Women's participation in paid labour force has been rising since the 1960s (Kleider, 2015:3). Social transformations that took place in the 1960s, including the evolution of gender roles, ushered in an era that has persistently challenged the traditional gender division of labour up to this day (Kleider, 2015:1). Support for the traditional gender division of labour has declined and is likely to decline even more in the future (Scott & Clery, 2013:134). For instance, while in the mid-1980s, close to half of the population in Britain supported a gendered traditional division of roles where men performed productive labour roles and the women remained in unpaid care roles, statistics have shown that thirty years later, only 13 per cent of the people support this gendered separation of roles (Scott & Clery, 2013:119). In a study by Scott and

Clery (2013:122) it was found out that support for traditional division of labour is much more pronounced among older people (those aged 66 years and over) and least popular among the youngest age groups. This may be attributed to changing societal norms and emergence of new generations that are less likely to support traditional beliefs (Scott & Clery, 2013:123). According to Scott and Clery (2013:134), this shift has to a greater extent caused changes in attitudes towards traditional division of labour where more men are now participating in unpaid care work.

According to Hook (2006:640), men and women's unpaid work time is slowly converging, probably because of increases in men's participation in unpaid care work, a change that goes hand in hand with the marked increase in the paid labour force participation of women. In Uganda, the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) in partnership with Action Aid International (AAI) is implementing the Accountable Grant programme focusing on development and implementation of an advocacy strategy to make unpaid care work more visible in public policy (Nesbitt-Ahmed & Malinga Apila, 2015:21). According to Nesbitt-Ahmed and Malinga Apila (2015:21) the programme, which also focuses on the integration of unpaid care work issues into the country's programs, is reported to have made a positive impact on women's lives. The reported impact includes changing men's attitudes towards unpaid care work and a shift in the distribution of unpaid care work where men and women help each other in unpaid care work tasks (Nesbitt-Ahmed & Malinga Apila, 2015:21). This convergence in roles among the men, however, raises questions and contestation of the traditional division of labour (Badgett & Folbre, 1999:318).

In a study by Gershuny and Robinson (1988), it was found that men increased slightly their relative contribution to routine housework, which is predominantly unpaid care work. As reported by Badgett and Folbre (1999:319), sociologists such as Scott Coltrane support the increase in men's participation in unpaid care work activities because it is good for both men and women. Other scholars however have argued that the increase of men's participation in unpaid work has not compensated for women's decline in participation of unpaid care work to strike a balance between the two (Hook, 2006:639). Delaunay (2010:35) agrees that the increase in men's participation in unpaid care work does not automatically imply a reduction in women's

unpaid care work. Where there is a reduction in women's work, it is likely that the unpaid care work tasks are done by a third person, either a hired domestic helper or a family member.

The early 1980s ushered in a considerable shift in women's participation in the labour market (Scott & Clery, 2013:117). Thus, the entrance of women into paid employment is increasingly becoming more acceptable and has, therefore, reinforced the need for a fair distribution of paid and unpaid work between men and women (BenerÍA, 1999:298). The increase in women's participation in the labour force market has, however, not stopped them from participating in the unpaid care work activities, regardless of their educational and financial status (Ferrant *et al.*, 2014:10). Research has shown that the greater engagement of women in the labour market has not been translated into equitable sharing of unpaid work based on gender (Delaunay, 2010:35). This is contrary to the argument that men's participation in unpaid care work translates into increase in women's participation in paid labour force (Hook, 2006:640).

Early research on unpaid care work was more focused on the extent to which tradition allocated labour roles based on gender. This has, however, taken another trend and current studies have focused more on the substantial differences that exist in unpaid care work between countries (Kleider, 2015:1). In the past, unpaid care work was a function of tradition where culture dictated who did what. On the contrary, contemporary developments have moved it to the centre of state policy across nations, thus making it a growing concern for welfare states (Daly & Lewis, 2000:282). While many developing countries have made effort to provide more public support for unpaid care work (Folbre, 2008:374), this has not been the case in East Africa and Uganda in particular. Gender disparities in the division of labour between paid and unpaid work still persist in the country, with men spending more work time in paid employment and women performing most of the unpaid work (Antonopoulos, 2008:2). Research also shows that even where some countries have made efforts to tackle the issue of unpaid care work, the largest share of the burden has remained to fall on women (Ferrant *et al.*, 2014:10).

Since the 1960s, a substantial amount of research has been undertaken on the differences in the socio-economic status between men and women (Antonopoulos, 2008:1). This marked the beginning of an era when a number of international women's movements laid a foundation for

women's participation in paid care work. During the first development decade, women remained invisible with no explicit role envisaged for them other than being housewives and mothers (Soetan, 2001:18). However, in the last two decades, there has been a considerable shift in the visibility of women as a result of social and legal frameworks that have empowered women (Heckert & Fabic, 2013:330). During this era, various players including governments and women's groups have contributed significantly to this effort (BenerÍA, 1999:287). In the long run unpaid care work has been given increased attention (Swiebel, 1999:1). For instance, the four United Nations world conferences on women held since 1975 have been so influential in getting the topic of unpaid care work considered under the United Nations agendas and subsequent action plans (BenerÍA, 1999:287).

Emerging from the First World Conference on Women held in Nairobi in 1985, the United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW) and the Statistical Office of the United Nations Secretariat, took the lead in the promotion of recognition of unpaid care work (BenerÍA, 1999:294). Ten years later in 1995, the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action emphasised the need to address issues of unequal distribution of paid and unpaid work between men and women, if gender equality was to be achieved. This was a positive step towards addressing issues of unpaid care work, but not much progress has been registered since that time (Sepúlveda Carmona & Donald, 2014:442). Governments across the world, including Uganda, continue to pay less attention to issues of unpaid care work as laid out in the post-Beijing policy agenda. It is surprising that some global agendas continue to disempower women by use of tradition and culture as their defensive shield. Such agendas restrict women's choices and decisions thus creating more gaps between men and women (Pyle & Ward, 2003:466).

Gender and development practitioners have rigorously pushed for recognition of unpaid care work at the international scene via several global debates (Sepúlveda Carmona & Donald, 2014:454). For instance, goal number 5 of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) focuses on gender equality, women's empowerment and women's rights, as well as the inclusion of gender concerns into other key development goals. This goal focuses on key aspects of women empowerment such as recognition of unpaid care work and the progress made in understanding

and accepting its concerns (Deepta & Müller, 2016:7). Sepúlveda Carmona and Donald (2014:454) add that the success of these efforts remains subjective but of importance is the main objective which is to secure a substantive recognition of unpaid care work in the post-2015 SDGs. Some developing countries have made efforts to align with goal 5 by providing more public support to reform the provision of unpaid care services performed by women (Folbre, 2008:374). Uganda, notwithstanding some progress it has achieved, has not supported any concerns about women's unpaid care work perhaps due to the strong patriarchal beliefs that exist (Nesbitt-Ahmed & Malinga Apila, 2015:21). However, the country has recently been selected to benefit from the Accountable Grant programme that seeks to make unpaid care work more visible in public policy and national agenda (Nesbitt-Ahmed & Malinga Apila, 2015:21).

Addressing gender inequalities in Uganda emerged in 1997 when the first country's National Gender Policy (NGP) was legally approved (Nesbitt-Ahmed & Malinga Apila, 2015:6). The policy then gave a legitimate point of reference for addressing gender inequalities at all levels of government and by all stakeholders (Nesbitt-Ahmed & Malinga Apila, 2015:6). Since that time, Uganda has endeavoured to develop a number of strategies that promote gender equality and women empowerment. While there still exists notable gaps especially in the recognition of unpaid care work, there is evidence that the Government of Uganda has made some progress towards achievement of gender equality which may draw towards addressing some of the issues of unpaid care work (Nesbitt-Ahmed & Malinga Apila, 2015:21). In July 2013, an international capacity-building workshop was held in Kampala, Uganda's capital city, with the aim of making unpaid care work more visible in Uganda. This workshop specifically pushed for development of strategies meant to encourage the government to make women's unpaid care work more visible and to take on greater responsibilities for care provision (Nesbitt-Ahmed & Malinga Apila, 2015:13).

All the steps by the Uganda government are indeed in conformity with the argument that a broader conception of economic empowerment must go beyond labour force participation and take into account the care economy (Deepta & Müller, 2016:8). The failure of social institutions to support women's autonomy and decision making in the homes, greatly limits efforts towards women empowerment socially and economically (Deepta & Müller, 2016:2). According to

Kabeer (2012:9), where governments have played their role and provided the required support, such strategies have given women the ability to promote their own agendas. This, to some extent, has translated into change within cultural and gender norms. As Pyle and Ward (2003:466) put it, such combined global efforts indeed undermine existing social constructions of gender in order to create a balance in division of labour between men and women.

3.4 Methodology

Being an exploratory study, the research adopted a qualitative approach targeting key actors affected or that affect unpaid care work in Uganda (Neuman, 2007:16). The study conducted an exploratory review of literature, focus group discussions and in-depth interviews to collect data. The study reviewed scholarly articles and practitioner reports to assess different debates on the historical and contemporary perceptions of unpaid care work (Neuman, 2007:16). In-depth interviews were also carried out with both empowered and disempowered women to gather insights on their perceptions on the cultural versus the current trends towards recognition of unpaid care work (Kothari, 2004). The interviews were conducted to boost the existing literature. Five focus group discussions were conducted with groups of 6-7 men each from the 5 divisions of Kampala City to gather their understanding of the cultural and current status of unpaid care work and how it affects women (Flick, 2009:196). Data was analysed to identify emerging themes and examine the influence of culture and contemporary dimensions of unpaid work. Conventional and summative content analyses were used to generate meaning from the data collected (Walliman, 2011).

3.5 Discussion of findings

The chapter sought to investigate how culture and tradition influence the recognition of unpaid care work Uganda. In addition, the chapter discussed the contemporary debates that surround the recognition of unpaid care work. This section presents empirical findings from the data collected.

3.5.1 Cultural Perspectives

During the Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) held, it was clear that men just as women still hold cultural beliefs when it comes to how unpaid care work should be shared in a home. In one FGD consisting of men, there were mixed reactions about the cultural division of labour in a home.

The majority of men strongly believed that it is culture that dictates the division of labour in a home. In support of this, one respondent said:

> In my own society, men are supposed to sit under trees and discuss the issues of security but not to engage in any other domestic activities. So division of labour is out.

This view reveals that the role of men in society is to engage in what they perceive to be more important community discussions where decisions are made, while women are engaged in domestic duties. These findings relate to what Kabeer (2012:9) and Ferrant *et al.* (2014:7) found out about how culture and tradition defined behaviours across society. These scholars' findings concur with those of Hook (2006:640); Scott and Clery (2013:117); Lyonette and Crompton (2014:37) who agree that the traditional gender division of labour is responsible for the allocation of tasks between men and women.

In another discussion, a respondent in an FGD added:

> Culture has dictated the percentage of work each should do in some areas. Sharing comes in with gardening, building of houses, raiding cattle, cattle rearing. However, about 80% of the house chores are done by women.

In the findings it is clearly stated that 80% of the house chores are done by women, meaning that the other 20% is for the men which is an indication that the roles in a home were defined according to gender and a bigger proportion of unpaid care work fell on the women. The study findings further reveal that the percentage of work one was supposed to do and the individual roles were clearly defined. These findings are in agreement with those of Sepúlveda Carmona and Donald (2014:443) who observe that cultural, traditional and social constructs have structured division of labour by tasking women to perform most of the domestic roles. These findings do not differ from those of Marphatia and Moussié (2013), Badgett and Folbre (1999:311) and Ferrant *et al.* (2014:7) who found out that gendered structures are defined by

traditional beliefs and practices. The cultural influences in the division of labour based on gender was an issue of debate and kept on appearing in the discussions. Another respondent observed:

> Culturally, work roles are well defined and so a woman does most of the house work. My wife does a lot of work, that is, wakes up early, fetches water, does house work, gardening, and cooking. As village men, we do less. For sure, much of the domestic work is taken on by my wife. She works 24 hours a day.

The respondent brings out the reality about the burden felt by women in terms of time and effort when performing unpaid care work tasks. It is also evident that the men seem to understand that their wives spend a lot of time performing the tasks and also that the efforts involved are appreciated. However, the statement also points to the fact that because culture has shaped it that way, then men and women should be comfortable with the status. Antonopoulos (2008:3) notes that regardless of their socio-economic status, women tend to conform to these cultural norms in a way that they spend a biggest part of their day and effort engrossed in unpaid care work tasks. The findings agree with Wiig (2013:106) who observes that it is the traditional gender roles that are responsible for giving women tasks involving mainly care for the household.

The in-depth interviews that targeted women showed that, just like the men, women agree that the division of labour in a home is highly dictated by the cultural constructs. In this category, both empowered and disempowered women agreed that right from their childhood to their marital homes, culture determined which tasks they performed. According to them unpaid care work roles cannot be shifted to men because of their cultural orientation. The majority of the empowered women who were interviewed mentioned the role their paternal aunts played in instructing them on which roles they took on as young girls and later on as married wives. They emphasised how these trainings by the aunts were crucial in giving them the comfort to do unpaid care work with no complaints. While they accept the cultural division of work, the respondents also felt that to some extent culture has been unfair to women because of the way it promotes their dependence on men for everything they need just because they do not earn any income.

The discoveries made by Anker (1998:28) do confirm the findings above that culture strengthens the stereotypes created which cause resistance to role swapping. Anker further proposes the need to challenge these stereotypes in order to promote the recognition of unpaid care work. Badgett and Folbre (1999:318) caution that challenging the stereotypes is not easy as the scholars and findings do recommend. The fact that men are in charge of the decisions and yet they are the beneficiaries of the traditional division of labour, makes it hard for women to attempt anything directed to change of status. Badgett and Folbre (1999:323) add that men have benefitted a lot from this unfair distribution of roles through their patriarchal power influenced by culture. Badgett and Folbre (1999:316) do observe that the traditional norms and cultural dimensions that are frequently used to explain this gendered division of labour do create strong pressures for differentiation of roles.

During the in-depth interviews with women, some of them confirmed that the issue of women in unpaid care work has a cultural element that cannot be ignored. According to them it is the responsibility of the wife to take care of her home and she should not expect any reward for that. One woman said that as a way of routine, culture demands that care work is for the woman while the man provides her with financial support. In an interview with a disempowered woman, the respondent confirmed that at no time has the husband ever attempted to engage in unpaid care work roles. The woman said: "Everyone does what they are supposed to do. I do the house work chores and he does the office work. Rare are the times he participates especially when home."

This response obviously portrays that roles are defined according to gender and each does what they are supposed to do. Badgett and Folbre (1999:311) and Ferrant *et al.* (2014:7) found out that gender is highly structured by traditional beliefs and practices and in most cultures, being female is associated with care for others. These culturally specified roles present themselves as complementary or competitive relationship between men and women.

While one would expect women (especially the empowered ones) to contest the state of affairs dictated by tradition, on the contrary, these women believe that it does not matter how much money they earn, care work roles are their responsibility. The majority of these women reported

that regardless of their empowerment levels, after the day's work, they gladly go and engage in unpaid care work tasks in their homes. One of the respondents said:

> Even if I were the bread winner, duty at home will always come as my main responsibility. My husband only came in when the babies were young, he would come in and say he washes the nappies but even after, he would request me to hang them on the wire to dry. He also came in during school visitations, sickness, and taking children back to school and paying impromptu visits.

Some women were uncomfortable with letting their spouses engage in housework. However, many empowered women have delegated most of the unpaid care work tasks to paid domestic workers or relatives in the home instead of allowing their spouses to do the work. Some women who were interviewed confessed to having maids who support in housework but they do not permit their husbands to do the work. This indicates that any efforts to share responsibilities of housework in a home may not be welcomed by the men and women themselves.

It is likely that this delegation of unpaid care work is the rationale behind the comfort that the empowered women have with unpaid care work tasks as opposed to the disempowered women who are full time house carers. Only a small section of empowered women believed that men should have a share in the care work, specifically on child care. Women thought that if their husbands engage in childcare, it would give them psychological satisfaction, promote family bonding as well as express their love.

3.5.2 Contemporary Perspectives

The contemporary times have ushered in a new era of division of labour. The literature reviewed brought out the fact that the entrance of women into the paid work may be perceived as a challenge to the traditional gender division of labour where both men and women engage in paid work (Daly & Lewis, 2000:284). However, this has not been the case when it came to domestic work. Women's entry into the paid labour force has not been consistent with men's participation in unpaid care work roles.

Kabeer (2012:9); Scott and Clery (2013:134) attribute such manifestations to the fact that culture and tradition still dominate men and women's decisions to spend time on unpaid care work roles. During the interviews, however, it was discovered that some men were ready to differ from tradition and were willing to participate in unpaid care work roles within a home. From these discussions it was evident that men's attitudes towards supporting their wives in unpaid care work was changing. In one FGD, men came up with responses that depicted a new era of men's involvement in unpaid care work roles in a home. Below are some of the points that were raised;

> Depending on time, we can both do domestic work. There are moments when as a man I do not go to work, I can stay home and assist in housework, like cooking and washing clothes. And I do this willingly. We help each other. Culture and tradition does not affect our way of attending to our family and all it encompasses. And in fact it is fading away because of change.

While another one also said:

> As for me I have no problem with the cultural constraints. Things are changing and so today culture should not put rules that deter certain aspects of life to happen the way they are happening.

This was confirmed by another respondent who said:

> As for me, I see that the society has changed and so we must come in and help women. This is because of the conservative mind. As a generation let us fight it now, let us change society if we are to help the women. Let this change start with us such that the next generation is set for it and besides education and sensitisation should be key

Another discussant from the FGD added:

> Biblically, for me who is married, we became one and so if I get what needs to be done I do it. If there is something I should do, I do it. For example, sweeping, cleaning, and bathing the children, among others. If my wife is not home she can find everything done.

The revelation from the interviews with men is that some of them are willing to assist women in their domestic activities, and this is an indication of change of traditional perceptions. Research by Nesbitt-Ahmed and Malinga Apila (2015:21) in Uganda revealed a change in men's perception over engaging in unpaid care work. There were reports by women about their husbands who help with unpaid care work tasks in a home. However, findings by Hook (2006:639); Delaunay (2010:35) reveal that the increase in men's participation in unpaid care work is not an automatic reduction of women in unpaid care work. According to the researchers, any reduction in women's work is likely to result from engagement of a third party to help in the work.

Studies show that men are changing their attitude towards unpaid care work. (Gershuny & Robinson, 1988) found out that men increased their involvement in routine house chores and unpaid care work.

One man from the FGD observed:

> What I mean is that what has been defined by society should not be taken as the gospel truth in terms of definition of roles as by sex; in fact, what one can, let one get involved in the case of the husband and wife.

This respondent confirmed that he occasionally engaged in house work in order to reduce the workload for his wife and allow her to rest or attend to other areas of her life. Another respondent from the FGD narrated that he actually participates in unpaid care work but he is more comfortable doing it when the doors and windows are closed so that no one sees him do the work. This implies that while some men are willing to share unpaid care work with their wives, they are conscious of the cultural stereotypes associated with men doing domestic work. In such

circumstances, men may not hold public debates in support of addressing issues of unpaid care work for fear of being perceived by others as being inferior or culturally weak. Such men who hold high positions as policy makers and implementers are likely to remain silent while making national programmes that address the concerns of women regarding unpaid care work in Uganda.

3.6 Summary

We have noted that care work is a social good and an essential activity for maintaining society and the functioning of a community. The debates point to the fact that the relationship between unpaid care work and women empowerment activities should be promoted through economic empowerment initiatives. The debates further show unpaid care as a substantial proportion of the work carried out by women, with many inefficient tasks limiting productivity and possibility of their empowerment. Thus, unpaid care work is a significant factor affecting the functioning of women empowerment and the degree to which benefits can be realized from women empowerment activities.

Literature has shown the strength of culture and tradition in defining roles of men and women. Tradition allocated men work that was perceived to be productive and would attract rewards. Women were considered home carers by nature, and hence culture allocated them more home based care tasks like cooking, cleaning, caring for the sick and the elderly, which would attract no rewards. Culture and tradition perceived women as being inferior to men, which led to devaluation of their work. The traditional gender division of labour created inequalities between men and women, which gave men powerful positions in communities. In some cultures, it was seen as taboo for women to take on productive and paid work.

However, findings have also indicated that women movements have played a key role in advancing women's interests. Women's movements have advanced women's issues through the push for empowerment. Empowerment gives women autonomy to make decisions over their life choices and hence bridge the inequality gap that has been created by culture and tradition. Through international organisations such as the UN, a number of international conferences have exposed the plight of women and way the issue of unpaid care work has affected development goals.

While it was against culture and tradition for men and women to swap roles, research has shown that following the decade when unpaid care work was brought to the attention of the world, there has been a shift in allocation of roles. Men have started participating in domestic chores and women have entered into the labour market to engage in paid work. This shift, therefore, means that women are getting empowered and hence their wellbeing is improving.

However, findings also show that the increase of men's participation in unpaid care work has not reduced the women's burden of unpaid care work. Women continue to perform unpaid care work tasks regardless of their economic, political and social status in society. Worse still, women reproduce inequalities by transferring the excess load to their young daughters and other family members, which limits them from accessing education, health and other empowerment opportunities. In Uganda, there have been some progress towards raising awareness about issues of unpaid care work and the need to address challenges caused by it. While the government seems to have documented evidence on the concern of unpaid care work, policy and government programmes are silent on implementation of international agendas on unpaid care work.

The findings from literature and empirical data all point to the fact that culture and tradition continue to influence men and women's attitudes towards unpaid care work. While efforts are being made to empower women, culture and tradition seems to be pulling them back to domestic work. This has had an influence on women's responses towards unpaid care work regardless of their empowerment levels. The debates provide a lot of information on unpaid care work and women empowerment but they do not provide enough information on solutions, and modelling interventions to address the traditional, cultural and social impact of unpaid care work on women empowerment. It is important to note that formulation of policies that address the concerns highlighted in this chapter calls for decision making that is objective and cognisant of how culture and tradition can hamper the empowerment of women in Uganda. Decision makers should be able to allocate resources that reduce the burden of unpaid care work to empower the Ugandan women. The next chapter explores how decision making can promote or frustrate the recognition of unpaid care work in Uganda.

CHAPTER FOUR

OPPORTUNISTIC BEHAVIOUR IN CRITICAL DECISION MAKING IN THE RECOGNITION OF UNPAID CARE WORK IN UGANDA

4.1 Introduction

Decisions and how they are made are to a great extent responsible for the challenges posed by unpaid care work and how it affects women empowerment. The structural differences between the economic positions of men and women account for their engagement in paid or unpaid care work and subsequent placement in positions of authority (Himmelweit, 2002:50). It is important that decision-makers become aware of the importance of unpaid work and have it included as a regular component on government agenda (Fälth & Blackden, 2009:7). The social and economic contribution of unpaid care work makes it quite unique and therefore, calls for both social and economic reforms towards recognition of unpaid care work (Daly & Lewis, 2000:254).

Considering the huge benefits of unpaid care work to society and economies it is shocking that these benefits notwithstanding, the positive results, have not been matched with the decisions made for the nation by the men holding the positions of authority (Razavi, 2007:382). Yet it is feared that if unpaid care work is not accorded the due recognition as a result of inappropriate decisions taken, the givers of this care work can choose to indirectly withhold it, which will impact on the development of economies (Razavi, 2007:381). For both women and men, a day has only 24 hours. Yet women spend a disproportionate part of their time on unpaid care work which denies them an opportunity to participate in other 'valued' economic activities (Herd & Meyer, 2002:670) and instead continue to keep them engaged in unpaid care work (Antonopoulos, 2008:41).

In line with the devaluation theory, traditionally unpaid care work is undervalued solely because it is performed by women with no skills and who are also seen to be of no value (Budlender, 2004:7). Indeed, little has changed in this respect because the understanding by decision makers most of whom are men in high positions, is that women and the work they do is of no value and can only be considered valuable when they take on paid work (Lewis, 2002:332). The failure to

recognise unpaid care work translates into an impediment towards achievement of women empowerment in form of enjoyment of their economic and social rights (Ferrant *et al.*, 2014:1; Sepúlveda Carmona & Donald, 2014:453). This demarcation between men and women influences decisions and therefore decides on how resources are shared between the two. Daly and Lewis (2000:260) add that the concern for gender equity and the recognition of unpaid care work are dictated by societal values accorded to men and women and in turn inform resource allocation.

Unpaid care work should be looked at from a global perspective because the need for care services is in itself universally demanded (Williams, 2010:17). Care should not be seen as an activity which is limited to women just because they perform it but rather for all and therefore be valued as a social good which then gives a basis for development of policies that will recognise unpaid care work (Williams, 2010:17). Notably, by making invisible contributions to the rest of the economy that go unrecognized (Antonopoulos, 2008:2) unpaid care work supports households and societies' wealth. One can easily conclude that in performing unpaid care work activities, women globally connect economies and society (Daly & Lewis, 2000:251) and yet they are perceived as of no value.

According to Swiebel, (1999:8), The 1995 Human Development Report, testified to the substantial contribution to economies made by women through performing unpaid care work tasks. The report highlights that unpaid care work accounts for 72% of GNP in Australia, 53% in Germany and 45% in Finland and concludes that 'if these unpaid activities were treated as market transactions at the then prevailing wages, they would yield huge monetary valuations estimated at $11 trillion of the world's non-monetized contribution made by women (Swiebel, 1999:8). In Switzerland for instance if unpaid care work was to be monetised, it would constitute 40% of Swiss GDP and 63% of Indian GDP for India (Ferrant *et al.*, 2014:12). In Uganda, it is estimated that women spend 60% of their efforts on unpaid care work with tremendous contribution to economic growth yet their efforts often remain unseen and unaccounted for in the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (UBOS, 2013:87). Based on these figures, Countries universally have an important role to play by developing policies that recognise the contribution of women through the tasks they perform in unpaid care work (Scott & Clery, 2013:134). It is therefore

incumbent upon all States to have as a priority concern to recognise the contribution of unpaid care work in their economies (Sepúlveda Carmona & Donald, 2014:447).

The 2014 United Nations Commission on the Status of Women recommended all countries to 'recognize and value unpaid care work for the achievement of women's empowerment (Sepúlveda Carmona & Donald, 2014:454). It is unfortunate though that decision makers in some countries especially the sub Saharan region have not adhered to this UN recommendation (Sepúlveda Carmona & Donald, 2014:444). Some scholars have argued that this could be attributed to the fact that men have been favoured to participate in spheres of influence with male dominance of greater access to decision making positions (Marphatia & Moussié, 2013:586) and yet they intentionally ignore consideration for women and their work. Men's tendency of drawing inappropriate conclusions about women's wellbeing leads them to making ineffective decisions that affect recognition of unpaid care work (Ferrant *et al.*, 2014:1). They make decisions that are intended to meet objectives that are to their own benefit and not to the women (Himmelweit, 2002:50).

In this chapter, decision making has been conceptualised to involve the allocation of government resources to respective areas with an aim of social and/or economic growth. Decision makers have a crucial role to play when allocating resources guided by a number of tools including government policies. There is an objective for every decision taken by government. Therefore, decision makers have to take into consideration the objective of an intervention as guided by the policy and then decide on how to allocate the resources with an aim of achieving that particular objective. This chapter interchangeably refers to policies and allocation of resources as guiding factors in decision making concerning unpaid care work and women empowerment.

Opportunistic behaviour has been conceptualised as an act in decision making which influences decision makers in the allocation of resources for both social and economic reasons. When making decisions, those in high positions usually do so based on a number of factors all with an aim of maximising benefits from the decisions they make. This chapter brings out these opportunistic tendencies that are based on the men's ego and the capitalists' need for return on investment. Ego being conceptualised as the 'self' character common among the men, is most

evident in making decisions mostly on social policies. The chapter highlights the tendencies by men to make decisions that are ego-driven which creates behaviours in decision making that favour them at the expense of women and unpaid care work in particular. On the other hand, the opportunistic behaviours are also exhibited when economists take decisions on resource allocation with an intention of making economic sense in every aspect of their decisions. The behaviours in these economists are biased towards the 'return on investment' approach. The issue for them is how much gain is realised from a particular area where resources are allocated. They must see economic value from the decisions taken and it is for this reason that they have been referred to as capitalists in this chapter. In both cases, for social or economic reasons, unpaid care work deserves to be recognised because of its contributions that accrue to both society and economies. This chapter teases out how the two behavioural tendencies have affected decision making in recognition of unpaid care work.

This chapter has been subdivided into sections that bring out the introduction; the Ego in Critical Decision Making which highlights decision making based on social factors mainly where men are driven by the ego in allocating resources for unpaid care work activities. The chapter also includes the capitalistic point of view in decision making which highlights how decisions are made based on economic perspectives focusing on 'return on investment'. The chapter then gives the methodology before presenting the empirical findings on the subject under discussion and ends with a conclusion.

4.2 Opportunistic Behaviour in Critical Decision Making: The Ego

Decision making has for a while been based on gender and therefore the behavioural pattern of decision makers is evidenced on how resources are allocated between men and women. Society has overtime determined this allocation of roles where men have been placed in leadership roles and women left in inferior positions mainly dominated with unpaid care work tasks which are not recognised (Budlender & Moussié, 2013:4). Right from their early years of life, men as young boys are groomed to be at the top and privileged house heads who are courageous while the women as young girls are modelled to be humble, respective and fully submissive to the men with a character that go all-out to be inferior to the men (Ngomane, 2016:50). This traditional division of labour based on gender continues to keep women in disadvantaged positions since the

time they spend on unpaid care work activities restricts them from participating in other activities that earn them some money (Herd & Meyer, 2002:670; Bibler & Zuckerman, 2013:4).

In many societies especially in Sub Saharan countries, women and men's opportunities are determined as much by social institutions as well as traditional gender roles and beliefs, which shape their decisions and behaviours (Ferrant *et al.*, 2014:7). At the centre of it, this gendered division of labour has created a distinction in taking on roles for women and men where women's domain has remained around unpaid care work roles (Budlender, 2004:6) while the men have been favoured to be in top positions of influence with greater access to socio economic and decision making positions (Marphatia & Moussié, 2013:586).

The elevation of men in top positions has created a strong ego in them with a desire to maintain the status quo (Sepúlveda Carmona & Donald, 2014:444). It is contended that ego driven decisions to a large extent purportedly affect recognition of unpaid care work (Sepúlveda Carmona & Donald, 2014:447). The women's access to such higher level position remains a matter of heated debates with men devaluing the women as a weak sex who in many aspects deserve to conservatively perform unskilled and easy work which remains invisible (Macdonald & Merrill, 2002:72). While research has proven that women can be good leaders, men are usually preferred over the women because men evaluate women as ineffective leaders (Ryan & Haslam, 2005:81).

The stereotypic argument on the ability of occupying high decision making positions based on gender therefore falls much more in favour of the men than women (Eagly & Johannesen- Schmidt, 2001:785). This confirms the fact that women continue to be stereotypically threatened by invisible obstacles from getting into decision making positions while men continue to be favoured to rise to high positions (Ryan & Haslam, 2005:81). Yet if they were to be given an opportunity, women would ensure equity in their struggle for recognition of unpaid care work and therefore make it more visible in the public circle (Wyndow *et al.*, 2013:37). There is need therefore to emphasise the integration of women in decision making to be able to push for the recognition of unpaid care work (Razavi, 2007:383).

Research has shown how placement of women in top positions can yield tangible positive outcomes that influence decision making in favour of the women (Bauer, 2012:376). A case in point is that of the Uganda Women Parliamentary Association (UWOPA) which is regarded as a highly organised and most active parliamentary caucus in the Ugandan Parliament which has effectively advocated for women friendly decisions in the legislative body (Tripp, 2004:4; Devlin & Elgie, 2008:239; Wang, 2013:114). And since women are the main providers of care, it is crucial that decision makers consider the women by placing them in positions with a platform to raise their concerns to their own advantage and probably be able to strike a balance with the men (Saraceno & Keck, 2011:385). This will give the men in decision making position an appreciation of the impact of their decisions which negatively affect the achievement of goals if not well designed (Himmelweit, 2002:51).

The unequal distribution of unpaid care work is evident and manifests itself when it comes to share of power between women and men. This share of power plays a crucial role as a determinant of whether or not to recognise unpaid care work. One then can conclude that the failure to recognise unpaid care work is as a result of shared cultural beliefs and social gender constructions (Knijn & Kremer, 1997:330). Discriminatory gender stereotypes have a general belief that the women should be restricted to home tasks and that of the men is in the labour market and therefore accords the men high status in positions of authority that make decisions (Sepúlveda Carmona & Donald, 2014:447). Apparently men in their decision making continue to devalue care work because it is performed by women who are customarily a marginalised group that lacks economic and social power and are of low status (Macdonald & Merrill, 2002:72).

The men have been modelled to believe as a normal practise that the women's workstation is at home and that performing unpaid care work roles should not be an issue of concern for them (Ngomane, 2016:46). They seem to enjoy this state of affairs which raises the status of men and reduces that of the women making them reliant on men and limiting the women's autonomy (Sepúlveda Carmona & Donald, 2014:443). Yet it is important that both men and women equally have a voice in decision making with the ability to make their claims in setting the policy agenda and have a say in the allocation of government resources (Williams, 2010:15). While women have, for a while argued against this dependence on men, the nature of choices women and men

face, greatly depends on the extent to which decisions taken by men address the issue of unpaid care work (Lewis & Giullari, 2005:78). Surprisingly, it is possible to recognise unpaid care work (Jenson, 1997:183), however because it is carried out by women, and in resonance with the devaluation theory it therefore remains unrecognised by the men who are decision makers which in turn affects women empowerment (Bibler & Zuckerman, 2013:4).

In most organisations, men hold the top hierarchy positions of authority and as people with managerial power they make decisions on behalf of the women who remain engaged in inferior domestic roles (Grybaite, 2006:89). The men's ego is responsible for the devaluation of women and the work they do with a tendency to use their positions to undermine the interests of women (Oliker, 2011:972). When making decisions, men tend to expand their capabilities and choices and therefore confine women to traditional roles so that they remain on top (Ferrant *et al.*, 2014:1). By using their positions, men then decide on how to allocate resources in favour of their traditional positions in society at the cost of women's contribution in society. For instance in Northern Kenya when women collectively made requests for modalities that could reduce on their unpaid care work burdens, the men in the community right away opposed the women's proposals (Budlender & Moussié, 2013:27).

Such communities should be aware of the fact that since majority of women engage in unpaid care work activities, the failure by men to recognise unpaid care work creates massive challenges for them, which negatively impacts on their wellbeing (Nesbitt-Ahmed & Malinga Apila, 2015:7). This set of circumstances is alarming because the fact that there is almost zero support for any gender role reversal implies that the recognition of unpaid care work by men in high decision making positions is far from being achieved (Scott & Clery, 2013:134). In other cases, women are only allocated resources depending on how they associate with men and their culturally constituted positions in the community (Heckert & Fabic, 2013:330). A friendly association with the men may convince them to support the women's agenda or the reverse being true. It is reported that the passing of laws that favour women in Uganda, resulted from women Parliamentarians' strategy of recruiting male allies in their caucus which has improved their relationship and therefore gotten the men to support their agendas in parliament (Tripp, 2004:2; Devlin & Elgie, 2008:246; Budlender & Moussié, 2013:27; Wang, 2013:115).

Men continue to protect their interests by keeping women far from getting to where they are. Men will always frustrate any efforts that are likely to raise women to a status where men and women are at the same level. Like Heckert & Fabic, (2013:330) put it, the traditional strategic positioning of men being on top, has deliberately influenced them not to support women's financial and social freedom so that the prevailing power forces which favour men are not interfered with. While many feminists have, for a while argued against this and promoted women's independence, the nature of the choices women and men face greatly depends on the extent to which policies address the issue of unpaid care work (Lewis & Giullari, 2005:78).

The deliberate refusal to support women can be attributed to many other factors, including the fear for women rising in positions and therefore limiting the men's spheres of influence and reign as the women may not be that easy to rule, the challenges of women's dependence on men notwithstanding (Razavi, 2007:381). The men's devaluation of women is hinged on the school of thought which purports that the recognition of unpaid care work does not in any way address the challenges of women nor does it increase their negotiation position. That it instead further downgrades the women leaving them with no control over the resources they need and hence increases their dependence on men (Knijn & Kremer, 1997:329; BenerÍA, 1999:300; Hegewisch & Gornick, 2011:130). Such a dogma poses some contestations because the recognition of unpaid care work is considered critical in reversing the challenges created by ego driven decisions.

Men tend to think about 'self'and thus ignore the broader picture when making decisions on gender and unpaid care work. This is substantiated by the disparity between countries in the degree of development resulting from ineffective decisions taken which has positioned care work as inferior on government agenda (Lewis & Giullari, 2005:77; Hegewisch & Gornick, 2011:121). The men in developing countries consider women non-productive which calls for contextualised approaches in decision making to recognise unpaid care work (Razavi, 2007:382). By recognising unpaid care work, policies must ensure that women just as men benefit from interventions and such policies must 'accommodate' unpaid care work, failure of which negatively affects women empowerment (Herd & Meyer, 2002:679; Macdonald & Merrill, 2002:73). Men need to be aware that they are therefore accountable for their government's level

of development as a result of such decisions. When making decisions, men should in addition to recognising unpaid care work, also consider it valuable to social wellbeing and growth at large. According to Daly & Lewis (2005:236), recognition of unpaid care work in isolation is not enough, if it's not accorded the value it deserves. There is need not only to recognise unpaid care work as a good but also make decisions that embrace its value.

4.3 Critical Decision making from the Capitalist point of view

The capitalists present a different dimension which influences their decision making towards the recognition and monetisation of unpaid care work. When making decisions, the capitalists' intentions are based on economic considerations and therefore the allocation of resources in decision making is prioritised in relation to economic goals and not the big picture of the policy outcomes (Daly & Lewis, 2000:263; Lewis & Giullari, 2005:78; Lewis & Campbell, 2007:372). In addition, capitalists have a tendency to prioritise areas for resource allocation based on return on investment and yet these so-called "priority" expenditures pose big challenges on societies (Ortiz & Cummins, 2013:59). While the issue of return on investment could be agreeable to some extent, the economists ignore the social benefits of unpaid care work and how their decisions therefore could affect society.

Decision makers must be aware of the fact that though unpaid care work is not a physical commodity in the market, it is not free either because it has a cost in form of human efforts, space, equipment, facilities, which makes it not different for any other economic good which is of value (Antonopoulos, 2008:41). It makes more sense if decision makers focus on the fundamental concern for what value unpaid care work is for society (Anker, 1998:224). Or else policy makers in such positions will not focus on such unvalued care work after all they can't maximise the returns on investment from unpaid care work activities (Ferrant *et al.*, 2014:6). The capitalists will prioritise policies and interventions for activities which uphold economic development and growth (Lewis & Giullari, 2005:82) and according to them because unpaid care work activities have no economic value, they fall outside the priority boundaries, and cannot be allocated resources which are always in scarcity (Swiebel, 1999:9). This creates unequal distribution of resources between men and women and in this case, women remain disadvantaged in economic terms as compared to men (Grybaite, 2006:89).

If they are to invest in unpaid care work, economists have challenged the women to provide a convincing economic argument as to why the government should inject so much in it and how returns will be realised in the end (Williams, 2010:17). Such decision makers should be aware of the invisible contributions made by unpaid care work towards economic development where by its recognition greatly contributes to economic growth of states (Ngomane, 2016:45). Ngomane (2016:45) adds that unpaid care work makes huge contributions to economies which remain invisible and ignored by the capitalists because its considered to be a "women thing" - a behaviour by capitalists intended to benefit men more than the women (Ngomane, 2016:47).

Studies show that men are more valued than women and that the work they do is apportioned a bigger share of national income and is economically recognised (Fälth & Blackden, 2009:1). They premise their argument around the fact that because men engage in work that is valued and therefore make resourceful contributions in the home, they should therefore not be engaged in house work but leave it for the women and if women wish to have their unpaid care work recognised then they should become 'more like men' and take up paid work, (Lyonette & Crompton, 2014:24). It is important for capitalists to understand that unpaid care work is more of a universal commodity which in one way or another involves everyone given the fact that both men and women are either givers or receivers of the benefits that accrue from unpaid care work activities and therefore should bind them all regardless of gender and positions of authority (Williams, 2010:17). Maybe they need to borrow from the 'capabilities approach' to development and attempt to answer the simple questions which seek to bring out the bigger picture of people's abilities especially the women and what they desire to be so as to propose strategies that give them every available opportunities (Porter, 2013:2). Once capitalists are able to know that each single individual whether man or woman has potential to do something of value and desires to be in better positions like elevating women in positions of authority, then resource allocation will be fairer for all.

The perception of economic analysts is that if unpaid care work is to be considered, it should have similar parameters like those of paid work. They propose that unpaid care work should have tangible and easily recognised benefits that have significant contributions to national statistics (Jenson, 1997:194; Budlender, 2004:21). Capitalists aim at minimisation of costs and

maximisation of benefits, the proponents of this belief choose to ignore unpaid care work because its recognition would require a huge modification for its inclusion in national statistics (Lewis, 2002:350). Such huge modifications also call for huge government resources which are often scanty thus restraining the decision making processes (Lewis, 2002:350).

The capitalists also premise their failure to recognise unpaid care work on the limited access to comprehensive statistics on women's engagement in non-productive sectors like 'unpaid care work' and their contribution to economic growth (Soetan, 2001:18; Budlender, 2004:9). According to them, without the statistics, there is a big challenge of attaching a financial value on unpaid care tasks (Soetan, 2001; Budlender, 2004) which complicates its recognition (Ngomane, 2016:48). They argue that they rely on sex disaggregated data when making decisions and allocating resources, which data is not readily available and therefore affects the outcome of the decisions made for unpaid care work (Budlender, 2004:16; Tacoli, 2012:30). Yet other scholars believe it does not requires accurate statistics to come up with a fairer valuation of unpaid care work and argue that it actually would be uneconomic and a waste of resources to collect such accurate data that the economists seem to claim to lack for their decision making in recognition of unpaid care work (Anker, 1998:224).

The non-monetary measurements of unpaid care work activities which are typically unremunerated usually do not attract attention of the capitalist decision makers (Budlender, 2004:35; Tacoli, 2012:5). Yet for capitalists, the focus is mainly on goods with returns on investment and not unpaid care work which has no place when considerations are made for resource allocation (Razavi, 2007:380). A number of scholars have argued that in most economies, decision makers consider unpaid care work activities as inferior and unproductive and are never computed when measuring GDP (Knijn & Kremer, 1997:350; Budlender & Moussié, 2013:4). The failure by economists to attach value to unpaid care work limits the chances for it to be recognised (Williams, 2010:16; Ferrant *et al.*, 2014:1; Sepúlveda Carmona & Donald, 2014:12). While it is true that there is need for comprehensive data for economists to compute unpaid care work, it is also important for the economists to change their perceptions towards unpaid care work and the need to value women's economic contribution through their unpaid care work (Budlender & Moussié, 2013:29). Once economists eventually can change

their perceptions and see the value of unpaid care work, this will facilitate their decision making in regard to recognition and monetisation of unpaid care work (Budlender, 2004:38).

It is evident that when making decisions, it is critical to consider both economic and social benefits of unpaid care work. It is unfortunate though that capitalists for long have raised debates and argued that unpaid care work activities are in fact secondary (Budlender & Moussié, 2013:26) to the goals of economic policy. Regardless of these arguments, it is important to note that when adopted, care-related policies have an impact on the economic as much as they do on social aspects (Lewis & Campbell, 2007:369) which is often ignored (Budlender & Moussié, 2013:6) by decision makers who solely want to see returns on investment (Daly & Lewis, 2000:269). It is therefore important to note that when making decisions, those in authority should be concerned with both the social and economic investment of unpaid care workers that is necessary to sustain wellbeing and growth (Lewis & Giullari, 2005:80; Budlender & Moussié, 2013:9). This will make visible the value of unpaid care work and also prompt the decision makers to make it a priority on their agenda (Ferrant *et al.*, 2014:12).

When women perform unpaid care work, it should be considered as a form of social capital (Daly & Lewis, 2000:253) or in other terms 'self-investment' on behalf of those who receive it. Just like other investments, this form of social or self-investment deserves recognition by decision makers as a way of compensation (Macdonald & Merrill, 2002:67; Budlender, 2004:38). The social capital and self-investment through performing unpaid care work has impact both on social welfare and economic growth which are invisible returns on investment and therefore should be recognised by capitalists when making decisions (Sepúlveda Carmona & Donald, 2014:444). Capitalists should be cognisant of the fact that unpaid care work impacts on the quantitative and qualitative rates of economic development (Razavi, 2007:379) and therefore its value should be considered in terms of the social sacrifice by those that perform it (Saraceno & Keck, 2011:372). Failure of which should be known that capitalists are responsible for the economic exploitation of women arising from their decisions that seem to favour the men who are more into paid work than the women (Ngomane, 2016:46). Arguments for the economic value of unpaid care should provide a sound economic debate to convince capitalists therefore to

make decisions that recognise the contribution of unpaid care work in the economic aspects (Williams, 2010:17).

The literature review has presented the different thoughts and stance that influence decision making on recognition and monetization of unpaid care work. While literature particularly highlights the challenges that have affected the recognition of unpaid care work from an economic and social policy perspective, it has not provided adequate information on appropriate efforts to incorporate unpaid care work into the national economies for developing countries like Uganda.

4.4 Methodology

This chapter adopted an exploratory design to discover the opportunistic behaviours in decision making for unpaid care work (Neuman 2007:16). A qualitative approach was used to get an in-depth understanding of the perceptions, expressions and attitudes of women and men in the decision making process. The data collection methods used included document review, focus group discussions and In-depth interviews. The study conducted an in-depth review of literature from both academic journals and practitioner reports and presentations (Neuman 2007:16). The review focused on understanding the different debates on the subject matter and facilitated the identification of gaps in literature, which guided the study and illuminated solutions to the research problem. Focus Group Discussions (FGD) were used to augment the literature. The FGDs targeted groups of 6-7 men to discuss their perception on government contributions and decision making process and how it affects unpaid care work (Flick, 2009:196). The FGDs were also complemented by in-depth interviews which targeted the women as well as policy makers. The interviews sought to gather opinions from women and policy makers (Kothari, 2004), to compare them with the views and opinions generated from the FGDs. The analysis of data commenced after data collection and was followed by content analysis which categorized, coded and developed themes for this chapter.

4.5 Discussion of findings

This chapter aimed investigate how opportunistic behaviours influence decision making in the recognition of unpaid care work in Uganda. The empirical findings in this section are presented in line with the literature reviewed.

4.5.1 Findings from the Egoistic point of view

From the interviews conducted with the decision makers and the women, it came out that men still take lead in decision making in Uganda. According to one respondent interviewed in the category of the women who are fully engaged in unpaid care work, the men have remained superior to the women. According to her, the men still are the 'bosses' and still occupy the high offices of decision making while the women have remained at the bottom.

In another interview with a woman in the same category, the respondent felt that the men did not recognise the value of women. This according to the respondent could be the reason why men continue to ignore unpaid care work in decision making. A number of women interviewed felt that men seemed not to understand the plight of women in regard to unpaid care work burdens. Women insist that for men to appreciate the women's burden of unpaid care work, they must appreciate its value. Some women felt that some husbands and their bosses at work needed to know women and what they go through when managing both paid and unpaid work.

During the interview, one woman wished if she could be understood as a wife and a mother and what roles she had to accomplish in her position as a woman, then those around her would be a little considerate with her. This concurs with the response the policy maker made in an interview when he said that it was important that women be understood especially by their bosses if unpaid care work is to be recognised. What is drawn from this is that it takes one to understand the plight of women in unpaid care work so as to appreciate the need to recognise and reduce the burden of unpaid care work. When asked on how they perceived the burden of unpaid care work that women carry and how best they thought women would be rewarded for the work they do, one man in a FGD said;

> Compensate a woman? For what? Oh no (with a lot of surprised facial gesture). Was it a contract made for us to stay together? If so, then I would rather employ her as a house help but not take her as a wife if I have to compensate for her time in domestic work.

This response highlights the fact that men do not understand the burden women carry when they perform unpaid care work. Some men believe that women should not claim any recognition or reward for that matter in exchange for performing unpaid care work tasks. Women did not emphatically ask for much. Some just needed attention and appreciation which did not necessarily have to be direct cash. One woman in the interviews said;

> The form of support I would need is first in form of being understood by my husband and also by my bosses at work. For sure I cannot stay away for long because my children need my attention in their school work, health and others. I need to socialise with them.

To support this response, similar perceptions were echoed by other men in the FGD when they brought out ways of supporting women without necessarily compensating for unpaid care work to include loving, respecting and caring for their wives and also allowing them to make decisions in the home.

The findings from the interview stated above imply that men need to be aware that they are therefore accountable for their decisions and they need to be considerate for the women's valuable contributions to social wellbeing and growth (Ngomane, 2016:45). The findings from the interview sessions with policy makers do link with those of Sepúlveda Carmona and Donald (2014:447) who discovered that men hold discriminatory gender stereotypes that restrict women to home tasks and the men in positions of authority. This also concurs with Macdonald & Merrill's (2002:72) findings which revealed that men indeed devalue women and the work they perform which limits possibilities of being given priority in resource allocation. The same findings do not divert much from those of Saraceno and Keck (2011:385) who emphasised that women being the primary givers of care, deserve to be recognised and to be given an opportunity

to access leadership positions where they too can raise their concerns to their own advantage so as to strike a balance with the men.

Ngomane (2016:45) also agrees with the previous researchers that indeed women are undervalued so much that even their contributions which are considered to be a "women thing" are never appreciated. This was reflected in the interviews when one respondent was asked why decision makers do not appreciate the recognition of unpaid care work and the response was;

"If decisions in support of unpaid care work are to be passed, this would be against the men...whatever belongs to men, belongs to them"

The above statement alludes to the fact that majority of men as beings, are self-centered. They attach no value to women and only look at them as engines to accomplish their interests. The findings from the interviews held affirm what literature brought out that men have been modelled to believe as normal for women to perform unpaid care work roles and that it should not be an issue of concern for the men. From the interviews held indeed men believe that issues of unpaid care work should not be points of discussion since they are meaningless. According to them, women do not deserve recognition and autonomy of any sort.

Ngomane (2016:46)'s findings seem to concur with those of Sepúlveda Carmona and Donald (2014:443) who found out that men seem to enjoy the state of affairs where women remain in unpaid care work with no voice and are reliant on men. Budlender and Moussié (2013:27) also in their findings confirm that men enjoy the superiority over women and use their positions to decide on how to allocate resources based on their traditional positions in society at the expense of women's empowerment. This backup the previous researchers' findings when they cite a case in Northern Kenya where women's collective requests on reducing unpaid care work burdens for them was met with a lot of resistance by the men. One decision maker during the interviews had this to say;

> Men are laughing and saying…there are more important things to do in terms of social services than unpaid care work...at one time we proposed

> setting up of a nursery for the young babies for our staff, the men rubbished the idea and preferred to use that space as parking for their cars instead of a home for the babies.

Such cynical responses from the men are a true reflection of men's self-centeredness and how they are less bothered about women affairs. There is a deliberate refusal in decision making among men to support women which may be attributed to many other factors like the fear to see women rise in status which in turn challenges the men's reign over women (Razavi, 2007). Heckert & Fabic (2013:330) agree with Razavi that the traditional positioning of men on top, deliberately stops them from supporting women's autonomy and rather maintain the traditional power forces which favour men. They continue to protect their interests by keeping women far from getting to where they are and always frustrate any efforts that are likely to raise women to a status where men and women are at the same level.

There have been cases however where men have supported women in their fight for empowerment and recognition of unpaid care work. In one interview held with a decision maker, it was found that in the recent past, men seem to have changed their perceptions towards unpaid care work. The respondent had this to say;

> These days when we are discussing issues pertaining to the women, we have received a lot of support from our male counterparts which was never the case before.

This has been supported by Heckert & Fabic (2013:330)'s findings which concur with the above that once women have developed a good relationship with men in decision making, men start supporting women's agenda and also make decisions that favour the women's cause for empowerment. A friendly association with the men may convince them to support the women's agenda or the reverse being true.

4.5.2 Findings from the Capitalists point of view

The study findings reveal that the benefits for development that accrue to a nation from unpaid care work tasks are never reflected anywhere and therefore unpaid care work itself is never among the issues to be prioritised at any one point in decision making. Decision makers ignore it because the assumption is that it is part of the naturalistic tasks for women and thus seen as of unconcern. This analysis is in agreement with the devaluation theory which devalues women and the work they perform (Budlender, 2004:7). Women's contribution can only be considered valuable when they take on paid work. On the other hand, it is unsympathetic that care should be seen as an activity which is limited for women thus justifying its devaluation. This was confirmed from the interviews held where one decision maker reported that it is the feeling of decision makers that unpaid care work does not contribute to development. The respondent said that unpaid care work was considered a weak topic and not viable for discussion for national development.

Decision makers should have an open eye and look at unpaid car work as one which benefits all in its context as a social good. This will perhaps form a basis for development of policies that will recognise unpaid care work. In a separate interview one policy maker said;

> The economists in their planning sessions focus on the development of the economy yet they leave out some sectors like unpaid care work. They believe that unpaid care work is not easy to internalise as a development issue.

According to the findings above, it is evident that currently, unpaid care work is not considered as a sector that requires the attention it deserves but rather a task to be performed by women in part and cannot be quantified for planning purposes. The given analysis agrees to the findings as presented by Lewis and Giullari (2005:78); Lewis and Campbell (2007:372) who found that when making decisions, the capitalists' intentions are based on economic considerations and therefore the allocation of resources in decision making is prioritised in relation to economic value. Conspicuously, by making visible the contributions of unpaid care work, its contributions

to national development will be appreciated and will clearly lead to equal allocation of resources between paid work and unpaid care work.

It is evident that the belief of economists is so much on return investment and therefore they claim that because the returns on unpaid care work are unmeasurable, they find it hard to monetise and recognise its contribution. Ortiz and Cummins (2013:59) supported this when it was reported that capitalists will only allocate resources to areas where they can measure the returns on what has been invested. Lewis and Giullari (2005:82); Ferrant *et al.* (2014:6) also agree just as Lewis and Giullari (2005:82) that the capitalists ignore unpaid care work because it does not fit in those areas of prioritisation for activities which uphold economic development and growth when planning for policies and interventions. What came out during the interviews was that unlike egoistic effects in decision making which apply to men, the case of economists was different. Both male and female economists make decisions under the same spirit of value for money. To confirm this, the respondent said;

> At a time when we presented an issue of equity in the budgeting process of Uganda, shockingly both women and men economists came up in arms against us.

The revelations from the interview session indicate that at a particular moment when it comes to returns on investments, it does not matter of what gender the decision maker is. Even female economists will not advance causes for unpaid care work as long as it does not directly reflect returns to what has been invested in it. All these observations concur with Budlender (2004:35); Tacoli (2012:5) who also argue that unpaid care work activities which are typically unremunerated cannot be considered for resource allocation by capitalist decision makers since they cannot trace returns on investment. This therefore is in agreement with Knijn and Kremer (1997:350) and Budlender and Moussié (2013:4) who reported that in most economies, decision makers never consider unpaid care work activities when measuring GDP because of lack of a figure to attach to the activities under unpaid care work. A decision maker who was interviewed also concurred when the respondent mentioned that;

> How to evaluate unpaid care work is still a challenge and that is why it is not recognised by decision makers……. Policy makers are now thinking of redistribution of unpaid care work instead of compensation of unpaid care work.

From the observation made by the interviewed policy maker, it is clear that all parties especially in decision making must have a thorough understanding of unpaid care work for them to be able to make good decisions on how to recognise and attach a value to it. Like Soetan (2001:18) and Budlender (2004:9) put it, decision makers lack statistics to guide them when evaluating the value of unpaid care work which is also in agreement with Ngomane (2016:48) and Tacoli (2012:30)'s findings. According to reseacrchers, there is need to develop clear parameters for the computation and measurement of the value attached to unpaid care work. This should be in a comprehensive way that captures data right from the home which can be used to build on a macro data base to which economists can refer when computing the value of unpaid care work which according to Anker (1998:224) is uneconomic and a wastage of government resources. Less of this, the contributions of unpaid care work will remain invisible and will never be considered for computation of GDP.

From the above response from the interview, economists are contemplating on redistribution of unpaid care work roles which essentially would mean that the work is shared equally between men and women. From the interviews held, it was found that while the economists could be proposing some good strategy, the men on the other hand hold a different opinion. During the interviews with the policy makers, one respondent said that a man can't sit down and do work of a woman.

The above statement alludes to the fact that men are ego-centric and they only think of themselves as the only ones who are worthwhile and therefore they cannot be equated to women. Men believe that it is only their work which is valuable and therefore they cannot reduce themselves to performing work meant for the women. This analysis is in agreement with Daly and Lewis (2000:253)'s call for economists and men to wear a lens that considers the social capital invested by women when they perform unpaid care work roles. Macdonald and Merrill

(2002:67); Budlender (2004:38) add that it is important for men in decision making positions to appreciate this self-investment that women make. This will address the challenge of men devaluing women's work and will also make them appreciate the redistribution proposal raised as a way of recognising unpaid care work. Once the appreciation has not been made, redistribution and any other way of addressing unpaid care work related challenges will never be achieved.

Sepúlveda Carmona and Donald (2014:444) task economists to consider the invisible returns on investment by unpaid care work roles and hence give it a value to ensure that both women and men are given an equal chance to make work life choices without bias. As Ngomane (2016:46) put it, the failure to do this, translates into economic exploitation of women arising from decisions that seem to favour the men who are more into paid work more than the women.

4.6 Summary

Decision making for recognition of unpaid care work should be more concerned with the benefits and limit influences caused by opportunistic behaviours when making decisions for the society as well as economies. For decades, there have been efforts towards monetisation and recognition of unpaid care work by decision makers though there are no registered achievements in getting the value incorporated into national statistics which could be deliberate resistance by men as a result of their indifference and ignorance (Anker, 1998:224). The contributions of unpaid care work are invisible when decision making is driven by the men's ego and capitalists' tendencies to maximise returns.

There is need for both men and women to look beyond these two when tackling issues of unpaid care work and women empowerment in Uganda. This therefore calls for all stakeholders to push for changes in decision making and be able to challenge the status quo and divert from the misconception that women were designed for unpaid care work which remains unrecognised (Sepúlveda Carmona & Donald, 2014:453). But as long as they still have a blind spot for unpaid care work, the unseen effects of unpaid care work on society and our economies will always remain (Swiebel, 1999:28). This will in the end affect all parties after all the effects of inefficient

decisions equally impact on end beneficiaries as much as the decision makers themselves (Pavalko & Henderson, 2006:362).

Some scholars argue that neither theory nor practice alone can create a genuine change in the status quo as far as unpaid care work is concerned. According to them, just recognising unpaid care work may not necessarily change the men's perception on equal share of resources but it is important to advocate for those in power to recognise unpaid care work as an essential and valued contribution to society with a holistic approach to women empowerment (Kabeer, 2012:7; Marphatia & Moussié, 2013:592). In conclusion, decision makers have a crucial role to play when allocating resources guided by a number of tools including government policies. There is an objective for every decision taken by government. Therefore, decision makers have to take into consideration the objective of an intervention as guided by the policy and then decide on how to allocate the resources with an aim of achieving that particular objective.

As decision makers make effort to recognise unpaid care work, the main beneficiaries in this case being the women themselves should be ready to embrace the efforts resulting from the decision making processes. This includes the women themselves to get up in arms and support each other through the given opportunities by the state. The women in high decision making offices should ideally use their positions to support fellow women as they work towards ensuring that the issue of unpaid care work is addressed and women are relieved of the burden that results from unrecognition of unpaid care work. The next chapter highlights the role of women in the recognition of unpaid care work and empowerment of women in Uganda.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE IRONIC MANIFESTATION OF WOMEN'S ROLE IN THE RECOGNITION OF UNPAID CARE WORK

5.1 Introduction

Globally, women have made efforts to improve their visibility through advocating for empowerment and recognition of their pains resulting from unpaid care work tasks. Radhakrishnan and Solari (2015:787) trace the genesis of advancement of women's interests, which attracted international attention from prominent global institutions as far back as the 1970s. Scholars note that thirty years later, women have continued to make efforts to promote their agenda and fight for their empowerment all over the world (Scott & Clery, 2013:115). Since the 1970s, the concept of women empowerment has come to the limelight and women movements continue to seek more support from international institutions like the World Bank, the UN and others to recognise women's agenda at the national and international scenes (Radhakrishnan & Solari, 2015:787). These efforts by the female activists have exposed what tradition had for long taken for granted as a woman's responsibility.

During the twenty first century, a new era has emerged where women's efforts are increasingly being appreciated in many jurisdictions and they seem to successfully progress in their fight for women empowerment (Williams, 2010:4; Risman, 2011:18). It is argued that the continued efforts by women to raise voices and concerns for their empowerment has exposed issues of unpaid care work which has culminated into women's entrance into the labour market (Williams, 2010:3; Risman, 2011:18; Radhakrishnan & Solari, 2015:787). This change has greatly increased their incomes, resulting in a reduction of the time spent on unpaid care work tasks and the associated challenges (Risman, 2011:18). While some scholars seem to concur that efforts by women to contest the traditionally allocated roles are yielding some tangible results, women's efforts are ironically still stifled by women themselves (Lyonette & Crompton, 2014:37).

5.2 Women's transition into paid labour

Braunstein (2009:6) reveals that women's fundamental transition from traditionally accepted roles into male dominated ones which are valued and rewarded, portrays a stepping stone for women to achieve equality (England, 2010:151). The match of women into paid jobs has challenged the status quo of confining women in unpaid care work tasks and leaves a lot to ponder especially in developing countries where tradition and culture is still very strong (Williams, 2010:2; Radhakrishnan & Solari, 2015:791). It is argued that when women work for a pay, it empowers and opens up opportunities for them to challenge the traditional practices and lack of recognition of their efforts (Braunstein, 2009:6). Ngomane (2016:51) claims that this increases their bargaining power for the recognition of unpaid care work. The recognition of unpaid care work emanates from studies, which argue that unpaid care tasks are an obstacle to one's choice to move into paid labour. The argument is that if unpaid care work was appreciated, fairly distributed and rewarded, then it would give women an opportunity to choose whether to perform it or to migrate into the paid labour market (Swiebel, 1999:17). However, because the domestic care work is not paid for and continues to be devalued, women continue to raise concerns for its recognition.

5.3 Ironic manifestation of Women's efforts to recognise of unpaid care work

5.3.1 Empowered women and their role in the recognition of unpaid care work

The movement for women's empowerment has raised a new breed of social, financial and educationally empowered women that are shaping the perception of women and unpaid care work. Braunstein (2009:7) notes that empowered women are able to contribute to or finance platforms that enable women to participate in decision making processes for unpaid care work. Swiebel (1999:17) observes that such platforms provide an opportunity for women to propose strategies that will address the challenges associated with the unequal distribution of unpaid care work between men and women. Empowered women can also use the platforms to make visible the value of unpaid care work on behalf of their disempowered colleagues. Such platforms have been cited in Africa by Soetan (2001:27) who reported that women traditionally come together to advocate for their agenda and mobilise resources required to advance promotion of their concerns such as their desire to have unpaid care work recognised. Risman (2011:18) reported that efforts of the empowered women have caused change in the share of the burden of unpaid

care work evidenced by the increase in men's participation in unpaid care work tasks (Lyonette & Crompton, 2014:37).

There is evidence that empowered women, especially those in leadership positions in Sub-Sahara Africa, have prioritised women's interests and promoted their empowerment (Wang, 2013:114). In Uganda, for example, women have been tasked to speak out on the need for recognition of unpaid care work at every space availed to them such as during meetings at all levels from community to government, schools and all functions (Nesbitt-Ahmed & Malinga Apila, 2015:17). Through their women's caucuses, Ugandan Women Members of Parliament have also made recognisable efforts to advocate for the women's cause for empowerment (Tripp, 2004:4; Devlin & Elgie, 2008:239; Wang, 2013:114). However, majority of the empowered women tend to generally advance issues of empowerment without prominently emphasizing the concerns for the recognition of unpaid care work.

Furthermore, other debates reveal that the empowered women's efforts at such levels have not yielded much and remain weaker than anticipated. For instance, Wang (2013:114) reports that there is no evidence to show that women have made much progress in the fight for recognition of unpaid care work at the legislative platform in Uganda. While there are a number of policies that have been put in place to ensure women empowerment at all levels, especially gender mainstreaming, very little has been done in the area of unpaid care work. It is argued that even those engaged in developing and implementing the policies seem to be aware of the role of women in unpaid care work activities but the policies they develop do not give absolute commitment to recognise it (Nesbitt-Ahmed & Malinga Apila, 2015:16). This implies that empowerment has uplifted the empowered women in leadership platforms where they have free space to influence decisions but, as Hisman (June 22, 2016) puts it, they have chosen to remain silent over the issue of unpaid care work, which decision makers use as an excuse for not recognising it.

Kidder (2013:606) thinks that the paradoxical failure by women to strongly advocate for acknowledgement of unpaid care work has partly been used by policy makers in developing economies to justify why unpaid care work is not given the recognition it deserves. The point is

that just as the women used different platforms to advance their empowerment, they should use the same platforms to raise concerns on unpaid care work. This will attract the attention of decision makers to develop strategies on how to end the burden that women suffer while performing domesticated work.

New debates on the women empowerment discourse seem to suggest that once women are empowered, they tend to abandon campaigns for unpaid care work on the pretext that their efforts are often frustrated (Lyonette & Crompton, 2014:34). According to Oliker (2011:972) women claim that these obstacles and challenges are posed by men who think that the women's demand for recognition of unpaid care work is not an issue of discussion. It is argued that the men consider unpaid care work unworthy. Ngomane (2016) adds that women are generally left out in decision making because they are devalued and often times issues affecting them are not prioritized when making important decisions.

Empowerment according to ILO (1999:221) and Porter (2013:2) is designed to provide a platform for women to voice and challenge the unfair situations such as unpaid care that cause dependency (Nordenmark, 2013:209). Risman (2011:18) has observed that when women are empowered, their ideological support for recognition of unpaid care work as feminists, begins to change. Thus, empowered women develop a tendency to free themselves from involvement in unpaid care work roles and resort to hiring others to perform unpaid care work tasks on their behalf. Some scholars argue that as women rise through the ranks and become empowered, they begin to devalue tasks they previously performed. Paradoxically, they cease paying attention to matters concerning unpaid care work and they do not advance it as an issue in their platforms. Risman (2011:18) concurs that when women get autonomy and are empowered, their efforts to fight for recognition of unpaid care work become minimal and this, according to Radhakrishnan and Solari (2015:791), is a flaw among such women.

Other studies have established that empowered women spend less time on unpaid care work tasks (Kleider, 2015:3). While one may conclude that the reduced time on unpaid care work results from increased men's participation in unpaid care work at home, Risman (2011:18) thinks that it is caused by improvement in women's earnings. This enables them to transfer the load to

hired domestic workers who do the work on their behalf. Risman (2011:18) and Lyonnet & Crompton (2014:26) agree that as a woman's income increases, she reduces on her engagement in unpaid care work tasks.

Therefore, according to Swiebel (1999:11), the perception is that empowered women seem to believe that the challenges associated with unpaid care work are addressed by redefining unpaid care work as a responsibility of hired helpers. This has created a false impression that unpaid care work is not such a prominent issue to address (Lyonette & Crompton, 2014:35). However, transferring it to a hired worker exacerbates the problem. Women who transfer unpaid care work to others continue to indirectly perform it through coordination and supervision. This infringes on their financial empowerment levels since they take the financial obligation to pay the hired workers (Lyonette & Crompton, 2014:35). This implies that the tasks are still the responsibility of all women regardless of their income and empowerment levels (Risman, 2011:19).

5.3.2 Disempowered women and their efforts towards unpaid care work

There is another continuum of women who are disempowered and predominantly suppressed by patriarchal mechanisms. This category of women is uneducated, unemployed and have inadequate autonomy. It is evident that the continuous engagement of women in unpaid care work roles prevents them from accessing opportunities for empowerment. Thorpe *et al.* (2016:10), for instance, argue that the practice of mothers transferring domestic tasks to young girls stifles their ability to access opportunities such as schooling in their early stages of life. In Uganda, (Nesbitt-Ahmed & Malinga Apila, 2015:12) have observed that young girls have missed school because they have to give support to their mothers in unpaid car work related tasks which has a significant impact on their lives later as women. When they mature, such women are unskilled and they miss out on opportunities for paid employment (Chopra, 2015:3). The cycle of disempowerment limits their prospects of accessing better jobs, leadership opportunities and financial independence (Chopra, 2015:3). This state of affairs leaves these women with no option but to remain in unpaid care work tasks.

Unlike empowered women, the disempowered women tend to be financially dwarfed that they cannot afford to transfer roles to hired workers and they stay confined into unpaid care work

roles (Delaunay, 2010:36; Sepúlveda Carmona & Donald, 2014:444). The irony is that these women who directly suffer the burden of unpaid care work, would like to advocate for recognition of unpaid care work but they lack the confidence, the negotiation power and platforms to do so (Braunstein, 2009:5; Nesbitt-Ahmed & Malinga Apila, 2015:13; Thorpe *et al.*, 2016:9). According to Lyonette and Crompton (2014:34), disempowered women are more concerned about unpaid care work than empowered women. While empowered women hire domestic workers, the disempowered women tend to transfer it to their daughters, sisters and other relatives (Thorpe *et al.*, 2016:5).

5.3.3 Employment, marriage and unpaid care work efforts

The perception of unpaid care work as a traditional full-time job for a housewife is slowly changing. Some married partners now share responsibilities while in other cases a woman performs this responsibility alongside paid work (Swiebel, 1999:5). This additional stress created by the double burden of employment worsens women's capability to handle the dual role. In some communities, women still resist the idea of having their husbands engaging in domestic work for fear of being stigmatized by the community members (Thorpe *et al.*, 2016:6). Thus, even when a married woman is employed, she tends to perform a far greater proportion of domestic work tasks than her husband (Greenstein, 2000:322). The distribution of care work between husband and wife ends up being frustrated by the wives.

Kleider (2015:3) observes that because employed married women are torn in between the two responsibilities, they choose to hire someone to perform home chores. When women are married, this comes with increasing care demands by one to two hours of their time in unpaid care work that come along with the presence of their husbands and children (UBOS, 2013:85). Lyonette and Crompton (2014:38) stress from employment and marriage are irreconcilable with unpaid care work responsibilities. Other scholars such as Scott and Clery (2013:126) have proposed that married women should remain engaged in unpaid care work in order to perform their motherly roles.

The stress caused by unpaid care work should ideally provoke married women to advocate for its recognition as labour that should be compensated. On the contrary, as already pointed out above

literature indicates that married women frustrate efforts by other parties to reduce the burden of unpaid care work on them. Lyonette and Crompton (2014:24) confirm that when married women take on male roles in form of paid work, ideally they would then push for the involvement of their male partners in unpaid care work roles so as to reduce the workload from employed married women. This is further reflected when married women succeed in sharing the workload with the men. This re-distribution of unpaid care work in a way would be a manifestation of their efforts towards creating awareness for the recognition of unpaid care work. Instead, employed and married women continue to perform unpaid care work in order to protect their husbands. As we observed, those with high economic status hire domestic workers to perform these tasks (Delaunay, 2010:35).

5.3.4 Women's age and its influence on unpaid care work

Women's age affects their attitude towards unpaid care work (Nordenmark, 2013:208). A study by (Delaunay, 2010:43) shows that contemporary women share the ideology that advocates for gender equity and tend to be more concerned about addressing the challenges of domestic work than their more traditional counterparts. Delaunay (2010:43) further states that these women endeavour to seek for equal sharing of roles with the men in order to reduce the burden of unpaid care work in the home. On the other hand, the elderly women with a more traditional gender ideology may be in support of women's continuous involvement in care work at home and do not understand why contemporary women fight to change the traditionally acceptable division of labour (Nordenmark, 2013:208).

Research has found that women with more traditional attitudes to gender division of roles do more housework and seem to be comfortable with it (Lyonette & Crompton, 2014:26). Nordenmark (2013:220) adds that women in the contemporary era have a different view towards recognition of unpaid care as compared to the elderly women who hold a more conservative ideology. In the early years of their lives, women find it fair enough to apportion some of the domestic work to their husbands as a way of reducing the burden but as they advance in age, the situation is reversed when they perform the work without efforts to share it out (Lyonette & Crompton, 2014:25). Literature shows that their concern for unpaid care work also lowers and they do not understand why women want to reduce on the work that is meant for them. Ageing

women are reported to be strong believers in the traditional division of labour, which makes them unwilling to fight for recognition of unpaid care work ((Delaunay, 2010:38). In a study conducted in the UK, it was found that women with more traditional attitudes towards gender roles are comfortable doing more unpaid care work roles than other women (Lyonette & Crompton, 2014:25). Delaunay (2010:38), also adds that in older generations, traditional women indeed engage more in care roles compared to the contemporary women. It does not matter whether they are empowered or not; delegation of unpaid care work roles among elderly women is very minimal (Delaunay, 2010:43). This is an indication that they believe unpaid care work is their role and they perform it with ease.

5.4 Methodology

This chapter adopted document review as well as in-depth interview approaches from primary data against which an analysis was made with scholarly literature on how unpaid care work has affected women's empowerment. The literature reviewed guided this study into critical understanding of how empowered women support the recognition of unpaid care work. It also brought out issues about how they ironically frustrate the recognition of unpaid care work. Data collected from in-depth interviews with both empowered (especially working women) and stay-home women, gave this study an insight into how both categories of women have supported or challenged the recognition of unpaid care work in Uganda. The interviews brought out the women's opinions on the issue of recognition of unpaid care work and women empowerment at that level.

5.5 Discussion of findings

The empirical findings under this section present how women have contributed to the recognition of unpaid care work in Uganda. The discussions are presented according to the themes identified in literature

5.5.1 Empowered Women

During interviews with policy makers it was observed that women seem to be comfortable doing unpaid care work. Even when efforts have been made to empower women, they continue to participate in unpaid care work. A respondent said:

> Because women have been socialised to do unpaid care work, therefore they consider it very normal and therefore have very little disregard for it. Even those who are working, leave work and find house work waiting for them at home.

The above finding supports the view by Delaunay (2010:44) and Williams (2010:11) that women continue to perform unpaid care work tasks regardless of their levels of empowerment. They observed that even when women are in paid employment or hold an important office, they still find themselves performing unpaid care work directly or indirectly.

There are cases when women return home and just like the respondent said, find all the work undone and they have to start work all over again. This double burden of employment causes a lot of stress on the women. Other instances are when women have house helps but still do a lot of supervision and guiding which indirectly engages them in the unpaid care work tasks. According to Lyonette & Crompton (2014:37) and Hook (2010:1480), this persistence by women in providing unpaid care work is a pointer to its importance in society. It is this important duty that has never been recognised in resource allocation in Uganda. As long as women still feel that it is their responsibility to do care work, they are not likely to support any efforts to address its impact on their empowerment and financial inclusion in the labour market.

A policy maker who was interviewed during this study argued that some employed women choose to remain silent on salient issues of unpaid care work for fear of losing their jobs and positions. They also feel it would offend their male colleagues. This view agrees with literature which suggests that empowered women have not used their positions to advocate for the recognition of unpaid care work.

There have been instances when women themselves have downgraded their potential and look at men as superior. This inferiority complex, as Hisman (2016:22) points out, makes them keep quiet even when men are making decisions that do not favour them. One of the interviewed respondents put it this way:

> Women have a perception that men are better or are more intelligent than them. In some situations, men bring out wrong things and women support them even when they know they are wrong.

The respondent explained that some women fear expressing their views publicly especially when men are around and will resort to other often less effective means of voicing their concerns. Nesbitt-Ahmed and Malinga Apila (2015:16) and Hisman (2016:22) attribute this timidity to their confinement and the traditional belief that men are stronger species and women should remain submissive to them at all times. Women from such strong patriarchal societies are intimidated by men and cannot raise their concerns. Yet, according to Nesbitt-Ahmed and Malinga Apila (2015:7) efforts directed towards recognition of unpaid care work can only be achieved through advocacy and lobbying for government policies. It is important for women to understand that joint advocacy over such issues needs the support of all women (Braunstein, 2009:7).

Empowered women have an opportunity to transfer their responsibilities of unpaid care work to third parties for pay as a way of reducing on their stress and burden (Swiebel, 1999:12; Lyonette & Crompton, 2014:35). In an interview, an empowered woman had this to say:

> Domestic helpers care a lot about children therefore unpaid care work is alleviated by the presence of the helpers who do almost 80% of the household chores.

A policy maker added:

"A woman can employ another woman to do the work. Empowered women are relieved by paying other women."

While literature shows that advocating for the recognition of unpaid care work aims at empowering women (Williams, 2010:8), Delaunay (2010:51) reports that once the women are empowered they then ignore the fight instead because they no longer bear the burden of care

work. Swiebel (1999:11) agrees that financially empowered women have redefined unpaid care work to appear as if it is a responsibility of hired labour and are therefore not bothered about it anymore. In agreement with Lyonette & Crompton (2014:35)'s recommendation, it is important for the empowered women to know that transfer of unpaid care work to hired labour may not address all the challenges that rotate around unpaid care work and those that perform it. It is, therefore, important that women advocate for recognition of care work regardless of their earnings. After all, as Gupta and Ash (2008:116) have observed, the use of hired labour is an added financial responsibility which also has its challenges that affect women empowerment.

5.5.2 Disempowered women

Disempowered women refer to those who are totally unaware of their rights. This is evidenced by their preference to bear the burden of care work roles (Hook, 2010:1480; Lyonette & Crompton, 2014:37). For lack of knowledge some women have not made any efforts to advocate for the recognition of unpaid care work. Such women need to be empowered so that they are aware of their rights. For instance, in an interview with a policy maker, the respondent said: *"Some women have refused to support recognition of unpaid care work because of total ignorance."* When asked for her opinion about recognition of unpaid care work, a disempowered woman said: *"It does not affect me because I am a stay-home mother. It is the duty of the woman to do all house chores at home*."

In a focus group discussion, it became clear that some men share the same views as well. When asked about their perception of women and unpaid care work, one of the men said:

> Unpaid care work is domestic work done by women at home which is not paid for. It is mostly [done by] those who didn't go to school [and] school drop-outs who have no specialization.

From the above findings, it is important to create awareness and educate such women and men on issues concerning unpaid care work and the need for its recognition. As long as people are still ignorant about unpaid care work, any efforts towards its recognition will not be unfulfilled.

The issue of women's financial empowerment has also been one of the causes of their failure to embrace efforts meant to recognise unpaid care work. During interviews with disempowered women, their perception of empowerment related to only having money. When asked how empowerment and unpaid care work are related, they distinguished themselves from the empowered women in terms of financial status. According to one of them, *"women who are empowered get some money but those at home cannot even afford a basic need".* Disempowered women just as this one, thus consider themselves unable to afford self-financing activities to help themselves out of the unpaid care work web. This echoes with Gupta & Ash (2008:116) who see a correlation between women's earnings and their attitude towards unpaid care work. They view women's financial status as key: when women have high income, their support for unpaid care work is low and the reverse is true.

Literature reveals that disempowered women normally have low or at times no earnings and tend to be more into unpaid care work related tasks. The findings also show that even when there have been efforts by the government to make alternative facilities for helping them – such as day care centres for infants – disempowered women still claim that they cannot afford the logistics required to utilise the facilities. A study by Nesbitt-Ahmed and Malinga Apila (2015:12) also linked women's inability to utilise support facilities to lack of money. A policy maker also confirmed this view when she observed that when they proposed to set up a baby care centre, the mothers who were the main beneficiaries did not welcome the idea because of lack of money to purchase the required care items for the baby. The respondent quoted one of the women to have said: *"For me to leave my baby here, I will need pampers which will be expensive for me."*

5.5.3 Marriage, employment and unpaid care work

Married women engage in care work more than other women because of the demand for care from other members of the family, such as spouses and children. Thorpe *et al.* (2016:6) and Greenstein (2000:322) observe that the situation is worse when women are employed because they have to juggle the demands of both work roles. To some extent, this role conflict can be attributed to traces of cultural ideology embedded in the perception that domestic work is solely a woman's responsibility. One of the women in this category said that the lack of a helper at home has not affected her role as a care provider. She did not believe in getting help from the

spouse or a helper because of her belief that it was her traditional duty to perform those tasks. Delaunay (2010:51) has observed that social constructs have shaped married women's beliefs that they should perform care work tasks without pay.

Some married women also pointed out that even with increased earnings, women should not abandon their domestic roles to the house helpers. Some women expressed fear that they would lose their husbands to the maids if they rely more on domestic workers. A man confirmed this view in a focus group discussion:

"A house helper doesn't do certain work at home… Such marriages can break because of failure by the wife to do some things in the house."

The discussions also confirmed some men's perceptions that their wives are supposed to do all house chores without any support. For them, it is the duty of women and therefore there is no need for its recognition. Several women also thought that the helpers could not perform the work to perfection to meet their expectations, so they continue to be active in care work roles in a home. These women also agreed that to some extent it affected their ability to access other empowerment opportunities, which come via education and employment. One of the employed married women observed:

> Unpaid care work consumes a lot of time while men may extend their professional life. It almost took me ten years to complete the PhD, because I lacked time to concentrate due to unpaid care work and also to be a good wife.

5.5.4 Women's age and its relation to care work

A woman's age is also a factor in the discourse on unpaid care work. Elderly women have grown up in a generation where strong cultural practices dominate people's beliefs and these views shape what women should do in a community. Lyonette and Crompton (2014:26) agree that women with more traditional attitudes to gender division of roles are inclined to support unpaid care work as a woman's responsibility and are comfortable with it. In such cases, the elderly

women who occupy decision-making positions rarely support any interventions meant to ease the women's care work burden.

These women do not see any harm in women carrying on with care work regardless of the burdens involved. A study conducted in the UK by Lyonette and Crompton (2014:25) confirmed that older women are comfortable to do more unpaid care work roles than their younger counterparts. This could also be due to the fact that since they did these chores then others should also do the work without complaining. A fact that was confirmed when (Nordenmark, 2013:220) concluded that elderly women hold a more conservative ideology that may not permit them to support issues of unpaid care work as raised by the current situations. A respondent who supported this view said:

> Most of the women in policy making [positions] are 'off-layers' and they say that if they looked after their children then why should I consider this? An 'off-layer' doesn't appreciate the promotion and recognition of unpaid care work.

The term "off-layer" here refers to a woman who is beyond childbearing age, normally above 50 years. According to the respondents, it is hard to find young women in decision-making positions who can counteract the comments given by older women who still hold these offices. During the interviews, it also came out that some decision makers tend to limit young women's rise to high positions because the older ones think that younger women will not be able to make meaningful decisions. This limits women's opportunities of advancing their concerns for the recognition of unpaid care work.

During the interviews with the women who were elderly, it came out that they had minimal support for the advocacy for the recognition of unpaid care work. These women both empowered and disempowered women did not seem to understand why women ask for support to perform their care work. They argued that they also hired domestic workers to support them in unpaid care work when they were younger. However, with time they did not need the help when children left the house and their spouses became less demanding. They had a lesser burden and

they could perform their work without help. One of the respondents in this category confirmed this when she said:

> I had maids taking care of the housework. They were good, though you can't be 100% sure but I had a lot of patience… Now, I have a programme of managing my time for the work at home and for my grandchildren.

5.6 Summary

The study findings have revealed that the women's entrance into paid labour has increased their earnings and reduced their dependence on men for financial support. This increased income and authority also availed them a platform to advance for their rights including recognition of unpaid care work as labour that contributes to the national economy. While many studies have been done on unpaid care work, there has been very limited research on categorisation of women's effort towards promoting the recognition of unpaid care work in Uganda. Unpaid care work and its associated challenges affect women differently according to their categories and levels of empowerment. Whereas men are largely responsible for failing the recognition of unpaid care work, literature also indicates that different categories of women also frustrate efforts to recognise unpaid care work and women empowerment. Empowerment efforts have given women an opportunity to attend schools, access paid labour and hold leadership positions, all of which have reduced their dependence on men and have given them autonomy in decision making processes so that they can support initiatives meant for their own wellbeing. Indeed, progress has been reported in this regard.

Nevertheless, researchers have also found that this gender shift has had less impact on the way domestic work is shared between men and women (Rizavi & Sofer, 2008:3). Empowered women prefer to use hired labour to buy out their time and efforts for this kind of work, and many of them prefer not to involve their husbands in house chores because of the cultural stigma involved. With their earnings, they employ these house helpers who cushion their care work burden.

As a result of not directly engaging in unpaid care work, empowered women lose the motivation to demand for recognition of unpaid care work. It is the disempowered women with low earnings, who can't afford house helpers, who remain confined in these tasks. As Gupta and Ash (2008:117) put it, women with higher earnings are more inclined and able to purchase housework substitutes than women with lower earnings. Women's earnings are, therefore, a determinant of their level of concern and support for unpaid care work. It is the disempowered women with no financial muscle who deserve to be heard yet they have no platform to voice out their concerns. Policy makers should give this category of women an opportunity to be heard so that their concerns are addressed.

Findings from literature and interviews also highlight that women who are married are responsible for the way care work roles are shared in the home. The UBOS Report of 2005/2006 (UBOS, 2013:85) shows that marriage increases the burden of care work on women. Their responsibilities increase as spouses and children demand for care. However, literature shows that this category of women actually protect their husbands from engaging in any domestic chores with them (Greenstein, 2000:322; Kleider, 2015:3; Thorpe et al., 2016:6).

Women's age is also a factor in the discourse on unpaid care work. The findings show that older women tend not to support any initiatives aimed at reducing the burden of unpaid care work roles (Delaunay, 2010:43; Nordenmark, 2013:208; Lyonette & Crompton, 2014:25). From the interviews this was confirmed by other researchers who concur that as women advance in age, their concern for unpaid care work reduces, even though they may have supported the idea at their earlier stages in life. Since it is these older women who hold decision-making positions, they do not support any efforts to reduce the unpaid care work burden. From the findings, various categories of women affect the recognition of unpaid care work differently. This categorisation of women and how they affect unpaid care work is one area that has not been researched widely. Therefore, it is necessary to propose strategies that will contextualise the local findings from this study in order to make it relevant to the Ugandan setting.

The role of the various categories of women and how they support or frustrate unpaid care work in Uganda, also highly depends on the country's political climate. The proposed

recommendations in this chapter can only be effected if there is government support which is influenced by the political will of those in power. Uganda is one of the countries reported to have a strong political will to support women empowerment. The next chapter therefore explores the role of Ugandan politics in the recognition of unpaid care work and women empowerment of the country.

CHAPTER SIX

POLITICS AND UNPAID CARE WORK IN UGANDA

6.1 Introduction

Politics is increasingly playing a critical role in empowering women and often presents itself in different dimensions (Bauer, 2012:380). Politics may manifest itself in agenda setting where a narrow set of issues are prioritised in particular themes like women empowerment, often neglecting some critical aspects like unpaid care work (Sen & Mukherjee, 2014:188). Another dimension is the political climate where some scholars argue that the political environment determines the citizen's capacity to participate in decision making processes (Goetz, 2002:60).

Political commitment is perceived to be paramount in pushing for women-friendly policies. According to Warrington (2013:403) and Wang (2013:114), a strong political commitment is likely to promote the women agenda especially unpaid care work and vice versa. Wang (2013:114) confirms that empowerment of women in Africa depends on the political dispensation in terms of commitment to support gender issues. Goetz (2002:61) argues that this is because the State has the means to influence top leadership commitment for women empowerment programmes and can use its discretion to allocate public resources to support such interventions. Wyndow *et al.* (2013:34) note that recognition of unpaid care work is one of the indicators for women empowerment, which implies that the two cannot be divorced.

Empowerment is perceived to be a political process because it does not only require a change in power relations within the family but also requires a fundamental change in the entire community in terms of recognition of the needs and expectations of women including unpaid care work (Deepta & Müller, 2016:5). Women empowerment is not only concerned about addressing the inequalities but also a paradigm shift in the patriarchal structures which do not appreciate unpaid care work (Sen & Mukherjee, 2014:190). Women have realised that their demands for gender equality are acceptable to governments whose political agenda is open to their needs and can guarantee the leadership commitment as well as allocation of public resources (Wyndow *et al.*, 2013:36). This has created a political appetite among women in such

governments to push for empowerment initiatives which support the development of a new identity of women in leadership positions (Bauer, 2012:380).

Rwanda, for example, is at the forefront of women empowerment because of the government's commitment to promoting the women's agenda (Bauer & Burnet, 2013:103). Devlin and Elgie (2008:250); Wang (2013:115) agree that the Government of Rwanda has generated popularity not only from the local population but also on the international scene because the country holds a top position with the highest number of women representation in decision making positions, a gesture which confirms government's commitment to empower women. Warrington (2013:403) also compliments Uganda, which is applauded for the supportive gender politics that have strengthened women movements in the country. The political arena has given space to international women movements (to which the government is ratified) that advocate for women empowerment frameworks that enable women to access positions of decision making in the country (Bauer, 2012:372). However, in both countries, unpaid care work has not appeared on the agenda for debate in the decision-making forums.

The President of Uganda, Yoweri Kaguta Museveni, has pushed for reforms targeting women empowerment commonly perceived as 'women's issues', even when others believe that such women agenda only delay the achievement of the bigger political targets (Pankhurst, 2002:5). Ugandan political support for women empowerment has given women an assurance for a certain degree of autonomy from the interests of the dominant and conservative social groups within a patriarchal community where women now enjoy opportunities that were previously preserved for men (Goetz, 2002:61). By doing this, the government of Uganda has demonstrated that men and women both play equal roles in causing change in the country. The government has an affirmative action programme for women empowerment in education, political representation, employment and in decision making, all fused into the political structure (Warrington, 2013:403). The debates seem to suggest that governments are prioritizing women empowerment often presented as a block item on the agenda without due consideration for unpaid care work – a key parameter in measuring women empowerment.

The elevation of women in leadership brings them close to decision making opportunities which give them a chance to present their gender related issues such as the recognition of unpaid care work. The expectation is that women political leaders should exhibit support for unpaid care work efforts. However, literature reveals that women who have risen in the ranks using the political vehicle tend to shift their mandate away from women and concentrate on political ideologies that facilitated their rise (Eagly & Johannesen- Schmidt, 2001:785). This has raised debates on whether politics is good for women empowerment. This chapter attempts to explore the role that politics plays in recognising women unpaid care work. Politics has been conceptualised in two dimensions. Politics within the quota system as well as politics in decision making. Although many studies have focused on the influence of politics on women empowerment, there is a dearth of literature on how politics is shaping or influencing unpaid care work in Uganda. This chapter attempts to skew debates on politics and how it has directly or indirectly affected unpaid care work.

This chapter is divided into sections where section one is the introduction of the chapter highlighting the global concerns of politics and women empowerment. Section two highlights the political influence on women on recognitions of unpaid care work. The third section discusses politics and women representation in decision making processes and how this trickles down to recognition of unpaid care work. Section four presents the methodology used for the study. This is followed by section five which discuss empirical findings of the study. Section six provides the conclusion.

6.2 Politics and women's unpaid care work: the 'quota system'

In order to address gender equity issues and reduce underrepresentation of women in different sectors of society, more than 100 governments have adopted a system where women representation is pre-determined through a 'quota system' which reserves seats for women at all level of decision making (Goetz, 2002:110; Goetz, 2003:65; Beaman *et al.*, 2012:1; Krook & Zetterberg, 2014:287; Deepta & Müller, 2016:5). The quota system has been identified by Drude Dahlerup and Lenita Friedenvall (2005) cited by Bauer (2012:370) as taking the 'fast track' to increase numbers of women's representation in decision making organs. It has paved way for women in Sub-Saharan Africa to access leadership positions, which has amplified their needs

and expectations for the recognition of unpaid care work in decision making forums (Barnes & Burchard, 2013:774).

Pankhurst (2002:4) reveals that the quota system has increased the number of women who form a critical mass to push for unpaid care work as a measure for women empowerment. Tripp (2006:129); Bauer (2012:379) confirm that the quota system has benefitted women by having numbers that will influence the acceptability of women in holding positions of authority which creates advocacy platforms for the recognition of unpaid care work. (Fukuda-Parr, 2016:49) argues that numbers are powerful in communicating a development agenda. Therefore, the increase of women in political positions creates a ray of hope that unpaid care work will very soon become an agenda for women empowerment on the globe. Other scholars argue that the quota system acts as a long term plan to groom women in leadership positions to become role models and be at the forefront of transforming the beliefs in the younger generation about what women can achieve through the policies they promote (Beaman *et al.*, 2012:1; Deepta & Müller, 2016:5). It is envisaged the women in political leadership will slowly influence the power relations which would change the gender roles over time (Beaman *et al.*, 2012:1). Deepta and Müller (2016:5) postulate that women's political participation has a positive impact not only on the quality of governance but also on the promotion of some of the issues such as unpaid care work that disadvantage women.

Other scholars argue that the quota system is established based on certain political agenda which include the political opportunity offered to women by political governments, pressures from women's movements, and the international and regional norms committing states to incorporate women's agenda into government programmes (Barnes & Burchard, 2013:773). This study explores the paradox behind the political decision to empower women through decision-making organs where recognition of unpaid care work can be considered. Some scholars contend that political decisions are not made in a vacuum but aim at addressing certain political ambitions (Goetz, 2002:60). It is, therefore, important to ascertain whether the political decision to introduce the quota system translates into government commitment to gender issues and unpaid care work in particular (Deepta & Müller, 2016:5).

There are other debates on whether the quota system has been effective in increasing the quality of women's political participation. The major concern is whether women are taking the opportunity to actively contribute and make a difference in gender equality including unpaid care work. Barnes and Burchard (2013:773) argue that the success of the quota system in promoting the recognition of unpaid care work and women empowerment depends on whether the increased number of women translates into improved policies for women.

Statistics show that Rwanda became the first country in the world to have more women at 56.3% in parliament. Seychelles, South Africa, Mozambique, Angola, Uganda, Tanzania and Burundi have also been reported to be among the top 30 countries worldwide with over 30% per cent women representatives. Other countries such as Kenya and Senegal are reported to be adopting measures that should bring more women into their national decision making body (Bauer, 2012:370) something which would have taken forever if there was no quota system to bring on women and change in cultural attitudes towards the recognition of unpaid care work (Barnes & Burchard, 2013:773). While the quota system demonstrates the ability of women to lead and increase the number of women in political leadership, there are mixed reactions about the effectiveness of women participation in addressing women's unpaid care work issues and whether more attention has been placed on women issues in the policy making process (Krook & Zetterberg, 2014:288).

Some scholars argue that women participation has yielded results while others think that quotas have not eliminated the barriers to the articulation of women's concerns. The differences in reactions are attributed to the different kind of pressures that women face while in those political leadership positions. Krook and Zetterberg (2014:288) note that women are torn between the obligation to advocate for the women's agenda or prioritising their political allegiance. In fact, some scholars argue that the women who access positions through the quota system should ideally serve the interests of the political party or government in power (Goetz, 2002:67). Goetz (2002:67) argues that failure to support the interests of the government may result in denial of resources for recognition of unpaid care work and other agenda for women. Wang (2013:113) warns that these leadership positions offered to women sometimes turn into manipulation tools by the politicians to extend their agenda. Women leaders are expected to be loyal to political

heads and not state rules if they are to get support for promoting women initiatives like the recognition of unpaid care work (Goetz, 2002:54). While loyalty and patronage to the political figures may earn them fast promotions in big positions, it can also be easily eroded away the moment the patronage is doubted by the political parties (Goetz, 2002:54).

The increased women representation through the quota systems is undoubtedly commendable, but many scholars draw attention to the need to move 'beyond numbers' and concentrate on the impact of women in authority to advocate for unpaid care work and women empowerment issues at that level (Bauer, 2012:370). According to Wang (2013:113) there is evidence that politically motivated increase in the number of women in positions of authority does not necessarily contribute to advancing women's agenda Bauer & Burnet (2013:104) argue that the increased presence of women in decision making platforms is meaningless. Goetz (2003:65) and Bauer (2012:371) add that while the political initiatives have promoted women to hold decision making positions, they should be focussing on how best the women leaders have used their positions to advance recognition of unpaid care work in those respective countries.

Scholars such as Madanda et al (2014:12) postulate that the adoption of women empowerment strategies is a long term plan to win popularity and votes among women. It is argued that the government of Uganda led by the National Resistance Movement (NRM) party is enjoying majority votes from women due to its support for pro-women policies, which include affirmative action for female admissions to university, quota system for women representation in parliament, in high offices and political appointments of women to key government posts (Goetz, 2002:110; Tripp, 2004:7). Madanda et al (2014:12) adds that the support for women is a masquerade for the envisaged political benefits of building a critical mass that supports the political agenda of the ruling party. On the other hand, the rise of women into political positions has empowered them and the exposure has enabled them to juggle the demands of work and family. The exposure gives them an opportunity to interact with others at work and create alliances where they exchange experiences and learn from each other on how to overcome their challenges. Entrance into work empowers them to demand for equality and greater opportunities like the recognition of unpaid care work (Wyndow *et al.*, 2013:37).

Other debates on political motives for promoting women empowerment reveal that politicians perceive it easy to extend their agenda among women in the guise of supporting the women agenda. In Uganda, for example, the President under the constitutional mandate makes direct appointment of women in positions they might not otherwise have been able to hold, a method that has been questioned by many given that the appointees tend to pay allegiance to the appointing authority and their political agenda (Pankhurst, 2002:5). A number of key government agencies like the Uganda Revenue Authority (URA), Uganda National Roads Agency (UNRA), Kampala Capital City Authority (KCCA) and some ministerial posts, are now headed by women presidential appointees who are believed to subscribe to the ruling political party (Madanda et al., 2014:8).

The observation is that while the appointments have given women an opportunity to present the women's agenda, they do not appear to be concerned about supporting women's efforts (Madanda et al., 2014:8). Madanda et al. (2014:8) argue that such direct political appointments linked to a given political orientation tend to benefit the interests of the appointee and not necessarily the women movements. On the other hand, Ahikire and Madanda (2017:464) report that there is no harm for women to support the interests of their political orientation, but it would be meaningful for them to utilize their position for the advancement of women's issues especially if the party has capacity and good political will to address such gender equity issues.

Literature shows that recognition of unpaid care work requires women's participation in bi-partisan alliances that benefit women regardless of their political inclination (Bauer, 2012:378). The spirit behind these joint efforts is that there are issues that concern women in general regardless of race, class, position and party ideology which can only be addressed by employing strategic alliances as women (Hassim, 2003:82). Yet, according to Yoon (2011:86), female decision makers are divided by political affiliations which in turn affects concerted efforts and decisions for the recognition of unpaid care work meant to uplift the status of women. In countries like South Africa and Uganda where political patronage is strong, it is anticipated that limited success may be attained in forming allies with women leaders from different political affiliations to advance the recognition of unpaid care work (Wang, 2013:114). Even when women leaders attempt to form allies in the guise of promoting the women agenda, Tripp

(2004:9) argues that such alliances are weakened by the political relations they have with their promoters. For better pro-women decision making, women activists try to contest this by maintaining unity among women leaders regardless of their political affiliation. However, Hassim (2003:92) reports cases of political division cited among women movements which have inhibited the women to form alliances that would support advancement for the recognition of unpaid care work..

In contrast, Eagly and Johannesen Schmidt (2001:790) argue that female leaders have internalized gender-stereotypic reservations about their decision making practices which has given them the confidence to make collective decisions that are in line with people's expectations. This has enabled them to overcome resistance, win acceptance, gain self-confidence, and thereby be effective. It has given them an opportunity to overcome the cultural and institutional constraints which in the past had greatly impacted on their effectiveness (Hassim, 2003:100).

Ahikire and Madanda (2017:464) observe that women benefit their cause for the recognition of unpaid care work, which is universal and is not based on political affiliation. Secondly, opposition parties also tend to pick up the fight for gender related issues because they identify it as a winning ticket in politics, something that puts women on the receiving end. In South Africa, for instance, women in the ruling African National Congress (ANC) have been elevated in the ranks of the party positions which has forced other political parties in the country to at least relax their stiff patriarchal perceptions to give an opportunity to growth for women in the leadership ranks (Ahikire & Madanda, 2017:464). According to a study by Bauer and Briton (2006), this has empowered the women in leadership positions to be able to prioritise women's interests (Wang, 2013:114).

6.3 Politics and women in decision making

Literature shows that there have been benefits arising from changes made in institutional cultures and from increase in women's participation in decision making (Bauer, 2012:380). The increased number of women in decision making positions in Uganda has registered progress on issues of gender equity in the country (Tamale, 1999:80). Goetz (2002:60) attributes this to the country's

political capacity to enforce gender equity policies and reforms in other social practices like tradition, culture and religion. Bauer and Britton (2006:18) add that the increased numbers of women in decision making organs like the legislature have changed cultural and social perceptions about politics and decision making and this, according to Barnes and Burchard (2013:770), has increased women's engagement in decision making processes.

According to Hassim (2003:85), there is hope that political initiatives aimed at increasing women's positions in decision making will in turn improve policy outcomes for women. This does not apply to women's participation in politics alone but also to their ability to speak up and voice their concerns on issues like unpaid care work when tabled before the decision making bodies (Bauer, 2012:380). This has been evidenced in Tanzania where an increase in the number of women in the country's legislative organ has had a noticeable change in the presentation and articulation of women's issues for discussion (Yoon, 2011:88). Barnes and Burchard (2013:770) add that women in decision making bring on board increased attention to "women's issues" such as unpaid care work that are more likely to serve women's interests. Yoon (2011:85) confirms that when making decisions, women are more inclined to pursue policy preferences that are gender related, so they are willing to lobby for support from their male counterparts on major gender issues like unpaid care work.

According to Tripp (2006:128), despite having more numbers of women in decision making bodies, women have not presented strong debates that promote policies and laws that are pro-women. In Rwanda, for instance, there is limited evidence that the numbers have facilitated women empowerment and have raised specific gender concerns like recognising unpaid care work in the country. It is argued that only a few gender concerns raised by the women were considered successful in terms of policy outcomes (Devlin & Elgie, 2008:239). This is a testimony that the state institutions do influence the effectiveness and impact of women voices in decision making (Goetz, 2002:60). Waylen (2000:776) argues that in a dictatorial political environment where there is no room for negotiations, women demands for recognition of unpaid care work is next to impossible. Goetz (2002:60) reports that this is common in Africa, where women in decision making have to think twice before tabling their concerns since it is meaningless to make demands that will not be considered by the state.

Similarly, in other countries such as Ghana, Liberia and Nigeria, women leaders and organizations are struggling to influence pro-women policies and programmes (Bauer, 2012:370). According to Devlin and Elgie (2008:241), this challenge may be attributed to systems that are characterised by 'lack of political freedom.' On the contrary, scholars claim that a large number of politically empowered women is likely to change the nature of the decisions taken which do influence policy priorities and legislation regarding women empowerment initiatives (Devlin & Elgie, 2008:237). Other scholars argue that women's failure to advance the recognition of unpaid care work issues is attributed to challenges of political, socio-cultural and economic orientation they are faced with.

According to Eagly and Johannesen Schmidt (2001:786), women leaders face a dilemma in their leadership roles, which creates a conflicting position for them to decide how to balance serving the interests of the women movements and those of their political parties. This poses a challenge for women in decision making positions who have to balance the two loyalties (Hassim, 2003:87,100). As a result, Devlin and Elgie (2008:240) note that women begin to be judged by their parties based on their loyalty demonstrated by the decisions they make. This has compromised their ability to prioritise and promote gender-centred jurisdictive reforms such as the recognition of unpaid care work (Devlin & Elgie, 2008:240).

Hassim (2003:100) argues that a common characteristic among women is that they bond through loyalty. Yet, political loyalty or patronage affects their bond and collaboration with women from other parties to form strong women interventions that promote gender issues like the demand for recognition for unpaid care work (Wang, 2013:114). In Uganda, for example, there is evidence of prominent women in political leadership that have been forced to make difficult choices between support for the women's movement and the obligations endorsed by the political affiliation which they pay allegiance to (Tripp, 2004:7). Eagly and Johannesen Schmidt (2001:786) add that such leaders receive mixed reactions from the society which has inhibited them to contribute objectively to the women's cause (Eagly & Johannesen Schmidt, 2001:786).

Records show that while politics seem to have ushered in some positive changes with women holding positions of decision making, according to Kasente (2003:2), it is also true that "men

have a clear advantage over women in access to and control over resources, while cultural practices also grant men more power than women in different aspects." The patriarchal relations in the country give the men dominance in the political and economic spheres. Pankhurst (2002:125) asserts that Uganda's gender relations remain "highly unequal by any standard measure" to the disadvantage of women. No wonder the feminists have regarded political parties largely as patriarchal, instruments by men and for men where not much has benefitted the women burdened by unpaid care work (Ahikire & Madanda, 2017:463).

6.4 Methodology

This chapter adopted an exploratory design to discover the role politics plays in recognising unpaid care work in Uganda (Neuman 2007:16). A qualitative approach was used to get an in-depth understanding of the perceptions, expressions and attitudes of women about the political leaders. The data collection methods used included document review, Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) and in-depth interviews. The study conducted an in-depth review of literature from both academic journals and practitioner reports and presentations (Neuman 2007:16). The review focused on understanding the different debates on politics and women empowerment which facilitated the identification of gaps in literature, guided the study and illuminated policy implications. FGDs were used to augment the literature. The FGDs targeted groups of 6-7 men to discuss their perception on contributions of women in political leadership towards unpaid care work (Flick, 2009:196). The FGDs were also complemented by in-depth interviews which targeted the women as well as policy makers. The interviews sought to gather opinions from women and policy makers (Kothari, 2004) and compare them with the views and opinions generated from the FGDs. The analysis of data commenced after data collection and was followed by content analysis which categorized, coded and developed themes for this chapter.

6.5 Discussion of Findings

This chapter aimed at exploring the contribution of politics in recognition of unpaid care work in Uganda. Below are the findings presented according to the themes identified during literature review.

6.5.1 Politics and unpaid care work: 'The quota system'

During the interviews, when asked about the government's efforts in the empowerment of women in Uganda, a number of respondents commended the government for having put in place a quota system that has seen women rise in position of authority and with opportunities to participate in decision making. The respondents' views are that the positions held by women at state level, reflected in the number of women represented in government political seats and ministerial posts, are a clear indication that the current leadership has a strong and committed political will to uplift the status of women. In a Focus Group Discussion, one male respondent said:

> The government has given women representation in the government. At one time the Vice President was a woman, the current Speaker is a woman and of late the government parastatals such as UNRA, URA & KCCA are headed by women. There is equal opportunity in leadership being exercised where women are taking up Member of Parliament positions; some are heading production sections in industries which used to be men's jobs.

However, the increase in the number of women in political offices is not commensurate with efforts to recognise unpaid care work. Literature suggested that the increase in women participation in political leadership is likely to present the recognition of unpaid care work as one of the key gender issues that affect women empowerment in Uganda (Wyndow *et al.*, 2013:37). During interviews with women, it was discovered that the majority have generally had debates in the decision making forums about empowerment of women where emphasis has been on areas like education for the girl child, affirmative action for university entry and issues to do with maternal health. When probed further about unpaid care work being a subject of discussion, the majority mentioned that they have not heard any woman in political leadership talking or discussing unpaid care work. One of the disempowered women said: "We women have so many problems but have never heard those women politicians talking about unpaid care work."

Another woman respondent said: “Those women forget us when they reach in those powerful offices and even forget our challenges as if they cease being women…”

A review of some debates at national and division levels revealed that the women’s agenda focuses on issues related to the NDP II but which are in line with the political interests of the ruling government. This position agreed with the respondents’ views about some of the issues discussed at the different levels which include land ownership for women, anti-domestic violence and female genital mutilation. There was hardly any record of women presenting motions for discussing the recognition of unpaid care work at the national or division level. It was only discovered that at the Parliament of Uganda and Uganda Management Institute (a public institution) women had succeeded in having a child day care center set up to support mothers that require child care support while attending to their work. While this is a welcome gesture that reduces the burden of unpaid care work, it does not translate into recognition of unpaid care work. This discussion confirms that unpaid care work is not yet high on the agenda in many societies, contrary to Barnes and Burchard (2013:774) who suggested that an increase in the number of women with political influence is likely to table women needs and expectations. In other words, as Fukuda-Parr (2016:49) put it, the number of women in political positions has not demonstrated their power to communicate the women’s agenda.

The study also discovered that the majority of respondents felt that the political women leaders had not played their role as models for the younger generation contrary to one of the objectives of the quota system (Beaman *et al.*, 2012:1; Deepta & Müller, 2016:5). One of the respondents said: “Those women focus on ‘politics’ and eventually start doing what they want...they have not helped us that much…”

However, many women appreciated the fact that some policies on domestic violence and FGM have been passed as a result of the number of women leaders who are able to argue for the women’s agenda. This is supported by Barnes and Burchard (2013:773) who argue that an increased number of women may lead to improved policies for women.

This study noted from all respondents' views that not much has been done regarding advocacy for unpaid care work. However, there was a general consensus that the quota system is gradually challenging the cultural odds where women are now performing tasks that were traditionally meant for men.

The majority of the men who participated in FGDs felt that the rise of women in political positions is a plot by government to win over their votes. However, most of the men believed that the women had not done enough to push for their agenda especially for unpaid care work. The responses are in agreement with Goetz (2002:110); Goetz (2003:65) and Bauer (2012:370) who said that states had developed quota systems which had propelled a large number of women into holding positions of authority. Tripp (2004:7) and Madanda *et al.* (2014:12) also observe that the efforts by the Government of Uganda to introduce the quota system for women had resulted into many women accessing influential positions. Goetz (2002:61) similarly observed that in Uganda women have been elevated to perform work which previously was reserved for the men; an indication that gender politics is gradually challenging the cultural odds by giving women opportunities to perform tasks that were traditionally meant for men.

6.5.2 Politics and women in decision making

This study noted that respondents generally believe there is an increase in the number of women debating issues about their empowerment. Respondents also agreed that women in leadership positions have changed the political landscape and influenced the decision making process. Some respondents highlighted women who have fought for their rights, although they believe the majority are still quiet despite their elevation into the decision making arena. However, respondents added that debates by women are more pronounced in the urban areas where male dominance has reduced.

The study results support the view that there are more women supporting critical decision making processes which have resulted in women-friendly policies. Women who have accessed high offices of authority were found to perform their duties as expected. In an interview with an empowered woman, she mentioned that while in office, she had an opportunity to sit and discuss with men development issues. She adds that the presence of women on certain committees had

helped her to push for women-friendly decisions. She believes some decisions would not have been made if women had not been represented on the committees.

During the FGDs, respondents said they witnessed a number of programmes springing up recently in their communities which they attributed to the presence of women in high decision making offices. One male respondent said:

> Ever since we got a female Executive Director for Kampala Capital City Authority, so much has changed. We are witnessing annual city carnivals for the first time in the history of this country, the city is clean and organised and generally the woman seems to be doing a lot for this city of ours. Other women are also doing great like the Minister for gender [who] has supported women to rise so much.

However, while the women have exhibited their abilities to influence development, they have done little in the area of unpaid care work. The findings above relate with those of Barnes and Burchard (2013:770), Yoon (2011:85), Bauer (2012:380) and Hassim (2003:85) and do confirm that women have succeeded in pushing for decisions that serve the interests of the people and more importantly the women themselves.

While these pro-women programmes in Uganda are admirable and have indeed pushed women in decision making positions, the study findings do not seem to link any efforts by the government of Uganda to the recognition of unpaid care work to the extent that some respondents could not figure out the meaning of the concept of unpaid care work. This suggests that there is much to be desired when it comes to recognition of unpaid care work in Uganda. This lack of recognition, according to Wang (2013:114) is a failure by government and an indicator that unpaid care work has been excluded from the country's political agenda. According to Eagly and Johannesen Schmidt (2001:785) it could also be attributed to the fact that when women are in high position, they have tended to serve the interests of the political parties at the expense of pro-women agendas.

In an interview, one disempowered woman felt that nothing much had been done for them by the empowered women in the decision making offices. According to her, the decision makers make promises that have not yielded much for her and her colleagues. She adds that women in her category still lag behind and continue to depend on men for everything. She felt that empowerment only applied to educated women in the urban cities and not to all women. This response is attributed to the fact that such women continue to bear the brunt of unpaid care work.

Wang (2013:113) and Goetz (2002:67) add that the women themselves have not utilised the platforms to raise the concerns of unpaid care work. Such initiatives would be ways of supporting the disempowered women who spend most of their time performing unpaid care work. Other scholars like Kasente (2003:2), Pankhurst (2002:125) and Ahikire and Madanda (2017:463) do agree with the respondents' views and confirm that men continue to dominate the sphere and women do not seem to have benefitted much from the political initiatives. This explains that much as politics has challenged culture and tradition, the two still persist especially in patriarchal communities in Uganda.

When asked on what they would wish the government to do to reduce on the burden of unpaid care work, the majority of empowered women did not want government engagement as they feared that such interventions would make the whole issue turn political. Their fear was that once it is politicised then the benefits would never be realised and again it would not be for all women since political affiliations would be considered for one to access such facilities. In line with the respondents' views, Wang (2013:113) and Goetz (2002:67) point out that interventions by government may end up as tools to serve the interests of the political parties. This would create conflict of interest among the women leaders who have to choose between serving the political parties or the women whose interests they represent. One empowered woman added that the women holding politically appointed positions seem to have abandoned concerns that empower fellow women and are concentrating on political issues, which is a disappointment to the women.

6.6 Summary

From the study findings, it is clear that states have come up with strategies to empower women, one of which has been the quota system. The system has increased the number of women holding offices of authority which has now uplifted women's status bringing them close to decision making (Yoon, 2011:91). Women empowerment through political parties has increased their participation in decision making. This has also progressively changed the unfavourable cultural and social attitudes towards their ability to hold leadership positions.

Through the quota system, women have had an opportunity to access positions of authority and discuss issues that pertain to women empowerment. While some women in some countries have made efforts to raise issues that have been accepted and passed as laws to benefit the women, there have been instances where even with their numbers, they have not advanced many women empowerment initiatives or women-friendly policies. The issue of political patronage has put female leaders in a dilemma because they have to compromise their concerns for women empowerment at the expense of advancing the political interests of their parties.

Therefore, while politics has advanced women empowerment it has mainly benefitted their political popularity with no major gain for women's issues such as recognition of unpaid care work. According to Wang (2013:114), this is attributed to patronage politics, lack of political will, weak lobbying and advocacy skills and female leaders' loyalty to their political affiliation. It is evident that stereotypes of women as incompetent leaders are still held by both men and women, despite the great successes registered by women who have been elected into positions of authority in Uganda (Hassim, 2003:96).

The preceding chapters all highlight a number factors that have a role in the recognition of unpaid care work and women empowerment ranging from culture and tradition, opportunities in decision making, women manifestations to political factors. To address all these issues, the next chapter presents a model developed through a design thinking approach that takes care of the factors and proposes strategies that could be employed to support the recognition of unpaid care work in Uganda and therefore reduce its burden on the women.

CHAPTER SEVEN

EVOLUTION OF THE 3R CATEGORISATION MODEL THROUGH A DESIGN THINKING APPROACH

7.1 Introduction

Overtime, unpaid care work has been the epitome of persistent gender inequality which has continuously challenged women empowerment (Daigle *et al.*, 2017:1). Daigle *et al.* (2017:1) notes that unpaid care work entrenches the subordination of women in society but, at the same time, it is indispensable for economic growth and human wellbeing. The predominance of women in unpaid care work requires recognition of their contribution to the welfare of an economy. Interventions intended to promote gender equality have catapulted some women from focusing on unpaid care work to devote more time to exploring other income generating activities or the labour market (Daigle et al., 2017:1).

International treaties on women empowerment have implored governments that ratify such treaties to recognise and reduce the burden of unpaid care work on women (Dong & An, 2015:541). Many countries have been responsive with interventions to create apposite strategies that empower women and reduce the burden of unpaid work (Antonopoulos, 2008:9; Bigo, 2010:120). In developing countries, women continue to engage in unpaid care work even when their governments are obliged to honour such international agendas and have designed models that empower them (Folbre, 2008:374).

Uganda is considered one of the countries with successful women movements which have generally yielded positive results (Warrington, 2013:403) in empowering women. However, Warrington (2013:403) notes that the gender relations in the share of unpaid care work remain unequal, unrecognised and a burden to women (World Bank, 2005:vi). It is reported that the policy makers in Uganda do not consider women who engage in unpaid care work because of the failure to attach value to it and justify its substantial contribution to national income (UBOS, 2013b:72, 87; Daigle *et al.*, 2017:1). While the country has a National Gender Policy, it is reported that the policy is not adequately responsive to reducing the burden of unpaid care work

(Warrington, 2013:403). As a result, that the Government of Uganda has not prioritized the recognition of unpaid care work. England (2005:385); Bigo (2010:117) argue that the devaluation theory explains the cultural biases which limit government support for the recognition of unpaid care work.

Empirical findings from this study confirm that culture still plays a critical role in influencing the recognition of unpaid care work. The study further established that there are indicators of opportunistic behaviours shaping decision making on unpaid care work. Furthermore, findings reveal that women have manifested themselves in ways that affect the recognition of unpaid care work. Study findings also show that politics within governments have played a role in the recognition of unpaid care work. Models developed to address challenges posed by unpaid care work have registered mixed reactions, with the majority only applicable to developed countries (Williams, 2010:7). In addition, many of the models reviewed seem to be generic and treat the target beneficiaries as homogenous.

This study proposes the 3R Categorisation model, which is based on the need to design interventions that address different categories of actors in the recognition of unpaid care work in Uganda. Antonopoulos (2008:38) argues that it is only when models exemplify the value of unpaid care work that women's contribution is recognised and the burden of unpaid care work is reduced. Antonopoulos (2008:10) further recommends contextualised models while Thoring and Müller (2011:1) highlight the need to avoid generalized approaches to modelling for unpaid care work.

This chapter has been structured to include the introduction in the first section which is followed by conceptualization of the model. The third section of the chapter highlights model development approaches and justification of the adopted approach for this study; the design thinking. Section four brings out the unpaid care work models that have been adopted in other countries. The global perspective of these models, gives an appreciation of what lessons can be learned from other models which can be applied in the case of Uganda. It also presents a model that suits the Ugandan context given the experiences of other countries. The fifth section then gives the 3R model for unpaid care work from which the 3R Categorisation has been distilled.

The sixth section of this chapter then brings out a modified transition from 3R Model towards the 3R Categorisation Model. The chapter ends with a section on the graphical and explanatory presentation of the operationalization of the 3R Categorisation Model that has been developed out of this study and ends with a conclusion.

7.2 Models through a conceptual lens

A Model is a representation of reality often developed as solutions to identified gaps (Van der Waldt, 2013:1). Models are developed to reason and clarify a particular phenomenon under study (Van der Waldt, 2013:1). Reigeluth (2013:21) adds that a model is a set of ideologies that are scientifically thought through showing the different aspects of the phenomena. They give explanations of the problem and are able to predict how best to achieve the desired outcomes from the proposed solution (Reigeluth, 2013:21). Graham *et al.* (2014:12) amplifies the importance of models to the knowledge creation process. Van der Waldt (2013:4) recognises the pivotal role that models play in scientific thinking and practical problem-solving. He observes that the success of a model depends on the different contexts in which one operates (Van der Waldt, 2013:6). A model, therefore, helps to explain "how" and "why" certain phenomena do happen and they provide innovative solutions to the identified challenges (Hokanson & Gibbons, 2013:2; Graham *et al.*, 2014:15).

A model should be as comprehensive as possible, inclusive of all the variables that have an influence over the possible outcome of the problem under study (Reigeluth, 2013:18). A model provides that structure and relationship which illustrates the comparison between what should be done compared to what is actually done (Van der Waldt, 2013:6) with the aim of proposing ways of solving a problem. In the process, it develops through an investigation aimed at finding practical solutions to different occurrences (Graham *et al.*, 2014:15, 13). These solutions become innovations that act as a substitute for reality.

7.3 Approaches to model development

Models are conceived through defined approaches to creating, verifying and re-modeling of reality and are a foundation to developing theory (Van der Waldt, 2013:6). According to Lave and March (1993:vii), model development is insightful in predicting, understanding, influencing

and appreciating reality, in this case unpaid care work and all its adversities. In an attempt to design a model that addresses the challenges to recognising unpaid care work in Uganda, this study adopted the design thinking approach for model development. This approach, according to Dorst (2011:5), helps in answering questions of "what" and "how" in order to find a solution to existing problems. Design thinking is comprehended as a unique problem-solving methodology which is applied in challenging situations in an innovative manner (Liedtka, 2015:925).

According to Hokanson and Gibbons (2013:2), design thinking allows for scientific reasoning that integrates researchers' thoughts from the classical function of a phenomenon and proposes the most appropriate model that satisfies the purpose. This innovativeness, according to Thoring and Müller (2011:2), is the main goal of design thinking, making it the preferred approach for developing a model that recognises unpaid care work in Uganda. Design thinking derives its foundation from the conceptual framework and variables therein and through analysing gaps, bridging the difference between the ideal and actual situation of a phenomenon (Van der Waldt, 2013:6; Gibbons & Langton, 2016:98). Design thinking subscribes to building on already existing knowledge, which gives rise to modification of an existing model through a comprehensive analysis of the parent model. This approach is ideal for contextualising propositions and creates best fit strategies that create local impact (Thoring & Müller, 2011:4; Barab, 2014:152).

The new proposed unpaid care work model adopted the design thinking because it promotes a multifaceted style that allows the identification and examination of multiple factors in problem solving as opposed to many models which have adopted a linear direction to addressing the problem (Dorst, 2011:521; Mahmud *et al.*, 2012:148; Reigeluth, 2013:18; Barab, 2014:154). Liedtka (2015:927) propose that design thinking as a problem and solution focused approach provides alternative solutions for a desirable model which facilitates decision making and resource allocation. Design thinking considers approaches that match people's needs with what is the most feasible strategy, and it was considered appropriate for Uganda's unpaid care work challenges (Thoring & Müller, 2011:1). This iterative design process facilitated a shift from merely accepting the situations of unpaid care work as they are, and introduced new and useful ways of creating a change in people's perceptions and how this will influence the recognition of

unpaid care work in Uganda (Barab, 2014:151). Scholars suggest that this innovative aspect of design-based research makes it a useful methodology for advancing new theory and practice (Barab, 2014:151).

Design thinking as an innovative process, aims at providing alternative options of changing the current situation for unpaid care work into a much preferred one for the women through innovative thinking (Mahmud *et al.*, 2012:52; Hokanson & Gibbons, 2013:2; Liedtka, 2015:134). The approach agreed to by Hokanson and Gibbons (2013:v) conceptualized new dimensions of critically identifying the challenges and suggesting the most appropriate way of handling them. Engeström (2011:599) adds that design thinking recoils around the assumption that researchers are aware of what and how they want to change a phenomenon such that the developed model predicts and defines the desired outcomes well in advance. Being an approach that undergoes a process that has been tested and proven by theorists (Liedtka, 2015:926), design thinking guided this study to build on conclusions and recommendations drawn from models that were earlier developed by other scholars to recognise unpaid care work. By adopting this approach, this study adopted the technique of "build on the ideas of others" to support the blending, transformation, and retaining of the 3R model. The intention of this was to solicit ideas that the 3R model presents and modify them by categorisation of factors responsible for non-recognition of unpaid care work in the Ugandan context (Thoring & Müller, 2011:8).

The methodological process of design thinking followed a three-step approach of explore, explain and design (Graham *et al.*, 2014:15). In its findings, the study explored the state of affairs with regard to unpaid care work in Uganda. It explored the root causes of unpaid care work in the country (Graham *et al.*, 2014:16). Both theoretical and practical discourses were considered to get a deeper understanding of the subject matter. Data was collected through interview and focus group discussions to discover perceptions, attitudes and beliefs of different categories of respondents with regard to unpaid care work.

It is from the exploration that the study identified the major factors of culture, opportunistic behaviours in decision making, manifestations of women's role and the political role as the causes for non-recognition of unpaid care work in Uganda. This created a shift from

identification to developing ideas that can bridge the gaps or challenges identified. Using an assessment of existing models and empirical evidence, the study ideated appropriate dimensions which formed the basis for developing a new model. This was followed by a proto-test of the model with both academicians and practitioners to ascertain where it is applicable or not and the possible gaps. The testing was conducted through consultations and presentations of the proposed model. Feedback was provided which guided the its modification and refinement. The output of this process was a diagrammatic representation of the factors affecting unpaid care work and how they informed the design of a new 3R categorisation model in Section 6.6.

7.4 A review of unpaid care work models

Many countries, especially the developed economies, have made tremendous efforts to develop models that address the issue of unpaid care work (Williams, 2010:7). An example is the European Union child care policy which not only provides child care support but endeavors to ensure that women are entitled to work and also share the domestic care work roles equally with their spouses (Williams, 2010:12). This approach does not only reduce the burden of unpaid care work but also promotes women empowerment. In addition, is the Nordic model which is regarded as one of the most successful models globally (Razavi (2007:383). This model is a state sponsored initiative that has been directly providing facilities to support women with childcare, after-school programs, eldercare, health and education services since the 1960s (Antonopoulos, 2008:31). The services provided by the states range from country to country. Some countries such as Belgium, France, Denmark, and Sweden do offer state funded child support facilities, while Britain, Germany and the Netherlands do not (Knijn & Kremer, 1997:329). The Nordic model does not in any way target a particular segment of the population; rather, it is designed for all categories of people to enjoy as entitlements (Antonopoulos, 2008:31). Some of the benefits include compulsory paid parental leaves and other tax incentives (Knijn & Kremer, 1997:329).

While the two models above have recorded success where they are implemented, an in-depth analysis reveals doubts whether they are applicable in many African countries where the economies are very weak and largely still depend on external funding. Ferrant *et al.* (2014:9) argue that some models have registered success stories for the care-givers while others have not been so effective in addressing the challenges of unpaid care work.

In Uganda, for instance, where the tax base is constrained, the models may not apply given that the public expenditure budget on social development, which is currently estimated at 0.37% of total national expenditure for 2015/2020, might not support the sustainability of such a model (Uganda NDP II, 2010:279). In addition, a review of Uganda's funding priorities according to Uganda's National Development Plan II, Vision 2040, reveal that the country is focusing on infrastructural development including road construction, oil and gas, and agriculture, with no particular attention given to unpaid care work (Uganda NDP II, 2010:109). This contrasts with Ortiz and Cummins (2013:73) who advocate for continuous support funding for facilities that support women as a way of promoting development. Cantillon and Van Lancker (2013:560) reason that the Nordic model is designed and benefits developed economies and may not be sustainable for the low-income earners who are predominant in developing countries like Uganda.

It should be noted that policies and practices which flourish in one country may not flourish in another (Appelbaum *et al.*, 2002:126). However, Appelbaum *et al.* (2002:126) advises that regardless of the inapplicability of a model in one country, there is always a lesson one can borrow from a successful policy or model and apply it to their own context. The Nordic model, for instance, requires a very strong political will to recognise, prioritise and commit resources towards reducing the burden of unpaid care work across all categories of people (Ortiz & Cummins, 2013:73). The lessons drawn from these models are that political and technical commitment has been earmarked as a focal point in promoting interventions that recognise unpaid care work. The Nordic model has been commended for reducing the unpaid care work burden and increasing labour force participation of women in paid employment (Antonopoulos, 2008:31). The model is also more inclusive and meets the needs of different groups of people (Antonopoulos, 2008:31).

Other countries such as Mexico, Colombia, Honduras, Jamaica, Mexico, Nicaragua, and Turkey have adopted the family based cash transfers which encourage women to focus on their families without complaining about pay (Antonopoulos, 2008:33). In these countries, women are incentivized to perform unpaid work because it is recognised and valued through the payment provided (Antonopoulos, 2008:33). Cash transfers according to Williams (2010:4), are a direct

way through which the state avoids provision of services and physical facilities to support unpaid care work and uses cash as a subsidy for women to purchase what they desire. The cash transfer model is also cited to mainly target households considered to be poor. Although this model recognises the efforts and also rewards women for their time spent in unpaid care work, it may not totally reduce their participation in unpaid care work (Antonopoulos, 2008:33). In addition, it is not known whether the compensation is commensurate with the effort that the women attach to unpaid care work.

In Uganda where the majority of the population is poor, this model would have been the most appropriate. However, it may not be applicable considering the country's resource envelope. This is drawn from the empirical findings, which suggest that the decision makers' priorities are directed to activities perceived to be more valuable, given the meagre resources that the country has. Respondents in a Focus Group Discussion echoed this when they argued that Uganda may lack the necessary funds to compensate women in unpaid care work activities. Therefore, it is unlikely that Uganda can adopt such model in the near future. However, the lessons drawn from this model is the need to appreciate the needs of the poor households and design a model that addresses their unpaid care expectations. According to Ortiz and Cummins (2013:56), when developing countries are faced with budget constraints, there is a tendency for cutting on social spending before any other sector which in most cases affects the vulnerable groups especially the women. There is need for a perception to shift from considering unpaid work efforts as a constraint on national budgets but rather as a valuable area of funding that is likely to promote quicker development and thus deserves to be a priority in budgetary allocations (Saraceno & Keck, 2011:372).

In Nepal the trade liberalization model was adopted to support women in unpaid care work. It was designed to have import duties completely scrapped for women in trade as a way of raising their earnings. However, the model has been criticized for failing to reduce women's participation in unpaid care work tasks; instead, it increased the burden because women had to do both trade and domestic work. It was further revealed that the model ended up depriving women of leisure time and increased that of men (Antonopoulos, 2008:10). The model is believed to have been imported and faulted for failure to analyse the implications of not

contextualizing it (Antonopoulos, 2008:10). It is suggested that unpaid care efforts should adopt care lens policies that do not worsen the existing situation (Ferrant *et al.*, 2014:9).

There is limited literature on unpaid care work efforts in Africa with some experiences cited in Zimbabwe where the Africare's Male Empowerment Project is trying to increase male involvement in unpaid care work. What made it successful was the focus on changing existing gender stereotypes among men in order to increase their involvement in unpaid care work (Ferrant *et al.*, 2014:9). While other developing countries have made attempts to provide more public support for women in unpaid care work activities (Folbre, 2008:374), this has not been the case in East Africa and Uganda in particular.

7.5 The 3R Model of unpaid care work

The Action Aid International (AAI) has developed a 3R Model in Uganda which proposes for Recognition, Reduction, and Redistribution of women's efforts in unpaid care work (Thorpe *et al.*, 2016:16). Essentially the 3R Model emphasizes tailor made solutions to the given service and conditions in a country or community. According to AAI, Recognition aims at ensuring that unpaid care is not only visible by also acknowledged as being "work" (Budlender & Moussié, 2013:11). This suggests measures including compensation to women who perform the unpaid care work.

Reduction of unpaid care work, according to Budlender and Moussié (2013:11), aims at efforts directed towards easing the load of work from those that perform it. The 3R Model calls for interventions that will make available facilities to provide better services for women in unpaid care work with efficiency and effectiveness. This also requires government to invest in bringing such facilities nearer to the women to reduce their time and efforts spent when trying to access such facilities. These may include having healthcare services being brought closer and water services being installed in all homes, so that women's time spent in accessing facilities is reduced.

Redistribution, on the other hand, suggests that total unpaid care work is fairly shared by all men and women as well as the state and the private sector (Lewis & Giullari, 2005:78). This implies that all stakeholders take a portion of it; for instance, having men actively engaged in unpaid care

work tasks equally with the women in a home. It also implies that government policies and programmes provide amenities like child care facilities and day care homes to support the women. The private sector, through government initiatives, may also have a share of the load by creating a friendly working environment that supports women in unpaid care work roles (Budlender & Moussié, 2013:11).

In addition to the 3R Model, literature has brought out a 4th R that suggests Representation which is about giving women an opportunity to have a voice in the home and at other forums. This "R" calls for women in leadership positions to raise their concerns on unpaid care work tasks. It is believed that by providing them with space to discuss and increase their voice to raise their issues within the community, some unpaid care work constraints can improve (Thorpe *et al.*, 2016:16). This is, however, debatable considering that women have failed to utilize such platforms to have issues of unpaid care work discussed and addressed.

7.6 A Paradigm shift from the 3R to the 3R categorisation model

Guided by the design thinking approach adopted by Appelbaum *et al.* (2002:126), this study conducted a critical reflection on the models and identified the 3R approach as a closer replication to the Ugandan context. Lessons from other models are also adopted to develop a broader and innovative model that accommodates different categories of people. An analysis of the 3R model highlights some gaps, which formed a basis for strengthening the proposed model. It was noted that just like other models, the assumption is that universally, women are viewed the same with common unpaid care work challenges. The universality of women has created silence on the experiences different actors go through in the area of unpaid care work.

This study discovered that there are different categories of actors who affect or are affected by unpaid care work. In addition, it was revealed that the different categories demand for different approaches towards recognition of unpaid care work. This formed the basis for rationalizing the 3R model to develop the 3R Categorisation Model, which proposes targeted interventions to address the diverse interests, expectations and concerns of the different categories. The model also ascribes to contextualization as a key factor to ensure that it is compatible within the respective situations in which it is to be applied (Barab, 2014:153).

While some scholars suggest that contextualization of models for local impact requires gender disaggregated data, reports from Uganda reveal that such information is missing and perhaps poses challenges for decision makers to comprehensively analyse how to prioritise and allocate resources to unpaid care work (Ortiz & Cummins, 2013:69). This means that designing unpaid care work models requires a lot of precision if they are to be successful. The rationalisation borrows from the proposal by Hokanson and Gibbons (2013:2) of blending contexts to design appropriate strategies for recognising unpaid care work. The strategies are based on the experiences and reactions from each category which are explained below.

7.6.1 The men's opportunistic behaviours

In Uganda, this study discovered that men predominantly hold positions of authority with high esteem. This rhymes with the specialization model which denotes men as experts in issues of paid care work while women are considered experts in unpaid care work in the home (Hook, 2006:641). The study findings reveal that men in senior positions play a role in challenging the recognition of unpaid care work through the various platforms they hold. This study noted that this is partly due to the cultural and traditional beliefs entrenched among the men. It is argued that culture and tradition is influencing their egos in decision making and thus aggravating the challenges women face in unpaid care work (Sepúlveda Carmona & Donald, 2014:444). This was confirmed by respondents as one of the causes affecting fair resource allocation towards women interests.

The egoistic behaviour among the men are reported to be very fundamental in stifling opportunities to have unpaid care work recognised. This is partially attributed to the phobia that women will rise in ranks and usurp men's positions both in the home and in the market place. In other instances, the men who dominate and dictate resource allocation have used the capitalists' claim of "return on investment" to justify their actions. Literature shows that men in decision making argue that social policy goals are secondary to economic benefits which they consider more valuable (Lewis & Giullari, 2005:80). This is somewhat the reason why unpaid care work features in the National Gender policy but it is not assigned any resources as proposed by policy (MoGLSD, 2007:24). In addition, men and policy makers claim that because no standardized value is attached to unpaid care work activities, it has become complicated for them to determine

how much resources need to be allocated to women's domestic activities. This is a manifestation of how men are suffocating efforts to recognise unpaid care work.

7.6.2 The women's role in unpaid care work efforts

Daigle *et al.* (2017:4) present a debate that unpaid care work for women is not limited by age or work; rather, it affects women and girls throughout their lives. From their early stage in life, women continue to do unpaid work until their old age (Daigle *et al.*, 2017:4). This study exposes the fundamental role women play in recognising unpaid care and empowerment. The literature and empirical findings suggest that women are 'their own enemies' in the recognition of unpaid care work and therefore specific attention needs to be directed towards interventions that balance both paid and unpaid care work for the women (Appelbaum *et al.*, 2002:125). It is worth noting that very limited studies have attempted to write about the manifestations of empowered and disempowered women and interventions to address their behavior. The 3R Categorisation Model proposes strategies that address each category's role in suffocating unpaid care work. The strategies also consider the affordability for each women category.

7.6.2.1 The empowered women

The empirical findings show that empowered women have generally discovered means of dealing with unpaid care work unlike the majority of those who are disempowered. The empowered women transfer the burden to hired domestic helpers who perform the tasks on their behalf. The study further observed that empowered women do not seem to feel the direct burden of unpaid care work. As a result, they are generally less concerned about unpaid care work issues. Ideally, empowered women are expected to stand out in raising concerns for unpaid care work. However, empirical findings show that many do not make strides for such efforts. An analysis in the study shows that empowered women do not recognise unpaid care work. This has been attributed to the fact that they do not feel the burden anymore and therefore believe it is no longer an issue. The study discovered that by transferring their burden to hired workers, they indirectly engage in unpaid care work in form of supervising and monitoring the domestic helpers. More so, the empowered women often times carry the financial obligation to compensate the helpers for their effort. The practice of hiring domestic workers is a manifestation that empowered women are aggravating women's participation in unpaid care

work as opposed to the desired reduction of the burden. The findings also revealed that empowered women do not want their husbands to engage in unpaid care work, and the majority did not support the need to have unpaid care work shared between men and women.

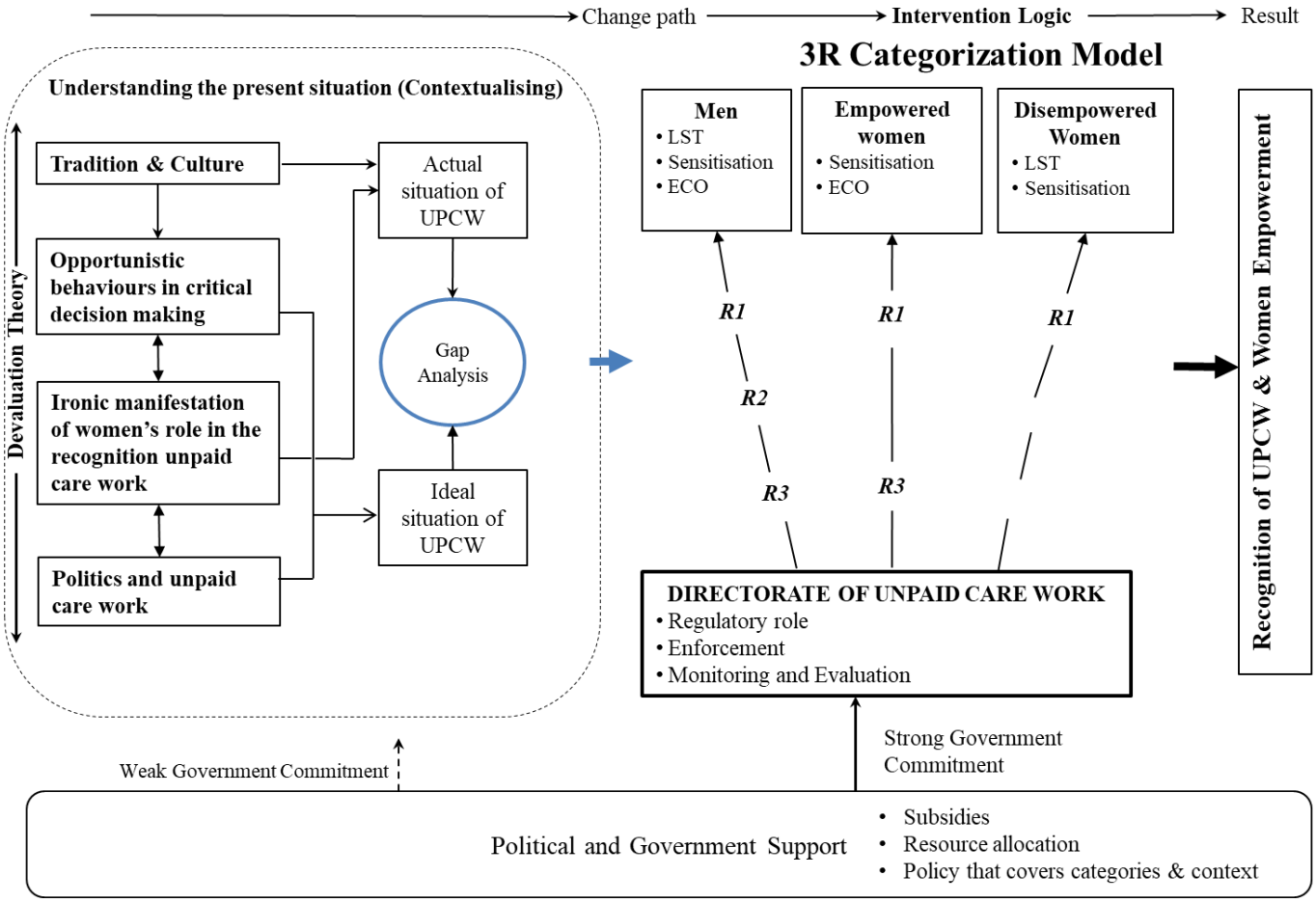
7.6.2.2 Disempowered women

Literature reveals that this category of women is known to shoulder the biggest load of unpaid care work. Empirical findings show that because these women have no means of transferring the unpaid care work tasks to hired workers and end up doing unpaid care work chores themselves (Daigle *et al.*, 2017:5). However, when asked how they perceive this burden, the majority appeared contented with handling unpaid care work tasks. What came out of the study is the fact that disempowered women concede that it is their role to do the unpaid care work roles but also acknowledge that it is burdensome. This acceptance is demonstration of how cultural influences still persist in promoting unpaid care work as a woman's role. However, during the study there were cases where women in this category prayed for a possibility to ask the men to provide support that would help ease the burden.

The debates on behaviour of different actors illustrate that efforts to recognise and reduce the burden of unpaid care work cannot be generalized and addressing it requires an integrated approach which assimilates government commitment to support the sector. It is based on the reactions and expectations between the men, empowered and disempowered women that the study rationalizes the 3R model to become the 3R Categorisation model as illustrated.

7.7. The Model: THE 3R CATEGORISATION MODEL

Figure 7.1 illustrating the 3R Categorisation Model



Source: Own illustration (2017)

Key

UPCW	- Unpaid care work
LST	- Labour Saving Technologies
ECO	- Early Childhood Orientation
R1	- Recognition
R2	- Reduction
R3	- Redistribution

7.7.1 The 3R Categorisation Model

The 3R Categorisation Model adopts a multifaceted categorisation approach to unpaid care work in Uganda. The 3R Categorisation Model is drawn from Action Aid International's 3R Model, which has been modified by identifying key players who have affected the recognition of unpaid care work in Uganda. The model adds logic to the 3R model by categorising the men and women and their role in the recognition of unpaid care work (Van der Waldt, 2013:6). The categorisation is informed by findings emerging from literature review which is augmented by empirical findings (Van der Waldt, 2013:6). The model is presented in a chart to give a graphical illustration of how the variables of unpaid care work should interplay to guide government and other stakeholders in reducing the burden felt by women in performing unpaid care work tasks (Van der Waldt, 2013:11). The model identifies which of the 3Rs best suit a given category putting into consideration the level of burden and affordability of the proposed strategy.

Emerging from the theoretical and conceptual frameworks, the 3R Categorisation Model has been grounded in the devaluation theory and how it has affected women and the work they perform. Considering the concepts behind non-recognition of unpaid care work, the model is cognisant of the role of each categorized persons and how they have affected unpaid care work in Uganda. It emerges with a situational analysis, which presents the ideal versus the actual situations of unpaid care work in Uganda. From literature and empirical findings, it is evident that the factors that affect unpaid care work in form of culture and tradition, opportunistic behaviours of decision makers, the role of women and that of politics in recognition of unpaid care have frustrated efforts for recognising unpaid care work. This brings out a gap which the 3R Categorisation model seeks to fill. The study findings reveal that there has been weak government commitment that could not enforce the implementation of any of the recommendations made by the 3R Model. Based on this, the 3R Categorisation Model then categorizes the men, empowered women and disempowered women as the basis for designing which strategies best suit each category. It also makes recommendations for government to ensure that the strategies to meet the intended intentions are all highlighted in its operationalization under Section 7.7.2.

The model recommends that government considers developing unpaid care work policies, improve on resource allocation towards programmes that are intended to address challenges of unpaid care work and also giving subsidies to enterprises that promote the recognition of unpaid care work. The model calls for strong political and government commitment, which will constitute strengthening its regulatory mechanism to ensure that all concerned parties adhere to government regulations on unpaid care work.

The study established that the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development (MoGLSD), which is charged with gender issues and in this case including matters of unpaid care work in Uganda, did not have a focal desk or officer to handle matters on unpaid care work. The model, therefore, proposes that government establishes a directorate responsible for unpaid care work in the MoGLSD to enforce implementation of the proposed strategies for all and also monitor and evaluate the country's progress in recognition of unpaid care work and how the strategies have reduced the burden on the women. While the model suggests strategies to each category, it is important for the government to take the upper hand in regulating, enforcing and monitoring the application of the strategies by all concerned. Once all is in place, this will lead to recognition of unpaid care work by reducing the burden resulting from a redistribution of tasks amongst the various stakeholders. It is from the logical intentions of the model that the result will translate into women having more time to take on other opportunities like education, employment and leadership roles which will give them autonomy through their empowerment.

7.7.2 Model Operationalisation

7.7.2.1 Approaches for the men's opportunistic behaviour

In response to the challenge presented by men, the 3R Categorisation Model advocates for recognition, reduction and redistribution strategies for the men's category. The model proposes interventions to make men recognise and acknowledge that unpaid care work is an important aspect of life. It is envisioned that if men appreciate the burden of unpaid care work to society and general wellbeing, then the challenges it presents will be prioritized in the national development plans. The model suggests developing sensitization messages targeting men at all forums and presenting both the adversities and the development benefits of recognising unpaid care work. The model proposes wide and aggressive sensitization programmes targeting the men

to overcome the self-centeredness and also help them not to shy away from engaging in unpaid care work tasks. It is argued that recognition will pave way for a shift in men's perception, which will subsequently positively influence the men in decision making platforms to appreciate the need to support the women in performing unpaid care work and reduce the burden they hold. Once men recognise the importance of unpaid care work and how it burdens the women, it then becomes easy for policy makers to make decisions that are inclusive of unpaid care work.

The model also proposes Early Childhood Orientation (ECO) programmes to commence the awareness campaigns in the early years of their infancy. These programmes are projected to give a leading route to achievement of social inclusion of men in women's unpaid care work activities which according to Cantillon and Van Lancker (2013:553) must begin in early life. Early Childhood Orientation should target homes in the community where young boys and their parents are oriented about the need to understand why unpaid care work should be every one's concern. This approach is recommended by Cantillon and Van Lancker (2013:560) who suggest that early human capital investments such as Early Childhood Orientation programmes usually yield positive results for reducing inequality. This may target and spread as far as schools and other learning institutions including re-designing the curriculum to highlight unpaid care work as a subject area for the young generation.

Building from the recognition and ECO programmes targeting men, the model further suggests reduction as a strategy for addressing the challenges of unpaid care work. The model presupposes that once the men have recognised the value of unpaid care work, then they start sharing the load of the work together with the women. This is informed by the study findings which show that some men are willing to help in unpaid care work but dread to be seen helping the women. Some studies already report an increasing number of men willing to become more engaged in unpaid care work tasks (Daigle *et al.,* 2017:8). The model recommends that the sensitization and ECO programmes be designed in a manner that provides testimonies from men of prestige engaging in unpaid care work as guided by the respondents. This will perhaps address the stigma among men and inspire them to see engagement and support for unpaid care work as normal. This is in harmony with the "shared work, valued work" model reported by Appelbaum

et al. (2002:128), which proposes that men should share in unpaid care work activities in a family as much as the women do.

The model also proposes redistribution as a strategy for men to engage in unpaid care work. Men should be encouraged to engage by doing a portion of unpaid care work tasks in a home. The study findings, however, revealed that while some men were willing to share the load, they find it very heavy and taxing to perform. In response to this, they suggested the use of Labour Saving Technologies (LST) to enable them share in the housework roles, which the model adopts. However, the study discovered that there are different LSTs for both rural and urban areas. LSTs in a typical urban home include electric cookers, washing machines, gas stoves, water dispensers and dish washers while those for rural areas include establishment of protected water sources within a short radius, energy saving stoves and manual or motorised food processing equipment (Bishop-Sambrook, 2016:2).

The model suggests that implementers should be congnisant that LSTs for rural areas may not be similar to those in urban areas. The redistribution approach is highlighted in the proposition by Daigle *et al.* (2017:2) that if unpaid care work is to be fairly shared among all, it can only be supported by investment in the required technologies. The technologies not only make unpaid care work easier to engage in by the men but also are faster and efficient to allow the men have enough time for other engagements. The LST is likely to inspire the men to share the load with the women, which reduces unpaid care work for the women.

7.7.2.2 Approaches targeting the empowered women

Resulting from the manifestations of empowered women's role in unpaid care work, the 3R Categorisation model suggests the importance of supporting the empowered women to comprehend how they are suffocating efforts for unpaid care work. Recognition of unpaid care work for the empowered women should come through exposing them to the fact that transferring the burden does not translate into throwing efforts to recognise unpaid care work under the carpet. The model envisages empowered women being at the forefront of advocating efforts for unpaid care work and women empowerment through creating awareness and supporting decision-making processes. Recognition for this category should create awareness focusing on

making the empowered women appreciate and understand how it is burdensome for those who perform it.

Another finding of the study revealed that women continue to engage in unpaid care work even when they are employed in paid labour. These facts brought out the 'double burden of employment' the empowered women perform when they do both paid and unpaid care work. The Model suggests that the category of empowered women need to have a mechanism that redistributes the burden. The model, therefore, recommends redistribution as an intervention that will help them remain in their paid employment and also minimally engage in unpaid care work without carrying a heavy load of it. The model proposes use of Labour Saving Technologies (LST) for empowered women. Since these women are employed, the model assumes that they can afford to purchase the technologies such as washing machines, cookers, dish washers and water dispensers which make house chores easier to handle.

In addition, the 3R Categorisation Model proposes that the empowered women will promote the use of LSTs to permit both the men and women to have a share of the load of the work. This strategy is borne from the study findings, which revealed that many empowered women were found not to support men's involvement in unpaid care work tasks. The model, therefore, recommends that empowered women appreciate that men have a stake in sharing the unpaid care work burdens. The model envisages that women will then find it necessary to engage their men in domestic work instead of leaving it to the house helpers. Empowered women will also be able to appreciate the fact that hired domestic workers are not a silver bullet to the dire challenges of unpaid care work. This will facilitate the division of tasks between the empowered women and the men they have always protected to participate in unpaid care work. As a result of the LST, it is assumed that the distributed tasks will be more efficient and more user friendly to allow the redistribution to take place. It should be noted that by proposing strategies for empowered women, the model will not wipe out the practice of hiring domestic workers that is predominant among the empowered women.

7.7.2.3 Strategies addressing the behaviour of disempowered women

The 3R Categorisation model proposes recognition as a long-term strategy for creating change among the disempowered women. Recognition for the disempowered women will be in the form of creating awareness on the need for critical reflection on the burden of unpaid care work tasks, which they do not currently appreciate. By appreciating the burden, they go through, it is assumed that the disempowered women will begin supporting the ECO programmes right from their homes through engaging boys and girls in unpaid care work tasks. This is projected to balance the unpaid care load in the long run as the children grow into adults. In addition, sensitization may help the women to start grassroots pressure groups that will put pressure on the local leaders and policy makers to consider debates for unpaid care work. The model suggests that the bottom-up pressure for unpaid care work would be a formidable force that policy makers at national level are likely to pay attention to.

Disempowered women in other countries have been supported through state support for free health services, child care services and cash transfers (Razavi, 2007:391). The Mexican Education, Health, and Nutrition Programme, for example, has been highly acknowledged for providing women cash transfer stipends in return for children's education and free family members' regular health check-ups, (Razavi, 2007:392). While such models appear successful in some countries where they have been adopted, the 3R categorisation model does not propose the direct cash transfers for the disempowered women because they are unlikely to be sustainable in the Ugandan context given the constrained public funding (Razavi, 2007:392) in addition to the likelihood of breeding social divisions and tensions amongst the communities. The 3R Categorisation Model discourages direct cash transfers based on the findings by Cantillon and Van Lancker (2013:553) that social policy funding discourages public support, and proposes empowerment of women to reduce dependency.

Daigle *et al.* (2017:6) urge governments to invest in labour-saving technologies to reduce unpaid care work for the disempowered women who have no source of income. There is evidence that these technologies do reduce the burden and indeed reports show that in Nicaragua, women whose homes were equipped with lighting and gas stoves were 23 per cent more likely to seek for some work in the paid labour market. On the other hand, in the Democratic Republic of

Congo, women using traditional stoves worked up to 52 hours more per week than would be necessary with fuel-efficient stoves (Daigle *et al.*, 2017:6). It should be noted that the 3R Categorisation model does not recommend reduction as a strategy by use of Labour Saving Technologies for disempowered women in Uganda. This is premised on the fact that the women do not work and have no means to purchase and sustain the use of the recommended technologies. In addition, the government of Uganda does not have resources to facilitate the disempowered women with the technologies.

7.7.2.4 Assimilating Government support for unpaid care work

This study noted that without government involvement in appreciating and recognising unpaid care work, it would be difficult to realize the desired change. The failure by governments to meet the rapid changes in the current trend of women and men in paid and unpaid care work engagement, leads to stress and anxiety as it was reported in United States of America (Appelbaum *et al.*, 2002:125). According to Daigle *et al.* (2017:2) it is actually termed as government's "major failure" in its responsibilities to promote equality. This study highlights the current challenges emanating from a weak government commitment to support interventions suggested for recognition of unpaid care work. For instance, in Uganda it is the obligation of the Ministry of Finance to allocate resources for supporting unpaid care work activities as recommended by the National Gender Policy, but government has not yet implemented it (Budlender & Moussié, 2013:8).

Unpaid care work has not been given adequate attention and is reportedly shadowed in the Ministry responsible for gender issues where it is considered as a cross-cutting issue. Borrowing from the Work Family Balanced policy in the United Kingdom that recommends government's responsibility for monitoring and regulation of the model (Lewis & Campbell, 2007:366), the 3R Categorisation Model recommends that government should establish a Directorate of Unpaid Care Work not only to oversee unpaid care work interventions but also to develop specific policies that support the recognition and reduction of the burden of domestic work. The assumption is that this will compel men and women to be obliged to make choices in pursuit of fairness in allocation of unpaid care work roles. This builds from the fact that as Lewis and

Giullari (2005:78) and Razavi (2007:381) put it, the choices and lifestyles of men and women is greatly determined by the extent to which social policies address the issue of unpaid care work.

The 3R Categorisation model proposes that government's share of redistribution of unpaid care work is to establish a mechanism that supports the use of labour saving technologies. This could be done by subsidizing labour saving technology equipment to make them cheaper and therefore affordable by most families in Uganda. Borrowing from Nepal's trade liberalization model, this model suggests that the government of Uganda ensures that import duties are scrapped on all technologies that facilitate reduction of unpaid care work burdens. The removal of tax on these items lowers the purchase costs making it affordable for households. As Razavi (2007:388) found out, government subsidies compensate low income earners and those outside formal employment and usually result in a more enhanced egalitarian welfare system that attracts men to do unpaid care work.

Learning from the UK's Work Family Balanced Model, the government should be able to build a link between economic and family interests where decision makers appreciate that family welfare is as important as other sectors and it should be accorded the attention it deserves (Lewis & Campbell, 2007:369). Lewis and Campbell (2007:369) note that in UK, in decisions of resource allocation, family welfare is given first priority followed by economic and business issues as second, something that can be adopted by the Ugandan government.

7.8 Limitations of the model

One of the interventions that the model has proposed for the categories of men and empowered women is to acquire Labour Saving Techniques. However, the use of such technologies will result in high electricity consumption unless they use alternative energy sources. From the interviews conducted, while most respondents suggested the use of labour saving technologies as one way they would easily work in unpaid care work activities, they expressed their concern about electricity and gas bills. Generally, electricity and gas are one of the expensive utilities in the country and this can be an obstacle in the promotion of labour saving technologies in Uganda. However, a strong government commitment through subsidies and tax reductions will make the technologies affordable.

This study observed that the Government of Uganda may fall short of redistribution in the area of providing infrastructure that reduces the burden of unpaid care work like child care facilities which are reported in developed countries. This is due to diverse funding priorities. This, however, may be addressed by introducing subsidies that facilitate the private sector to invest in unpaid care work reducing facilities.

7.9 Concluding remarks and policy implications

The study modified and contextualized the 3R model out of which the 3R Categorisation model was born. The 3R Categorisation Model presents a contextualized approach to reduce the burden of unpaid care work in order to empower the women. The 3R Categorisation Model introduces interventions suited for each category of people that affect or are affected by the recognition of unpaid care work in Uganda. By recommending different interventions for each category, the model gives responsive strategies that meet the needs and expectations of different groups. The proposed institutional framework of the model proposes government involvement through introduction of the Directorate for Unpaid Care Work to support development of specific unpaid care work policies and regulate, enforce and monitor the implementation of the proposed interventions. From the findings of the study, the 3R Categorisation Model informs government on the importance of developing a specific policy on unpaid care work that will guide how best to allocate national resources.

The 3R Categorisation model will also inform future researchers who may wish to build on it for further scientific investigations in the field of unpaid care work in Uganda. The model reveals that recognising unpaid care work requires a multifaceted approach targeting diverse categories of actors, and it informs scholars, practitioners, government ministries and agencies, to use it to design appropriate interventions for each category. The model addresses the theoretical explanation by recommending interventions that will lead to recognition of unpaid care work by the various categories of people. Recognising interventions targeting ECO programmes and sensitization of the affected will change men and women's cultural and personal perceptions of unpaid care work.

On the whole, this study sought to find out government's failure to recognise unpaid in Uganda. While the country was applauded for women empowerment and lifting the status of women in general, recognition of unpaid care work was still a major challenge for women in the country. The study probed the factors responsible for the non-recognition of unpaid care work, its benefits notwithstanding.

The findings from the study revealed that culture and tradition continue to influence men and women's attitudes towards unpaid care work. While the government had made strides in empowering women, culture and tradition were factors that came out prominently that affect the recognition of unpaid care work in Uganda. One important factor to note here was that even in the current state of unpaid care work in the country, culture and tradition still prevail. Though the study reported some cases in the contemporary situations where men and women seemed to move away from the traditional practices, it was evident that these two are so strong and not near to end.

The study further revealed that the recognition of unpaid care work as an intervention for women empowerment did not have support from the decision makers in the country. The findings show that decision makers exhibited behaviours that frustrated opportunities for women to be allocated national resources for the recognition of unpaid care work. The findings brought out a number of issues but notably were the egoistic and capitalists' tendencies among the men who dominated the decision making processes. The decision makers considered unpaid care work a woman thing which deserved no recognition and therefore saw no need for allocation of resources.

The study also indicated that different categories of women were found to affect the recognition of unpaid care work. Ironically the study findings revealed that the women have turned to be 'enemies of themselves' because the empowered women had not used the opportunities of holding offices of authority to advance for their rights and those of their voiceless colleagues to advocate for the recognition of unpaid care work. The study revealed that most empowered women were not bothered about issues of unpaid care work as much as the disempowered women were. This from the findings resulted from their ability to delegate unpaid care work tasks to hired domestic workers which the disempowered women could not afford for lack of

money. It was discovered that empowered and disempowered women are affected by unpaid care work differently. This meant therefore that there was need to have different interventions for the different categories of women in a bid to recognise unpaid care work.

Politics emerged as another critical factor in the recognition of unpaid care work. The study findings showed that through the government quota system, women had accessed positions of authority and in big numbers. This politically driven rise in the ranks was an opportunity through which women's demand for recognition and reduction of the burden of unpaid care work was to be realised. However, the findings brought out the challenges of political patronage versus women concerns of unpaid care work that the women were faced with. And from the results, it was evident that women had chosen to compromise the concern for unpaid care work and resorted to advancing the political interests from their parties that sent them into those positions of authority.

While many studies have been done on unpaid care work, there has been very limited research on categorisation of the different players in promoting the recognition of unpaid care work in Uganda. Based on the study findings, the 3R Categorisation Model was developed to address the challenges in form of informing policy on the strategies best suitable for the various categories of players in the recognition, reduction and redistribution of unpaid care work tasks.

Conclusively, a number of policy implications emerged from this study.

The study recommends that government increases its commitment to recognise the unpaid care work burden by developing specific policies that enforce the 3Rs proposed in the new model. Besides recognition, the government should commit resources to establish the Directorate of Unpaid Care Work and fund its activities.

In order to share the redistribution of unpaid care work, and afford the proposed interventions, government should lower electricity and gas tariffs to make it affordable for all as a way to support reduction of the burden of unpaid care work.

With regard to having unpaid care support facilities as an intervention, the government may not be in position in the medium term to establish such facilities that support the reduction of unpaid care work burdens. However, the study suggests that government provides subsidies and tax incentives to private firms that can set up establishments such as baby care centres. It can also consider providing subsidies to support domestic workers. Once women can easily access and afford such facilities, it will help them to balance their paid and unpaid care work engagements.

The study recommends that government through UBOS, should start capturing data to provide statistics on unpaid care work facilities that will inform economists and policy makers on resource allocation and also be able in the future to attach a value to unpaid care work tasks.

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Annexure 1: Central Committee for Advance Degrees (C-CAD) Approval letter

NORTH-WEST UNIVERSITY
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NOORDWES-UNIVERSITEIT
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Basic Sciences
Central Committee for Advance Degrees (C-CAD) Tel: 0169103483
Email: charmaine.lekonyane@nwu.ac.za

10 November 2016

Mrs R Kwatampora (Review 20)

Student no: 25998463

Research title as approved by the CAD committee:

Unpaid care work and women empowerment in Uganda: The case of Kampala City

Dear Mrs Kwatampora

This letter serves to confirm that your PhD-research proposal has been approved by the Central Committee of Advanced Degrees in the School of Basic Sciences.

Committee members involved:

Present (Internal reviewers)	**External reviewers** (non-CAD reviewers)
Dr Herman van der Elst	
Prof Hans van Deventer	
Prof Elize S van Eeden	

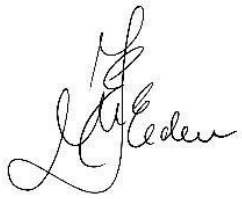
The ethics application is referred to the:

* Research Ethics Committee- BaSSREC:_X___.

* Research Ethics Committee-HHREC:_____.

You have received the details on the procedure that you will have to follow to submit to the Ethics Committee as indicated. For the CAD-records, please inform Ms B (Charmaine) Lekonyane (CAD-secretariat) when the ethical submission has been successfully completed and approved.

Yours sincerely



Prof Elize van Eeden

Chairperson: Committee of Advanced Degrees Basic Sciences

Annexure 2: Research Instruments

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR THE WOMEN

Date:……

Time:……

Site Location:……

Hello, my name is ……., facilitating a research on Unpaid Care Work and Women Empowerment in Uganda: A case of Kampala City. The purpose of this study is to determine why unpaid care work is not recognised in Uganda and whether it affects women empowerment. In order to successfully complete the study, the researcher is interested in learning your awareness on unpaid care work and women empowerment but also to get your insights on how unpaid care work can be recognized in the national accounts. This interview will last two hours and your participation is voluntary. You may choose to withdraw from the study at any time. The researcher would like you to participate in this interview and if so, please fill in the participant consent form.

Instructions: the researcher is interested in everyone's responses to the questions and there is no right or wrong answer.

1. What is your understanding of women empowerment?
2. What is your assessment of Government of Uganda's efforts in empowering women?
3. What is your perception of unpaid care work?
4. Comment on the division of labour in your home? *(Probe for the perceptions on women's traditional/cultural constructs)*
5. How do you balance care work and other economic activities outside the home?

6. How has Unpaid care work affected you in delivery of your professional engagement/economic activities? *(probe how unpaid care work has affected their career aspirations and any other opportunities)*
7. What form of support would you need from your husband/government/others with regard to care work? *(Probe the nature of support for each especially men's involvement in care work)*
8. How should women be compensated for the care work they offer?
9. How can government be engaged in recognizing and supporting unpaid care work in Uganda?
10. Propose an appropriate model that can be developed in recognising unpaid care work in Uganda?

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR POLICY MAKERS

Date:……

Time:……

Site Location:……

Hello, my name is ……., facilitating a research on Unpaid Care Work and Women Empowerment in Uganda: A case of Kampala City. The purpose of this study is to determine why unpaid care work is not recognised in Uganda and whether it affects women empowerment. In order to successfully complete the study, the researcher is interested in learning your awareness on unpaid care work and women empowerment but also to get your insights on how unpaid care work can be recognized in the national accounts. This interview will last two hours and your participation is voluntary. You may choose to withdraw from the study at any time. The researcher would like you to participate in this interview and if so, please fill in the participant consent form.

Instructions: the researcher is interested in everyone's responses to the questions and there is no right or wrong answer.

1. What is your understanding of women empowerment?
2. What efforts has government undertaken to empower women?
3. What is your assessment on government's achievements on women empowerment in Uganda?
4. What is you understanding of unpaid care work?
5. In your view, how does unpaid care work relate with women empowerment?

6. In your opinion how has traditional perceptions on care work influenced women empowerment in Uganda. *(probe further if there are any other cultural beliefs affecting women empowerment in Uganda)*
7. As a policy maker, what is your view on compensating women for the care work they offer?
8. What efforts has government undertaken to recognise unpaid care work? *(probe the extent to which these efforts have been successful)*
9. What challenges has the government faced in recognising unpaid care work? *(probe to identify government's failures)*
10. Suggest any successful models that have been implemented elsewhere to address unpaid care work?
11. In your opinion, which model can be adopted to recognise unpaid care work in Uganda?

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE FOR THE MEN

Date:……

Time:……

Site Location:……

Hello, my name is ……., facilitating a research on Unpaid Care Work and Women Empowerment in Uganda: A case of Kampala City. The purpose of this study is to determine why unpaid care work is not recognised in Uganda and whether it affects women empowerment. In order to successfully complete the study, the researcher is interested in learning your awareness on unpaid care work and women empowerment but also to get your insights on how unpaid care work can be recognized in the national accounts. This focus group discussion will last two hours and your participation is voluntary. Participants may choose to withdraw from the study at any time. The researcher would like you to participate in this discussion and if so, please fill in the participant consent form.

Instructions: the researcher is interested in everyone's responses to the questions and there is no right or wrong answer. Every participant should respect the confidentiality of the other. The researcher appreciates your input in these discussions

1. What is your understanding of women empowerment?
2. What is your assessment of Government of Uganda's efforts in empowering women?
3. What is your understanding of unpaid care work?
4. In your view how would you relate unpaid care work and women empowerment?

5. Comment on the division of labour in your home? *(Probe for the perceptions on women's traditional/cultural constructs)*
6. What form of support should men offer to women in regard to care work?
7. What is your opinion about compensation of women for the care work they offer?
8. Determine men's awareness on efforts that government has undertaken to recognize and support unpaid care work in Uganda. *(establish their support for the need of such government's efforts)*
9. Probe men's knowledge on any successful care work-models elsewhere that could be adopted in the case of Uganda?
10. Probe men's perception on the need for a care work- model that will recognise and monetise unpaid care work in Uganda.

Annexure 3: Ethics training certificate

Certificate

October 27, 2016

This is to certify that Ms. Rose Kwatampora has successfully completed the Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Online Training Module for the Social Sciences and Humanities.

Macquarie University

Annexure 4: Gate Keepers letter

Parliament Building
Fax: 0414 235459
P. O. Box 7168,
Telephone: 0414 341042 Kampala

Kampala – Uganda

THE REPUBLIC OF UGANDA

REGISTRY
BOX 20131
03 NOV 2016
RECEIVED
KAMPALA
UGANDA MANAGEMENT INSTITUTE

Ref: ADM 154/121/01

OFFICE OF THE HEAD OF PUBLIC SERVICE AND SECRETARY TO CABINET

Rose
Please Note.
03/11/2016

3rd November 2016
Director General
Uganda Management Institute
Box 20131
KAMPALA

Dear Sir,

RE: INTRODUCTION OF MS. KWATAMPORA ROSE INTENDING TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN THREE (3) GOVERNMENT MINISTRIES IN UGANDA

Reference is made to letter, CG/49 which you addressed to me on 9th September 2016 in connection with the above subject. (That letter only reached my office on the 31st October 2016). I put the matter before the Permanent Secretaries during our Monthly meeting of 1st November, 2016 and they cleared the Candidate to visit the three (3) Ministries you mentioned in your letter. The purpose of this letter therefore is to communicate to you the decision of the Permanent Secretaries so that you in turn inform the Candidate. By copy of this letter the Permanent Secretaries of the Ministries the Candidate intends to visit are informed and requested to accord her maximum co-operation.



HEAD CF PUBLIC SERVICE AND SECRETARY TO CABINET

Copy to: Deputy Head of Public Service and Deputy Secretary to Cabinet

Permanent Secretary and Secretary to the Treasury, Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development

Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development

THE REPUBLIC OF UGANDA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

PARLIAMENT BUILDING P.O. BOX 7168 KAMPALA, TELEPHONES: 254881/6, / 343934, 343926, 343943, 233717, 344026, 230048, FAX: 235459/256143
Email: secretary@op.go.ug, Website: www.officeofthepresident.go.ug

ADM 194/212/01

April 24, 2017

The Resident District Commissioner, Kampala District

RESEARCH CLEARANCE

This is to introduce to you **Rose Kwatampora** a Researcher who will be carrying out a research entitled **"UNPAID CARE WORK AND WOMEN EMPOWERMENT IN UGANDA. A CASE OF KAMPALA CITY"** for a period of **3 months** in your district.

She has undergone the necessary clearance to carry out the said project.

Please render her the necessary assistance.

By copy of this letter **Rose Kwatampora** is requested to report to the Resident District Commissioner of the above district before proceeding with the Research.

Masagazi Deogratius
FOR: SECRETARY, OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Copy : Rose Kwatampora

Annexure 5: Ethics Certificate of Study

NORTH-WEST UNIVERSITY
YUNIBESITI YA BOKONE-BOPHIRIMA
NOORDWES-UNIVERSITEIT

Private Bag X6001, Potchefstroom, South Africa, 2520

Tel: (018) 299-4900
Faks: (018) 299-4910
Web: http://www.nwu.ac.za

Institutional Research Ethics Regulatory Committee
Tel: +27 18 299 4849 Email : Ethics@nwu.ac.za

ETHICS APPROVAL CERTIFICATE OF STUDY

Based on approval by the **Basic and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (BaSSREC) on 31/01/2017** after being reviewed at the meeting held on **26/01/2016**, the North-West University Institutional Research Ethics Regulatory Committee (NWU-IRERC) hereby **approves** your study as indicated below. This implies that the NWU-IRERC grants its permission that, provided the special conditions specified below are met and pending any other authorisation that may be necessary, the study may be initiated, using the ethics number below.

Project title: Unpaid Care Work and Women Empowerment in Uganda: The case of Kampala City.

Project Leader/Supervisor: Prof Costa Hofisi
Student: Ms Rose Kwatampora

Ethics number: N W U - HS - 2 0 1 6 - 0 2 2 2
(Institution / Year / Project Number)

Application Type: PhD: Public Administration and Management

Commencement date: 2017-01-31 **Expiry date**: 2020-01-31 **Risk:** Low

Special conditions of the approval (if applicable):

x Translation of the informed consent document to the languages applicable to the study participants should be submitted to the BaSSREC (if applicable).

x Any research at governmental or private institutions, permission must still be obtained from relevant authorities and provided to the BaSSREC. Ethics approval is required BEFORE approval can be obtained from these authorities.

General conditions:

While this ethics approval is subject to all declarations, undertakings and agreements incorporated and signed in the application form, please note the following:

x *The project leader (principle investigator) must report in the prescribed format to the NWU-IRERC via BaSSREC:*
- *annually (or as otherwise requested) on the progress of the study, and upon completion of the project*
- *without any delay in case of any adverse event (or any matter that interrupts sound ethical principles) during the course of the project.*
- *Annually a number of projects may be randomly selected for an external audit.*

x *The approval applies strictly to the proposal as stipulated in the application form. Would any changes to the proposal be deemed necessary during the course of the study, the study leader must apply for approval of these changes at the BaSSREC. Would there be deviated from the study proposal without the necessary approval of such changes, the ethics approval is immediately and automatically forfeited.*

x *The date of approval indicates the first date that the project may be started. Would the project have to continue after the expiry date, a new application must be made to the NWU-IRERC via BaSSREC and new approval received before or on the expiry date.*

x *In the interest of ethical responsibility the NWU-IRERC and BaSSREC retains the right to:*
- *request access to any information or data at any time during the course or after completion of the study;*
- *to ask further questions, seek additional information, require further modification or monitor the conduct of your research or the informed consent process.*
- *withdraw or postpone approval if:*
  - *any unethical principles or practices of the project are revealed or suspected,*
  - *it becomes apparent that any relevant information was withheld from the BaSSREC or that information has been false or misrepresented,*
  - *the required annual report and reporting of adverse events was not done timely and accurately,*
  - *new institutional rules, national legislation or international conventions deem it necessary.*

x *BaSSREC can be contacted for further information or any report templates via Charmaine.Lekonyane@nwu.ac.za or 018 210 3483.*

The IRERC would like to remain at your service as scientist and researcher, and wishes you well with your project. Please do not hesitate to contact the IRERC or BaSSREC for any further enquiries or requests for assistance.

Yours sincerely

Prof LA Du Plessis

Digitally signed by Prof LA Du Plessis
Date: 2017.03.07 08:49:49 +02'00'

Prof Linda du Plessis

Chair NWU Institutional Research Ethics Regulatory Committee (IRERC)

NORTH-WEST UNIVERSITY
YUNIBESITI YA BOKONE-BOPHIRIMA
NOORDWES-UNIVERSITEIT

Web: http://www.nwu.ac.za

Annexure 6: Registration of Title

Higher Degree Administration
Tel: 016 910 3033
Email: Jenna.Wilson@nwu.ac.za

Dear Ms R Kwatampora (25998463)

REGISTRATION OF TITLE

03 October 2017

At the Faculty Board, Humanities meeting, your title was approved as follows:

Unpaid care work and women empowerment in Uganda: The case of Kampala City

The above-mentioned title may under **no circumstances** be changed without consulting your supervisor/promoter and obtaining the approval from the Faculty Board.

Your attention is drawn to the following publications / web addresses:

- A Rules:

  http://www.nwu.ac.za/sites/www.nwu.ac.za/files/files/i-governance-management/policy/7P-Arules2015_e_1.pdf
- Manual for Postgraduate Studies:

  http://www.nwu.ac.za/sites/www.nwu.ac.za/files/files/i-research-support/Manuals/ICRI/2016-04-06%20ICRI%20Manual%20for%20M%20and%20D%20students.pdf

We wish you a pleasant and successful period of study.

Yours sincerely

Ms J Wilson
FOR REGISTRAR
Original details: (22989064) C:\Users\22989064\Desktop\Labels and Templates/Title registration.docm
3 Oct 2017

File reference: 7.1.11.1

Annexure 7: Notice of Submission

NORTH-WEST UNIVERSITY
YUNIBESITI YA BOKONE-BOPHIRIMA
NOORDWES-UNIVERSITEIT
VAAL TRIANGLE CAMPUS

KENNIS TER INDIENING /

NOTICE OF SUBMISSION

Heg asseblief 'n afskrif van u ID-dokument aan. Kwalifikasie:

Please attach a copy of your ID Qualification:~~MA/MEd/MSc/~~PhD.....

Titel, volle name en van:

Title, first names and surname: Ms. Rose Kwatampora

Adres (korrespondensie):

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Tel (k/u): Universiteitsnr:

Tel (o/h): +256772 065 658..... *University no: 25998463*

Promotor/Studieleier: Handtekening:

Promoter/Supervisor: *Prof. Hofisi Costa Signature: .....*

Titel:

Title: UNPAID CARE WORK AND WOMEN EMPOWERMENT IN UGANDA: THE CASE OF KAMPALA CITY

Beoogde indieningsdatum:

Intended submission date: *13th November 2017*

Handtekening: Datum:

Signature:  *Date: 27th July 2017*

Kennis moet drie maande voor indiening gegee word aan Akademiese Administrasie.

Notice must be given to Academic Administration three months prior to submission.

Kontak die M en PhD-kantoor vir u navorsingstitel soos dit op rekord vermeld word, asook vir die aantal kopieë wat vir eksaminering ingedien moet word.

Contact the M and PhD Office for the registered title as well as the number of copies to be submitted for examination.

Indien u nie indien, soos u kennis gegee het, moet u weer drie maande voor die volgende indieningsdatum kennis gee.

Should you fail to submit as you intended doing, you will have to give notice three months prior to the next submission date.

2013-08-20

Annexure 8: UNCST Approval Letter

Uganda National Council for Science and Technology

(Established by Act of Parliament of the Republic of Uganda)

Our Ref: SS 4239

3rd April 2017

Rose Kwatampora
Principal Investigator
Uganda Management Institute
Kampala

Re: Research Approval: **Unpaid Care Work and Women Empowerment in Uganda: A Case of Kampala City**

I am pleased to inform you that on **13/03/2017**, the Uganda National Council for Science and Technology (UNCST) approved the above referenced research project. The Approval of the research project is for the period **13/03/2017** to **13/03/2018.**

Your research registration number with the UNCST is **SS 4239**. Please, cite this number in all your future correspondences with UNCST in respect of the above research project.

As Principal Investigator of the research project, you are responsible for fulfilling the following requirements of approval:

1. All co-investigators must be kept informed of the status of the research.
2. Changes, amendments, and addenda to the research protocol or the consent form (where applicable) must be submitted to the designated Research Ethics Committee (REC) or Lead Agency for re-review and approval prior to the activation of the changes. UNCST must be notified of the approved changes within five working days.
3. For clinical trials, all serious adverse events must be reported promptly to the designated local REC for review with copies to the National Drug Authority.
4. Unexpected events involving risks to research subjects/participants must be reported promptly to the UNCST. New information that becomes available which alters the risk/benefit ratio must be submitted promptly for UNCST review.
5. Only approved study procedures are to be implemented. The UNCST may conduct impromptu audits of all study records.
6. A progress report must be submitted electronically to UNCST within four weeks after every 12 months. Failure to do so may result in termination of the research project.

Below is a list of documents approved with this application:

	Document Title	Language	Version	Version Date
1.	Research Proposal	English	2.0	February 2017
2.	Informed Consent Document	English	2.0	February 2017
3.	Interview Guide for Policy Makers	English	2.0	February 2017
4.	Focus Group Discussion Guide for the Men	English	2.0	February 2017
5.	Interview Guide for the Women	English	2.0	February 2017

Yours sincerely,

Hellen N. Opolot
for: Executive Secretary
UGANDA NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Copied to: Chair, Gulu University, Research Ethics Committee

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Annexure 9: Proof if editing

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SCHOOL OF LANGUAGES, LITERATURE & COMMUNICATION

Office of the Dean

6th November, 2017

Prof. Costa Hofisi

North-West University

Vaal Triangle Campus

Republic of South Africa.

Dear Prof. Hofisi,

Re: Clearance Letter for Editing Ms. Rose Kwatampora's PhD Thesis

I hereby confirm that I have read and edited the text of Ms. Rose Kwatampora's PhD thesis titled, **"Unpaid Care Work and Women Empowerment in Uganda: The Case of Kampala City."**

The edited version of the thesis generally reads well structurally and semantically, and the candidate can submit it with permission from his supervisor(s).

Yours sincerely,

Aaron Mushengyezi, Ph.D.

Associate Professor & Dean

School of Languages, Literature & Communication

Annexure 10: Extract From The Second National Development Plan (NDPII) 2015/16 – 2019/20 Showing Gender Inequality In Uganda

2.4.3 Inequality

- Gender equality and empowerment of women: Uganda has made significant progress in strengthening gender equality and women's empowerment. Notable among these is the formulation of gender responsive regulatory framework including policies and strategies. Further, progress has been registered in the institutionalization of gender planning in all sectors and increased collection of gender disaggregated data and information through research. Some outcomes from these interventions include a critical mass of women in Parliament, gender parity in enrolment of girls at primary level, increased ownership of land by women, improved access to water and sanitation has reduced the time spent by women and children in fetching water.

- Women, however continue to face constraints related to access to, control over and ownership of businesses and productive resources such as land and credit. The review further indicated that there is limited employment of women in skill-based industries and this constrains further women's income potential. Women are also marginalized in skills development, access to financial resources, employment in non-agriculture sectors and inheritance rights. Only 27 percent of registered land is owned by women. Although 70 percent of the women are engaged in agriculture, less than 20 percent control outputs from their efforts. Women comprise of the majority of labour force in the Agriculture Sector while men form the majority of the labour force in the Industry and Service Sectors. Female headed households comprise 80.5 percent of the agricultural subsistence workers compared to 67.5 percent of the male headed households. However, plots managed by women produce 17 percent less per acre on average than plots managed by men or jointly by other family members. In wage employment, fifty percent of the employed women work in the three of the lowest paying sectors compared to 33 percent of men.

- Additionally, about 50 percent of women cite getting money as a problem for accessing health care while 41 percent cite distance to health facilities as a challenge for accessing health care. HIV/AIDS prevalence rates indicate higher vulnerability of women and girls arising out of their limited control over decisions for safe sex. Among the age group of 15 to 19 year olds the female prevalence rate has increased from 2.6percent in 2006 to 3percent in 2011 while male prevalence rates in the same age group rose from 0.3percent to 1.7percent in the same age group.

- Gender Based Violence (GBV) in all its manifestations (physical, sexual, FGM/C, emotional and psychological) remains a critical human right, public health and economic concern with 56 percent of women citing having experienced physical violence by the age of 15 years while 28 percent women aged 15-49 citing having ever experienced sexual violence compared to 9 percent of men in the same age group.

- Absence of clear indicators for monitoring and evaluation of gender mainstreaming and limited availability of gender disaggregated data for effective programme design has made it difficult to assess impact attributable to gender mainstreaming efforts. Irregular gender audit has grossly limited the tracking of compliance to the regulatory and policy framework by different actors.

- Significant achievements in improving the status of women and promoting gender equalityover the last 10 years among others include:

  i. The supportive policy and legal framework (Prohibition of Female Genital Mutilation Act, Domestic Violence Act, Uganda Gender Policy, and Draft Gender Based Violence Policy) was put in place to promote the rights of women;
  ii. Over 5,600 technical staff in MDAs and local governments have been trained in gender planning, analysis and budgeting to ensure equitable participation of men women in the development process;

Gender and equity budgeting as a requirement for sectors and local governments to make the budgeting process and government policies, programmes and projects responsive to gender issu[redacted]s been introduced;

The Equal Opportunities Commission (EOC) was established to operationalize the Constitutional provision on equal opportunities;

Gender parity in primary school enrolment was achieved in 2009.

Women Councils have been established from grassroots to national level to enhance women's confidence and to provide women at all levels with opportunities to rise into leadership positions.

-In order to achieve gender equality and women's empowerment, Government will ensure a framework for coordinated interventions through a national policy to eliminate gender based violence and strengthen the capacity of women for increased competitive entrepreneurship and provide appropriate technologies to women.

-Income Inequality: Though still relatively low compared to the Vision 2040 comparators, Uganda's level of inequality is increasing.

Annexure 11: Extract From The Second National Development Plan (NDPII) 2015/16 – 2019/20 Showing National Prioritisation Framework In Uganda

4.8 Prioritization Framework

- The Uganda Vision 2040 requires Development Plans at all levels of government to follow the approach of "harnessing strategic opportunities by strengthening the relevant fundamentals. The opportunities were identified based on their potential to generate wealth, create jobs, and improve social development indicators. Within this context, the Spatial Framework for the Vision 2040, and in line with the recommendations of the NDP I review, three growth opportunities have been prioritized under this National Development Plan, together with two development fundamentals. The opportunities are: Agriculture, Tourism, Minerals, Oil and Gas while the fundamentals are: Infrastructure and Human Capital Development. Given the structure of the economy and level of development, these opportunities present the best potential for launching the country onto a sustained path of growth and development.

Agriculture remains central to the country's economic growth and poverty reduction strategy. It employs 72 percent of the total labour force, accounts for 54 percent of total exports, generates 25.3 percent of GDP (2012/13), and is a source of raw materials for the agro-processing industry. Uniquely endowed with rich fertile soils and two rain seasons, more than 80 percent of the country can be used for agricultural production. Like South Korea (one of the Uganda Vision 2040 comparators), Uganda can use agriculture as a launch pad for growth and industrialization. Tourism is a major foreign exchange earner. It accounts for 19.6 percent of total exports or USD1.7 billion, and directly employs 6.6 percent of total labour force or about 180,900 in travel & Tourism. Even then, the country's tourism potential has barely been tapped. Uganda's total tourist arrivals are only about 10 percent of South Africa's total. With proven commercial quantities of Minerals, Oil and Gas, this sector has great potential for contributing to economic growth and poverty alleviation through mineral exports, use of oil and gas for local consumption/generation of electricity and employment generation. This sector is projected to be a major driver in employment creation and GDP growth over the medium term through value addition. In addition, lifeline industries will spur growth in manufacturing, infrastructure development, agriculture and ICT industries.

- The prioritization framework (Figure 4.1) presents a logical flow of processes leading to the achievement of the results of the Plan. The value chain analyses guided the identification of key players along the various value chains, prioritization and sequencing of interventions as well as resource allocation to critical interventions across sectors thereby supporting the harnessing of intra and inter-sectoral linkages. While the main emphasis will be placed on financing the implementation of interventions within the critical priority areas, Government will continue funding other sectors of the economy.

- The prioritization framework requires development of Sector Development Plans (SDPs) and Local Government Development Plans (LGDPs), clearly articulating investment interventions inline with the NDP priority areas. The investment projects highlighted in

the sector local government priorities will inform the development of the Public Investment Plan (PIP) which is an addendum to this Plan.

- It further indicates the financing mechanisms for the Plan including: Government funding through the MTEF [redacted]lic Private Partnerships (PPPs); the Private Sector; Development Partners; and other non-state actors. And finally the framework culminates into the desired results to achieve the Plan's objectives and targets, as well as, the Uganda Vision 2040 aspirations over the next five years.

Annexure 12: SHOWING STATUS IN UGANDA EXTRACTED FROM UNPAID CARE WORK PROGRAMME: UGANDA COUNTRY PROGRESS REPORT (2012–2014)

BY Zahrah Nesbitt-Ahmed[a] and Hellen Malinga Apila[b]

1 Introduction

Uganda is one of three focus countries within the Unpaid Care Work (UCW) programme of the Accountable Grant. The Institute of Development Studies (IDS) is partnering with ActionAid International (AAI) to help each of the three country programmes involved to develop and implement an advocacy strategy to make unpaid care work more visible in public policy, as well as to integrate unpaid care issues into each country's programming. IDS's UCW programme uses an action learning methodology to look at what works and does not work in making the care economy more visible. Further, it aims to track and capture changes in policy and practice in order to improve understanding around the uptake of evidence (i.e. how evidence is being used or ignored, by whom, and with what effects).

The methodology used in each of the countries has two components, with IDS supporting the country teams in two ways:

(a) Two capacity-building workshops: one held in-country with stakeholders to strengthen the capacity of relevant state and non-state actors and design strategic campaigns on unpaid care work; the other, an international workshop bringing all partners together.

The in-country workshop (in year one of the programme) is designed to develop the strategy to be adopted by each country office, while the international workshop (in year three) will focus on maximising the impact of policy tools on the ground by learning about the strategies pursued by different organisations at the local level and their knowledge needs. It also contributes to building bridges between different organisations working on similar themes in different countries and contexts.

(b) Quarterly reflective learning calls (over Skype) with the project team in each country to support the Women's Rights Coordinators and their teams in their ongoing policy influencing

and advocacy work. These calls aim to record and reflect on innovation, change and learning as each country office develops and implements its advocacy strategy.

It is anticipated that at the end of the programme, learning from the advocacy and influencing activities in each of the three countries will inform the development of a set of strategy guidelines that other international non-governmental organisations (NGOs) can use. These guidelines will set out what works well and what has been less successful when integrating unpaid care issues into policy and practice.

This report covers the progress of the programme in Uganda over the first two and a half years of the four-year programme. For a programme aimed at influencing national policy, it is critical to understand the political economy context of Uganda. A brief note on this context is presented in Section 2. It is also important to acknowledge at the outset that the IDS programme is based on primary research conducted by AAI Uganda as part of the Making Care Visible project initiated by AAI. Section 3 draws on the findings of that research, which included community mobilisation through time diaries, whereby women who were members of Reflect circles[1] discussed the nature of unpaid care work in Uganda. Section 3 also presents the results of research mapping relevant policies in Uganda, which aimed to identify gaps and opportunities confronting AAI Uganda in trying to make unpaid care work more visible. A week-long workshop in Uganda, co-facilitated by IDS and AAI, along with a learning workshop in the United Kingdom (UK) has been vital in helping AAI Uganda develop a two-pronged advocacy strategy, which is described in Sections 4 and 5 respectively. Section 6 explores the draft advocacy strategy that Uganda has been developing, while Section 7 details the key successes, challenges and lessons that have emerged so far during AAI Uganda's engagement with the care policy agenda. Finally, Section 8 looks at the future directions of the programme, and AAI Uganda's work for the final year.

(a) Unpaid care work and the policy environment in Uganda

The AAI Uganda programme on Unpaid Care Work (UCW) is part of AAI's multi-country research programme (covering Nepal, Nigeria, Kenya and Uganda), which focuses on making women's unpaid care work more visible and valued, by women and men, community leaders and national governments. As with the other three countries, AAI Uganda has adopted the Reflect methodology in its work on unpaid care with local communities. Reflect is a participatory learning process that combines basic literacy and numeracy skills with discussions on power inequalities. Reflect 'circles' enable people to critically analyse their local context and support them to suggest shared solutions to their problems.

Officially launched in Nairobi, Kenya, in March 2011, the aim of AAI's UCW programme was to make visible women's unpaid care work and its importance to how societies function. The UCW pilot programme in Uganda took place between 2011 and 2012 and had three main objectives:

(x) to raise awareness at community level in order to change public perceptions and attitudes that unpaid care work is a woman's social obligation

(xi) to change attitudes of policymakers and build a constituency of people that AAI Uganda will work with to reframe the issue of unpaid care work

(xii) to improve policies and practice by prioritising resource allocations, spending and delivery of public services to reduce women's unpaid care work.

The project was implemented in four sites: two in community groups in a rural site (in Buseeta, a village in Pallisa district) and two urban sites (Kampala city suburbs, Wandegeya and Bwaise), in order to establish the contextual difference between how rural and urban women and men spend their time in relation to unpaid care work activities. The pilot phase included three exercises/processes/steps: time diaries, Reflect sessions, and policy mapping.

3.1 Time diaries

As in the other three countries, AAI Uganda used a simplified time diary format that was based on the women being able to fill in their daily activities themselves. This sought to fulfil a dual function – not only collecting data, but enabling women and men to begin to understand the time and energy that women spend on unpaid care work, and the detrimental effects of their disproportionate responsibility for unpaid care work on other areas of their lives.

Figure 3.2 Sample time-use diary for the UCW programme in Uganda

actionaid

TIME	PAID WORK	UNPAID GDP WORK	COLLECTION OF FIREWOOD AND WATER	HOUSEWORK	CARE OF CHILDREN	CARE OF ADULTS	LEARNING	SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ACTIVITIES	MASS MEDIA USE	SLEEPING	OTHER PERSONAL CARE
SYMBOL											
4-5am											
5-6 am											
6-7am											
7-8am											
8-9am											
9-10am											
10-11am											
11-12pm											
12-1pm											
1-2pm											
2-3pm											
3-4pm											
4-5pm											
5-6pm											
6-7pm											
7-8pm											
8-9pm											
9-10pm											
10-11pm											
11-12pm											
12-1am											
1-2 am											
2-3 am											
3-4am											

Source: Malinga *et al.* (2013), reproduced with permission from ActionAid. Permission to reproduce this figure must be requested directly from ActionAid.

Time diaries were collected in Kampala and Pallisa; starting in November 2011, women participants in these sites engaged in a regular exercise of filling in the diaries. A total of 15 sessions with 140 women and two sessions with 40 men were conducted, guided by a lead researcher in both Kampala and Pallisa, and the data were analysed. These time diaries were preceded by literacy courses and community mapping exercises with participants.

The key findings from the time diary indicate that overall, in a 24-hour period (equivalent to 1,440 minutes in a day), rural and urban women spend almost the same amount of time

(150–200 minutes a day) on housework, yet rural women spend more time caring for children (201 minutes) than urban women (around 150 minutes). Although women in urban areas generally do not engage in unpaid work in subsistence agriculture, many are engaged in paid work (589 minutes a day), with some engaged in petty business and a small proportion doing office work. This is different from the situation of rural women, who spend more than two hours a day (on average) on unpaid subsistence agriculture activities. When the first

set of time-use diary data was collected, the least common activity for rural women was paid work (less than 20 minutes on average). However, there was some improvement by the time the third set of time-use diary data was collected, whereby a few women were engaged in petty business (approximately 100 minutes). Finally, women in rural and urban areas slept, on average, for 405 and 439 minutes a day respectively. The findings revealed that men spend little time caring for children and older people, and doing housework, and (in both sites) spend more time on paid work, although more so in Kampala (urban) than Pallisa (rural).

3.2 Reflect sessions

With reference to the Reflect sessions, in both Bwaise and Pallisa, an average of 95 per cent of the 140 women participants regularly attended Reflect meetings, conducted twice a month; 80 per cent of members are married. In order to improve the literacy (reading and writing) and numeracy skills of participants, especially women, community facilitators were trained in participatory tools for adult learning. They helped local communities to conduct an analysis of poverty issues and develop action plans that could be implemented using locally available resources. In their regular Reflect circle meetings, participants used the time-use diaries as a reference point for their discussions. Participants discussed their burden of care and how their typical day's activities affected their wellbeing as women.

At the policy level, unpaid care work carried out by women and girls often goes unnoticed and unrecognised in calculations of Uganda's economy. It is not included in labour force surveys or in GDP figures. As a result, the realities of women's and girls' work burdens are excluded from the data informing policymaking at local and national levels. It is against this backdrop that AAI Uganda, in partnership with IDS, is taking steps to make women's and girls' unpaid care work more visible, highlighting its importance to the functioning of society and engaging policymakers to recognise, redistribute and reduce the burden of care work.

3.3 Policy mapping

Finally, in order to identify some of the gaps and opportunities that exist in the Ugandan policy environment that could inform the development of an advocacy strategy, a policy mapping was conducted by a consultant from Makerere University. The policy scoping exercise revealed that while Uganda lacks national policies specifically designed to reduce women's unpaid care work, there are a number of sectors which have policies that embed some issues of care. These include the National Development Plan, which recognises women as key providers of unpaid care for HIV patients who

return home after being cared for in a local health facility, including what they do and do not provide in terms of home-based care.

The policy scoping exercise also identified areas where care played a crucial role in the uptake, implementation and success of policy, such as Early Childhood Care and Development (ECCD) education policy and Uganda's National Health Care Policy.[3] The latter, for example, emphasises malaria, HIV and tuberculosis (TB) as leading causes of morbidity; while it states that a gender- sensitive and responsive national health delivery system shall be achieved and strengthened through mainstreaming gender in planning and implementation of all health programmes, it does not mention unpaid care work.

With reference to ECCD, the mapping exercise revealed that while Uganda launched its Early Childhood Development (ECD) policy in 2007, the government has not invested funds in implementing and monitoring this policy. As such, ECCD facilities such as ECD centres, nursery schools, kindergartens and day care centres are largely run by the private sector and civil society organisations (CSOs). The absence of any direct involvement in the implementation of the ECD policy by the government has led to low provision of ECD centres in rural areas, where it is less profitable for the private sector to establish services. This denies rural children access to ECD services and means that rural women are preoccupied with caring for and nurturing children throughout the day. As a result, parents are often tempted to send under-age children to primary schools.

Furthermore, in urban as well as rural areas, access to ECD services is limited to children from rich and middle-income families, who can afford the costs of paying school fees, buying uniforms and transporting children to nursery/day care centres. Hence children from poor communities and children whose parents are in low-paid jobs often cannot afford these costs, so their children miss out on ECD services. Finally, the consultant observed that cultural norms and beliefs and gender relations generally hinder any good intentions of ECD policies.

Overall, in Uganda, lessons from the pilot phase of AAI's UCW programme with communities revealed the significant impact that unpaid care work has on the lives of women and girls. For example, Reflect facilitators reported how girls were often unable to go to school because their mothers needed help with the housework. Another example concerns women who struggle to care for their loved ones who may be living with HIV/AIDS because they have little access to basic health care. In some cases, community facilitators had to negotiate with husbands to release women from their household responsibilities so that they could participate in community meetings and other development programmes.

As a result of this, AAI and AAI Uganda have integrated 'making the care economy more visible' into their strategic objectives. The aim is to build and advocate for gender-responsive economic alternatives at all levels (from local cooperatives to national enterprises) and global policies that recognise, redistribute and reduce unpaid care and guarantee comprehensive social protection[4] to enable the most marginalised women to break the cycle of poverty. Following on from this, in 2012, AAI and AAI Uganda began a four-year partnership with IDS as part of its Accountable Grant work on the Empowerment of Women and Girls to make the care economy more visible in Uganda.

6 Uganda's draft advocacy strategy

Drawing on the experience and key findings of the three pilot programmes, the capacity-building workshop and follow-up activities, and the international learning workshop, AAI Uganda is currently developing an advocacy strategy that aims to make unpaid care work more visible in Uganda and ensure that it is accounted for in macro- and micro-level policymaking and implementation. This will contribute to women's empowerment, and equitable growth and development through gender-sensitive provision of public services in energy, water, education, health and agriculture.

This advocacy strategy is in line with AAI Uganda's current focus on women's rights and gender equality, with unpaid care work being one of the core areas under the Women's Rights programme. Lessons from this national engagement will also contribute to learning across the federation on unpaid care work. The process to finalise this strategy includes working within the remit of existing childcare policies to analyse how childcare facilities can help reduce women's unpaid care work responsibilities.

AAI Uganda's advocacy strategy to make care more visible will be implemented in a two-pronged approach: first, within its programme and specific sectors, and second, to make a larger impact on how unpaid care work is understood and made visible through media platforms, including newspaper slots, ~~radio and TV adverts /talk shows~~. Specific objectives include:

- raising public awareness on women's unpaid care work and its consequences for social wellbeing and development of households
- creating a national voice that is heard by ordinary people and those with power to make necessary changes in policy and legislation, which calls for better protection of women and girls from the burden of unpaid care work

- enhancing the capacity of CSOs to hold government accountable for implementing existing policies as well as for the provision of quality public services
- helping to build competent public services, structures and systems at household and community levels that sustainably reduce, recognise and reward the care work performed by women and girls, including increased budget allocation to reflect unpaid care work in agriculture, health and education sectors at national and local government levels.

This advocacy strategy calls for national actors (state and non-state) to rethink how they understand the drivers of Uganda's economic development and the role of government in public service provision. It proposes alternatives to the current economic model, which reinforces gender stereotypes that ignore women's unpaid care work. The strategy also calls for the expansion of key public services to support those women and men living in poverty to help them both provide care and also access quality care when required.

The advocacy strategy will focus on building women's collective actions and empowering a critical mass of women and men to link women's care work to patriarchy and various forms of rights violations in public service delivery, which constrain development at the micro and household levels. This collective action by women will generate and exert pressure on key government sectors, and will call for fairness in budget allocation to public services that reduce the burden of care on women. Influencing strategies will include:

- working with the media to publicise women's burden of care through information, education and communications (IEC) activities: (media debates, TV shows, posters, stickers, banners, T-shirts, caps) in order to generate public concern and debate
- documenting lessons and case studies to build evidence and strengthen advocacy work on the amount of time women spend doing unpaid care work, and the resources they would have accrued if they were remunerated for the care work they do
- strengthening linkages between local, national and international movements using evidence from the local level to influence national and international processes
- changing attitudes by building allies, networks and coalitions with women's rights organisations, women's groups, girls' empowerment clubs, men's fora, key government institutions, and critical stakeholders such as cultural leaders, religious leaders, and political leaders.

AAI Uganda envisages mobilising men who have received training and who are acting as role models within their communities into a national movement of men who can 'champion' sharing the unpaid care work burden. At the local level, Reflect circles will be mobilised to create awareness of the need to recognise, redistribute and reduce the unpaid care work burden on women and girls, within the household and at community level. A strong linkage will be made to government responsibility to deliver social services with time-saving technologies and utilities in the key sectors. Finally, the key support networks required to achieve the advocacy objective include Public Financing for Agriculture, the national Civil Society Budget Advocacy Group (CSBAG), active CSOs, existing government structures, rural and urban agricultural and trade cooperatives, women's coalitions, cultural and religious leaders, and the UCW programme's spouses' forum. These stakeholders will participate in monitoring and will hold government accountable for the provision of social services.

Annexure 13: Uganda Gender Policy

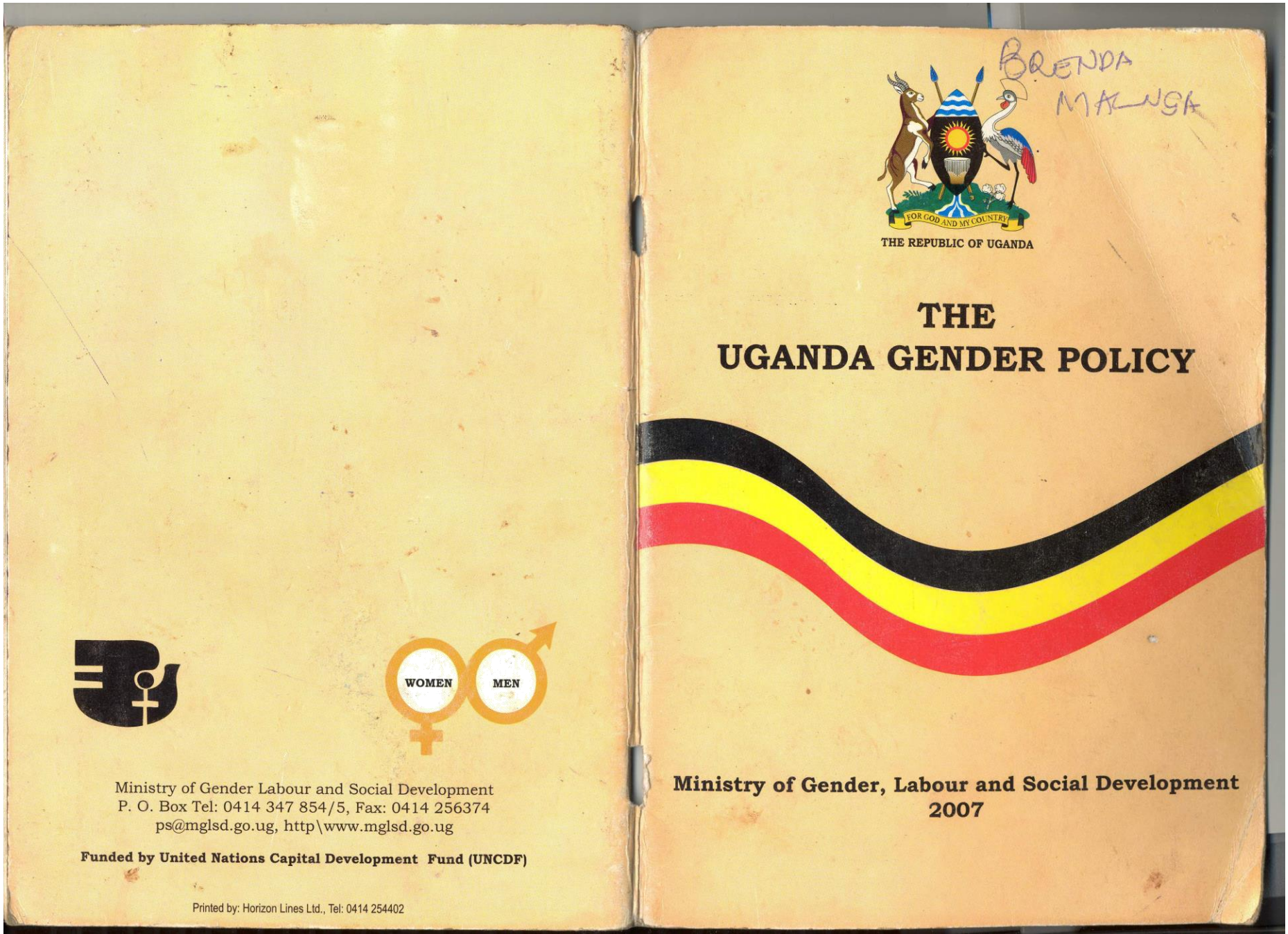


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Acronyms and Abbreviations

BFP	-	Budget Framework Paper
BPfA	-	Beijing Platform for Action
CBO	-	Community Based Organisation
CD	-	Community Development
CEDAW	-	Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CMES	-	Community Mobilization and Empowerment Strategy
COMESA	-	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
CSO	-	Civil Society Organisation
DRB	-	Domestic Relations Bill
DWD	-	Directorate of Water Development
E.O.C	-	Equal Opportunities Commission
EAC	-	East African Community
EC	-	Electoral Commission
EPRC	-	Economic Policy Research Centre
FAWE	-	Forum for Women Educationists
FLS	-	Forward Looking Strategies
FPAU	-	Family Planning Association Uganda
GAD	-	Gender and Development
GDP	-	Gross Domestic Product
HRM	-	Human Resource Management
ICPD	-	International Conference on Population and Development
IDPs	-	Internally Displaced Persons
IGAD	-	The Intergovernmental Authority on Development
IMF	-	International Monitary Fund
JLOS	-	Justice, Law and Order Sector
L/MTEF	-	Long and Medium Term Expenditure Frameworks
LG	-	Local Government
LGBFP	-	Local Government Budget Framework Paper
LGDP	-	Local Government Development Programme
M&E	-	Monitoring and Evaluation
MAAIF	-	Ministry of Agricultural, Animal Industry and Fisheries
MDG	-	Millennium Development Goals
MEMD	-	Ministry of Energy and Mineral Development
MFPED	-	Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development
MGLSD	-	Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development
MoD	-	Ministry of Defence
MoES	-	Ministry of Education and Sports

MoH	-	Ministry of Health
MoJCA	-	Ministry of Justice and Constitutional Affairs
MLH	-	Ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development
MoLG	-	Ministry of Local Government
MoPS	-	Ministry of Public Service
MSSC	-	Multi-Sectoral Steering Committee
MTTI	-	Ministry of Tourism, Trade and Industry
MWHT	-	Ministry of Works and Transport
MWE	-	Ministry of Water and Environment
NAADS	-	National Agricultural Advisory Development Services
NARO	-	National Agricultural Research Organisation
NCDC	-	National Curriculum Development Centre
DDP	-	District Development Plan
NEMA	-	National Environment Management Authority
NEPAD	-	New Economic Partnership for African Development
NGO	-	Non-Government Organisation
NIMES	-	National Integrated Monitoring and Evaluation Strategy
NPA	-	National Planning Authority
NUDIPU	-	National Union for Disabled Persons of Uganda
OCHA	-	Office in Charge of Humanitarian Agencies
OPM	-	Office of the Prime Minister
PEAP	-	Poverty Eradication Action Plan
PMA	-	Plan for Modernisation of Agriculture
PPA	-	Participatory Poverty Assessment
PPA2	-	Second Participatory Poverty Assessment
PSF	-	Private Sector Foundation
RDC	-	Resident District Commissioner
SDIP	-	Social Development Sector Strategic Investment Plan
SME	-	Small Micro Enterprise
SWAPs	-	Sector Wide Approach to Planning
UAC	-	Uganda Aids Commission
UBoS	-	Uganda Bureau of Statistics
UGP	-	Uganda Gender Policy
UHRC	-	Uganda Human Rights Commission
UN	-	United Nations
UNFA	-	Uganda National Farmers' Association
UNFPA	-	United Nations Population Fund
UNHS	-	Uganda National Household Survey
UNICEF	-	United Nations Children Education Fund
UPE	-	Universal Primary Education
UPPAP	-	Uganda Participatory Poverty Assessment Process
WB	-	World Bank

Foreword

The development of a National Gender Policy (NGP) in 1997, and its revision in 2007, confirms the Government of the Republic of Uganda's unequivocal commitment to take actions that will bring about more equal gender relations. The policy will ensure that all Government policies and programmes, in all areas and at all levels, are consistent with the long-term goal of eliminating gender inequalities.

The Uganda Gender Policy is an integral part of the national development policies. It is a framework for redressing gender imbalances as well as a guide to all development practitioners. The aim of this policy is to guide all levels of planning, resource allocation and implementation of development programmes with a gender perspective. The emphasis on gender is based on the recognition that "gender" is a development concept useful in identifying and understanding the social roles and relations of women and men of all ages, and how these impact on development.

The policy gives a clear mandate to the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development and other Line Ministries to mainstream gender in all sectors. It sets priority areas of action at the National, Sectoral, District and Community levels. The ultimate objective of this policy, therefore, is to evolve a society that is both informed and conscious of gender and development issues and concerns. Indeed sustainable development calls for maximum and equal participation of both men and women in economic, political and social cultural development.

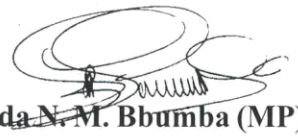
Since the National Gender Policy came into force, it has institutionalised gender as a key concept in development work. We have noted over the years that in the beginning we were mostly concerned with dialogue, advocacy and sensitisation.

In the first days we had to negotiate and persuade stakeholders for mo integration of women into the development agenda. Later we moved on documentation, capacity building, organizing and reorganizing the Natior Machinery for gender mainstreaming and women's advancement. The rece past has been a time of re-examining strategies and moving towards gender a development. Today, gender mainstreaming is no longer optional but obligation. This is exactly what the National Gender Policy has provided for t last ten years.

This policy makes gender responsiveness mandatory for developme practitioners. In addition it provides an appropriate entry point for those wl always say, "we do not know how to engender our programmes". For th category of development workers, my Ministry will provide technical guidan and back up support. This shall include promotion of gender analysis a planning skills among all relevant sections, in order to build their capacity identify, analyse and implement gender responsive programme interventions.

The initiative taken by my Ministry to appraise the effectiveness of the Natior Gender Policy is indeed in the right direction. The national developme process in Uganda has not been static. The adoption of a Poverty Eradicati Action Plan and the Decentralization Policy are major policy shifts th warranted the revision of NGP. This Policy therefore makes clear links to major policy initiatives in Uganda.

The challenge ahead of us, therefore, is to ensure that we build on the be practices and measures articulated in this policy so as to achieve gender equality f women and men in Uganda. As we move forward, we now need to keep the gend mainstreaming process on track in order to accelerate the pace towards achievi our gender equality targets.



Syda N. M. Bbumba (MP)
Minister of Gender, Labour and Social Development

1.0: BACKGROUND

1.1 Introduction

The Government of Uganda's first National Gender Policy (NGP) was approved in 1997. The policy provided a legitimate point of reference for addressing gender inequalities at all levels of government and by all stakeholders. The major achievements of this policy include among others, increased awareness on gender as a development concern among policy makers and implementers at all levels; influencing national, sectoral and local government programmes to address gender issues; strengthened partnerships for the advancement of gender equality and women's empowerment and increased impetus in gender activism.

There are however, emerging development issues that have necessitated the revision of the policy. These include among others, government's emphasis on accelerating economic growth; poverty eradication; sector-wide approach to planning; effective service delivery through decentralization; privatisation; public-private-partnership and civil service reforms.

These emerging developments present new opportunities and challenges in pursuit of gender equality and women's empowerment. To this end, the policy has been designed to guide and direct at all levels of planning, resource allocation and implementation of development programmes with a gender perspective. The priority areas of focus are, improved livelihoods, promotion and protection of rights, participation in decision-making and governance, recognition and promotion of gender in macro-economic management.

Gender is the social and cultural construct of roles, responsibilities, attribut opportunities, privileges, status, access to and control over resources a benefits between women and men, boys and girls in a given society.

1.2 Legal and Policy Context

The Constitution of the Republic of Uganda provides overall legal frame wo for the Uganda Gender Policy (UGP). It recognizes equality between wom and men. Specifically, it provides for gender balance and fair representation marginalised groups; recognises the role of women in society; accords equ citizenship rights, freedom from discrimination, affirmative action in favour women; and articulates specific rights of women including outlawing custor traditions and practices that undermine the welfare, dignity and interests women.

The Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP), the overarching national planni framework, guides public actions to eradicate poverty. The Uganda Gend Policy is an integral part of the national development process. This, therefo provides a firm foundation for the PEAP implementation to be based on gend responsive strategies. Sector Wide Approaches to planning (SWAPs) and t Medium Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF) as mechanisms for PEA implementation, have the potential to enhance gender focused programmi gender and equity budgeting so that national and local government interventio expenditures and services benefit both women and men. The UGP contribu to achieving the national vision and aspirations as espoused in Uganda's Vis 2025.

The Policy is in conformity with regional and global obligations on gender equality and women's empowerment that Uganda is party to. At the regional level they include: The East African Community (EAC) Treaty (2000), The Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) Gender Policy (May 2002), The Protocol on the Rights of Women in Africa (July 2003), the Inter Government Authority on Development (IGAD) ,Gender Policy and Strategy (July 2004), The New Partnerships for African Development (NEPAD) through its programmes which is expected to enhance women's human rights through the application of Social Development indicators and The AU Heads of State Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality (July 2004).

The global level instruments include: The Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW, 1979) and its Optional Protocol (adopted October 1999 entered into force December 2000), The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (1995), The Commonwealth Plan of Action on Gender and Development; Advancing the Commonwealth Agenda into the New millennium (2005-2010), The International Conference on Population and Development (1994), The United Nations Declaration on Violence Against Women (DEVAW, 1993), The Millennium Declaration (2000), and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC, 1990).

2.0 Situation Analysis

2.1 Over the past decade, Uganda has made significant progress in the advancement of gender equality and empowerment of women in political, economic and social spheres. This is evidenced by among others: -

- The Universal Primary Education (UPE) programme has increased over enrollment from 2.7 million in 1995 to 5.3 million in 1997 and 7.3 million in 2002 with girls constituting 49% (3.6 million); in 2005 it r to 49.6% (3.6 million) and 2006 it stood at 50% (3.65 million).

- Affirmative action in Public Universities (Makerere Universit increased enrolment of girls/females from 23.9% in t academic year 1989/90 to 29.2% in 1990/91 when it w introduced and to 49.5% in 2003/04 and presently 45.2% in 2005/06.

- The Constitution of Republic of Uganda provides for reservati of one seat for a woman member of Parliament for each district and least one third of local council seats are reserved for women. Th has resulted in increased number of women in leadershi and decision-making. For example, the proportion of women local councils rose from 6% in early 1990s to 44% in 2003; notewort is that there is only one female district chairperson out of 80. Parliament, it rose from 18.8% in 1996 to 24.4% in 2003 while in 200 rose to 30.4% and in cabinet, from 9.4% in 1996 to 32.8% in 20 decreased to 19.4% in 2006. In civil service (Permanent Secretari Heads of Department and Divisions), women constitute 17.4%, where men account for 82.6%.

- Other supportive laws, policies and strategies in place include the Loc Government Act (Cap243), the Social Development Sector Strateg Investment Plan, (2003 - 2008), the Community Mobilisation a Empowerment Strategy (2006) and the National Women's Council Ac (Cap 318.)

- Overall, there has been declining trend of HIV infection from a peak of 18% in 1992 to 7% in 2005. The percentage of women who are HIV positive are 7.8% as compared to 6.4% of men, among 15-49 year olds, HIV prevalence for females is 12.8% in urban and 6.5% in rural areas.

- Total fertility rate is at 6.7 children per woman. Sixteen percent (16%) of women are married by age 15 and 53% by age 18. (UDHS 2006).

- Sixty percent (60%) of women aged 15-49 years experience physical violence, 39% sexual violence and 16% have experienced violence during pregnancy (UDHS 2006).

- Rural water coverage increased from 54.9% in 2002 to 61% in 2006. Access to safe water and sanitation facilities and appropriate management and utilization are necessary conditions for sustainable development.

- Women's land rights have been recognized in the Land Act (Cap 227) and Land acquisition Act (Cap 226), spousal consent is a requirement on all matters relating to land from which the family derives sustenance.

- The employment status of employed persons aged 10 years and above stands at 89.6% for the self employed, with 84.0% male and 95.3% female in the rural areas and 54.3% for the male and 68.7% female in the urban areas.

- The country's labour force has increased from 9.8million in 2002/03 to 10.9 million persons in 2005/06 representing an annual growth

rate of 3.6%. The proportion of females in the labour force remains high though it has declined from 52.6% in 2002/03 to 51.4 percent in 2005/06. The annual growth rate for males (4.4%) is one and half times higher than that of females 2.9%

- Fifty five percent (55%) of Micro Finance Institution (MFI) borrowers are female. Female borrowers constituted a large proportion in commerce (72%), in services (63%), in animal husbandry (60%) and 48% in manufacturing (MFPED, Poverty Status Report 2003);

- Literacy rates increased from 54% in 1991 to 69.6% in 2002. The imbalance emanates from varying levels of enrollment and attandance of education at all levels. 77.4% of the males are literate compared to 62.4% of the females. (2002 Population and Housing Census)

- The Constitution of the Republic of Uganda guarantees equality between women and men before and under the law in the spheres of political, social and cultural life. A number of laws have been reformed to be in line with this constitutional provision. These include; the Local Governments Act (Cap 243), the Land Act (Cap 227), Land Acquisition Act (Cap 226) and National Agricultural Advisory Services Act (NAADS).

- There are existing policies and mechanisms for stimulating economic growth and poverty reduction for both men and women in Uganda. Among these are: The Strategic Exports Strategy, the Plan for Modernisation of Agriculture, the Rural Development Strategy, the Medium Term Competitive Strategy for the Private Sector, the Uganda Public Private Partnership Strategy-(UP3) and the Micro-Finance Outreach Plan.

2.2 Despite the significant progress highlighted above, challenges to attain gender equality still persist. An analysis of the 31% (UBOS 2006) of the population currently living below the poverty line indicates that poverty impacts differently on different groups. The Social Development Sector Strategic Investment Plan (SDIP) indicates that women (33%) tend to be poorer than men (30%). This is more severe for widows (34%) including people living in households, which are headed, by widows. Further, there are an estimated 1.8 million orphans (13% of Ugandan children), Population and Housing Census, (2002). The Social Development Sector Strategic Investment Plan (SDIP) indicates that 41% of boy-orphans and 36% of girl-orphans fall below the poverty line.

2.3 The Participatory Poverty Assessment (2002) reveals that women's inadequate control over livelihood assets such as land, labour, skills and information, networks, technology, and financial capital remains one of the root causes of poverty. For instance although 83% of women are engaged in agricultural production, only 25.5% control the land they cultivate (UDHS, 2001/01). This scenario creates enormous challenges for the women as they are increasingly taking on the burden of family provisioning, thus seriously undermining the sustainability of the household livelihoods. Therefore, gender inequality is a key area that has to be tackled through systemic removal of the constraints to women and men's livelihoods.

2.4 A gender analysis of Uganda National Household Survey (UNHS 1992-2003) data indicates that around 20% of Ugandan households are chronically poor and more than 10% of the poorest households moved into poverty between 1992 and 1999. The analysis further shows that with regards to income poverty, higher proportions of women headed households are chronically poor

and move into poverty, and fewer have never been in poverty. Selling assets to avoid moving into poverty is more common in female-headed than in male-headed households.

2.5 Women continue to suffer very high time burdens in pursuing their livelihood strategies. The Uganda Strategic Country Gender Assessment (World Bank 2005) reveals that women work considerably longer hours than men (between 12 and 18 hours a day, with a mean of 15 hours), compared with an average male working day of 8 to 10 hours. Women bear the brunt of domestic tasks, in addition to agricultural and other productive work. The time and effort required for these tasks, in almost total absence of even rudimentary domestic technology, is staggering. This has a negative effect on food security, household income, children's schooling, participation in community life, health, and overall productivity.

2.6 The right to human development encompasses a wide range of entitlements ranging from security of the person, to the ability to access justice. However a number of laws, legal processes and enforcement procedures continue to discriminate against specific categories of women. Gender differences exist in men and women's legal status. This has a bearing on how each enjoys the rights and accesses protection under the law. Critical gender related barriers to access justice, include substantive law issues relating to gender biased laws (particularly concerning divorce, adultery and defilement) and differences in burden of proof requirements, administration of law issues including physical access, training and orientation of staff and delays in delivery of justice. Other barriers are the low status of women, power imbalances in the household as well as inadequate knowledge and information on legal rights.

2.7 There are significant gender inequalities with regard to the right to property. Land is a critical resource for over 90% of households in Uganda, and women own only 16% of the registered land. (Gender Baseline Study: Land sector, 2004). Apart from a few, economically advantaged, the majority of women have only user rights determined by the nature of the relationship they have with a male land owner - father, husband or brother. A large part of women's contribution at household level tends to be non-monetary and hence does not directly go into what is generally understood as property.

2.8 The right to livelihood for young people has increasingly become an issue of concern. Young women and girls' rights are violated through early marriages, 16% of women are married by age 15 and 53% by the age of 18. The average Ugandan girl gets married at the age of 17 years (UDHS 2006) teenage pregnancy rate is at 34% and women's age for sexual debut is 16.7 years compared to men at 18 years. The UDHS 2006 further reveals that 24% of the girls have had sexual intercourse by the age of 15 and 69% by the age of 18. The right to liveli-hood of young men and boys remains a challenge. Out of school male youth in rural and peri-urban areas are unable to find viable livelihood opportunities, due to inadequate skills, lack of assets and limited options in other lucrative sectors As a result male youth are vulnerable to alcohol, drug abuse and crime. The UGP recognises that gender disparities in rights to property and livelihoods on the part of the youth undermines the future of the country as a whole.

2.9 Regarding health rights, high maternal mortality and morbidity rates remain a challenge. Evidence from the Uganda Demographic and Health Survey (2006) shows that infant mortality is 76 deaths per 1,000 births and under five mortality is 137 per 1,000 births. Similarly, the UDHS 2000/1 puts maternal mortality ratio at 505 per 100,000

live births.The high total fertility rate at 6.9 has a bearing on the rapid increasing growth rates (3.3%) per annum, which in turn h negative consequences on provision of health services for wom and increases the dependence ratio. The high incidence of teena pregnancies is associated with high risks to health and life of both moth and child. As a signatory to the International Conference o Development and Population (ICDP) (1994) Government committed to promotion of sexual and reproductive health rights putting gender relations at the centre of health and populati interventions.

2.10 Gender based violence in its various forms (domestic violence, sexu harassment, trafficking, rape and defilement) is a critical concer UN data reveals that more than 40% of Ugandan women ha suffered domestic violence. The 2006 Uganda Demographic and Heal Survey indicates that 60% of women and 53% of men aged 15-49 yea experience physical violence, 39% of the women sexu violence while 16% experience violence during pregnancy. 48 of ever married women reported physical violence by their husba or former husband. Violence against women has serious consequenc for their mental and physical well being including reducing the productivity. Gender based violence intensifies in situations of arme conflict. There are 1.5 million IDPs in Uganda, 80% of whom a women and children (PEAP 2004). Conflict has a differential impa on women and men, with critical gender specific (often grav consequences for women. Ending conflict and insecurity is a key land mark in the achievement of gender equality.

2.11 Education and literacy are key human development indicators. Historical factors have hindered women's enjoyment of their right to education and literacy. According to the Uganda Population and Housing Census (2002) the current illiteracy rate for Uganda is 32%. However, sex disparities still exist with 23.6% of the males being illiterate compared to 37.6% females who are illiterate. The illiteracy rate for persons with disabilities is estimated at 63%. Adult literacy services currently reach only 4.3% of the non-literate adults with men attendance and participation being much lower due to the socio-cultural perception and misconception that men ought to be educated. There are persistent disparities in formal education attainment by socio-economic, region as well as by gender. Strategies to increase men's involvement and participation in adult literacy programmes need to be developed.

2.12 Some cultural norms and values often condone gender discrimination. Combined with low levels of education and limited access to information, norms and values instil fear on the part of the victims of abuse. As a result, abuse of rights continues and becomes socially " acceptable." Extensive legal literacy will be necessary in order to change gender discriminatory values and create an enabling environment for all women and men to know, demand and enjoy their rights.

2.13 In the political arena, women face constraints in engaging in elective processes due to factors such as limited resources for campaigning, spousal control, and the misconception that leadership is a male domain. Low literacy among women, inadequate skills in public speaking, r esource mobilisation and networking and limited

access to vital information are challenges that undermine their com petence. For example only 38% female headed households own radio compared to 53% for male headed. In addition cultural factors and poverty constrain effective participation of women in decision making.

2.14 The articulation of gender needs in policy and programmes is still limited due to gender biases in the choices and actions in programming Many a time it is defined narrowly to refer only to numerical presence of women. Sufficient gender mainstreaming in the determination of policy choices and how these affect the quality of life for both women and men is still lacking. In addition, women's presence in management positions in professional and technical spheres is small indicating that women's opportunities are still very low (30.2%) compared to those of men at all levels.

2.15 Uganda has experienced rapid economic growth over the past decade. Real Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth at market prices has averaged 6.5% per annum since 1990/ 1991. The central objective of Uganda's macroeconomic management is inflation control, export and private sector led growth. Strategies to achieve this include, among others, removal of administrative barriers to investment, improvement in transport infrastructure and utility services, modernization of agriculture, improving rural access to finance, enhancing environmental sustainability and improving security in northern Uganda. Women and men play significant though different economic roles.

For instance women make up 39% of business owners with fixed premises. Women's contribution, particularly care provision, is not sufficiently captured in the system of national accounts. There is a strong relationship between gender inequality and growth performance. The macro and micro level analysis reveal that the interrelationship between asset inequality and labour constraints have a bearing on economic growth.

2.16 Women's equal benefits from trade expansion are hampered by their inability to acquire assets such as land and technology. More men than women are successful in credit applications and women normally receive smaller amounts. However, women have benefited more than men from community cooperatives and loans. Gender inequality in access to and control over productive assets and resources acts as a hindrance to women's economic participation and limits economic growth with significant consequences for agricultural productivity in the context of strategic exports. Gender imbalance in agricultural division of labor and lower incentives for women affects investment in agricultural production for the market.

For example:-

- Generally, women are more dependent on farm self-employment than on non-farm and formal employment, compared to men, due to inadequate skills, discrimination in formal labour markets, and difficulties of combining employment with care-giving, particularly, to children and the sick.

- Lack of markets and exploitation, especially through tax administration, pose serious but different constraints on poor women and men.

- The regulatory requirements for busines s registration and public tendering differentially affect women and men's capacity to engage in large business activities. Consequently, women's businesses are largely confined to the informal sector, unable to grow and to create jobs.

It is critical that growth enhancing and poverty reducing policies take account of these issues and seek to tackle the gender based inequalities not only to promote equity and justice, but also to promote efficiency in economic growth.

3.0: GOAL, OBJECTIVES AND GUIDING PRINCIPLES

3.1 Goal

Achieve gender equality and women's empowerment as an integral part of Uganda's socio-economic development.

3.2 Purpose of the Uganda Gender Policy

The purpose is to establish a clear framework for identification, implementation and coordination of interventions designed to achieve gender equality and women's empowerment in Uganda. The policy is a guide to all stakeholders in planning, resource allocation, implementation and monitoring and evaluation of programmes with a gender perspective.

3.3 Objectives

1) To reduce gender inequalities so that all women and men, girls and boys, are able to move out of poverty and to achieve improved and sustainable livelihoods;

2) To increase knowledge and understanding of human rights among women and men so that they can identify violations, demand, access, seek redress and enjoy their rights;

3) To strengthen women's presence and capacities in decision making for their meaningful participation in administrative and political processes;

4) To address gender inequalities and ensure inclusion of gender analysis in macro-economic policy formulation, implementation, monitoring and evaluation.

3.4 Guiding Principles for implementation of the Uganda Gender Policy

Implementation of this policy is guided by the following principles.

1) Gender equality

Gender equality is an integral part of national development processes and reinforces the overall development objectives in the country. This policy emphasises government's commitment to elimination of gender inequalities and empowerment of women in the development process.

2) Gender cuts across all sectors and levels.

Attainment of the gender equality goal will depend on the extent to which public and private sector institutions and agencies engage both women and men as providers and or producers and beneficiaries of services

and investments. All actors (state and non-state) shall take appropriate action to address gender inequalities within their areas of mandate, in line with this policy. This requires women as well as men to play an active role in shaping development directions and choices in all sectors and at all levels.

3) Affirmative Action

Bridging gender gaps in the various development sectors requires preferential attention for the disadvantaged. Affirmative action as enshrined in the Constitution will be pursued to redress historical and present forms of discrimination against women and girls in political, economic and social spheres.

4) Household and family relations

Intra household power relations determine appropriation, ownership and control of livelihood assets among women and men, girls and boys. This in turn influences individual participation in and benefits from development processes at all levels. Interventions that address these intra-household dynamics are therefore critical for this Policy.

5) Promotion of GAD and WID approaches

Advancement of gender equality requires the promotion of two approaches: The Gender and Development (GAD) approach is based on the understanding of gender roles and social relations of women and men, with emphasis on the disadvantaged. While the Women in Development (WID) approach focuses specifically on improving the conditions of women. This is essential in light of evidence from various sectors showing the disadvantaged position of women. This calls for all data and information that inform planning and decision-making at all levels to be disaggregated by sex, gender, age and other socio-economic characteristics such as disability.

2) To increase knowledge and understanding of human rights among women and men so that they can identify violations, demand, access, seek redress and enjoy their rights;

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4.0: POLICY STRATEGIES

The policy objectives shall be achieved through the following strategies:

(i) Sensitisation on gender issues at all levels and promoting community dialogue to address gender issues at household level.

(ii) Promoting a Gender and Development (GAD) approach that is based on the understanding of gender roles and social relations of women and men as well as the Women in Development (WID) approach, which focuses on women specifically.

(iii) Ensuring that the gender policy shall be disseminated, translated, understood and implemented by all sections of Uganda society.

(iv) Promoting appropriate education, sensitisation and creation of awareness on the responsibility of all concerned parties in each sector to address the specific gender inequalities within the sector. This shall entail consultation with both women and men in specific areas of relevance to identify gender inequalities.

(v) Ensuring gender responsive development planning at all levels namely, community, district and national.

(vi) Promoting a holistic and integrated approach to development planning to ensure that gender issues common to different sectors are adequately analysed and addressed.

(vii) Promoting and carrying out gender oriented research in order to identify gender inequalities.

(viii) Ensuring the collection, retrieval, compilation, packaging and dissemination of gender disaggregated data (GDD)

(ix) Establishing gender responsive monitoring and evaluation mechanisms for development.

(x) Promoting a gender sensitive approach to technical co-operation among the various actors in the development arena.

(xi) Advocating for gender equity and equality at all levels.

5.0: POLICY PRIORITY ACTION AREAS

The priority interventions and action areas are arranged into four thematic areas; livelihoods, rights, governance and macro-economic management. The interventions and proposed strategies are derived from the situation analysis section. Responsibility for undertaking these interventions shall lie with central government ministries, departments and agencies, local governments, civil society organisations and the private sector.

5.1 Gender and Livelihoods

Livelihoods refer to the means of earning a living. These include sources of revenue, employment, occupation or trade. Gender has a strong influence on improved livelihoods. A major challenge to improved livelihoods is the prevalence of poverty, which is manifested in inadequate access, control and ownership of assets, resources, incomes, and power. The manifestations impact differently on men and women given the gender relations and division of labour in a given society

Three priority livelihood constraints identified for redress under this policy are gender differences in livelihoods, time poverty and inequalities in access to and control over productive resources. These are compounded by lack of time and labour saving technologies which hinder productivity as well as livelihood choices of men and women. Government is committed to address these concerns by reducing gender inequalities so that all women and men, girls and boys, are able to move out of poverty and to achieve improved and sustainable livelihoods.

The specific strategies shall include:

(a) Developing and implementing interventions that respond to diverse livelihood needs of women and men;

(b) Developing and promoting labour and time saving technologies for the poor women and men;

(c) Developing incentive frameworks to improve the earning potential of poor women and men for improved productivity and output;

(d) Promoting social protection interventions for poor and vulnerable women and men; and.

(e) Developing strategies to eradicate the child labour incidence with emphasis on the exploitation of the girl child.

5.2 Gender and Rights

The right to human development encompasses a wide range of entitlements ranging from security of the person, to the ability to access justice. The Constitution of the Republic of Uganda guarantees the rights of women. In line with the constitution, the policy shall address the following priority issues, gender inequality in access to justice, socio-cultural discrimination against girls and women, gender based violence; limited awareness about rights among women and men, high maternal and child mortality and morbidity, low literacy eespecially among women, and high levels of fertility. Government is committed to increasing knowledge and understanding of human rights among women and men so that they can enjoy their rights.

The specific strategies shall include:

(a) Designing and implementing programmes to improve women and men's access to justice;

(b) Enacting and reforming laws to eliminate gender discriminatory practices, norms and values;

(c) Developing and implementing interventions to prevent and respond to gender based violence in all its forms and at all levels;

(d) Developing and implementing sexual and reproductive health rights programmes;

(e) Developing and implementing legal literacy programmes to improve women and men's awareness of their legal rights.

(f) Developing strategies to sensitise communities about children's rights and responsibilities so as to protect the girl child from abuse.

5.3 Gender and Governance

Good governance entails respect for the rule of law, democratization, participation in decision-making, transparency and accountability, and protection of human rights. Gender equity is critical for good governance as it ensures the effective participation of women and men in the democratization process, leadership, decision-making and law enforcement.

The main governance challenges identified for action include; obstacles to women's engagement in elective processes, limited capacity to participate effectively in leadership and decision making, low presence of women in technical and management positions in public and private sector, limited articulation of gender in sectoral policies and programmes. Government is committed to address these concerns by strengthening women's capacities and presence in decision making for their meaningful participation in administrative and political processes.

The specific strategies shall include:

(a) Formulating and implementing capacity building programmes for women leaders;

(b) Developing strategies to address discrimination against women in elective and appointment structures and systems of governance;

(c) Broadening the scope of affirmative action to enhance its effectiveness in reducing gender disparities;

(d) Developing strategies to address gender inequalties in policies, plans and programmes at all levels.

(e) Developing strategies to empower the girl child to take up leadership positions in schools and tertiary institutions .

5.4 Gender and Macro-economic Management

The key macro-economic management challenges identified for action include; limited capacity among technocrats to integrate gender into macroeconomics, unequal benefits to women in trade expansion, low representation of women informal employment, discrimination of women in labour markets, the lack of markets, prohibitive regulatory and administrative requirements for business registration and public tendering and the insufficient reflection of women's care activities in the system of national accounts. Government is committed to tackling these challenges by addressing gender inequalities in macro-economic policy formulation, implementation and evaluation.

The specific strategies shall include:

(a) Institutionalising gender budget initiatives in central and local government budget cycles;

(b) Reforming investment regulations and domestic/local revenue generation systems to make them accessible to the poor and vulnerable and protect them from exploitation;

(c) Building national capacity for mainstreaming gender in macro economic policies.

6.0: INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK FOR IMPLEMENTING THE UGANDA GENDER POLICY

Implementing the Uganda Gender Policy will be multi sectoral. It is premised in the acknowledgement that the pursuit of gender equality and women's empowerment is a responsibility for all sectors in the development arena. All actors in the public and private sectors have a role to play in the implementation of this policy. Institutions are expected to identify entry points and opportunities for networking and collaboration to ensure synergy and maximum impact in addressing gender inequality. The cross cutting nature of gender implies that the different actors/sectors have the responsibility to finance the gender mainstreaming interventions pertinent to their respective sector. However, some institutions that will play a key role have been listed in the framework below: -

Ministry of Gender , Labour and Social Development has the overall responsibility of spearheading and coordinating gender responsive development, and in particular ensuring improvement in the status of women. In performing this role, the ministry will work within the systems and mechanisms of public policy management.

6.1 Institutional Framework Matrix

This matrix outlines the generic roles and responsibilities for institutions at all levels in the implementation of the Uganda Gender Policy.

Institution	*Roles and responsibilities*
Ministry of Gender, Labour & Social Development	- Establish appropriate mechanisms for coordinating gender mainstreaming at the different levels; - Provide technical support on gender mainstreaming to sectors, institutions, local governments, civil society organisations and the private sector; - Set standards, develop gender guidelines, disseminate and monitor their operationalisation; - Provide support to Gender Focal Points, Sector Gender Working Groups and Local Governments with a view to improving their effectiveness; - Coordinate the monitoring and evaluation of the UGP and gender responsive development in the country.
Sector Ministries and Sector Working Groups	- Translate the UGP into sector-specific strategies and activities; - Build capacity of staff in gender analysis, planning and budgeting; - Monitor and evaluate sector programmes for their impact on gender equality; - Commit adequate resources for implementation of gender related activities; - Disaggregate data and information by sex and gender where applicable; - Collaborate with MGLSD on matters of gender mainstreaming.

Institution	*Roles and responsibilities*
Ministry of Finance Planning & Economic Development	- Mobilise, allocate and release resources for gender mainstreaming activities; - Ensure that the national planning framework (PEAP) and all other national policies and sector investment plans are gender responsive; - Revise the national/local government planning and budgeting guidelines so that gender mainstreaming and gender targeted activities are given priority and visibility in budgets and are adequately funded; - Monetize the contribution of the care/domestic economy of women's and men's contribution in the national accounts; - Undertake gender audit of sector budgets; - Collect, document and disseminate gender disaggre gated data and information where applicable (UBOS) - Ensure that growth and investment policies benefit both women and men; - Collaborate with MGLSD on matters of gender mainstreaming.
Ministry of Local Government	- Ensure that the local government development plans, programmes and budgets benefit women, men, boys and girls; - Monitor gender mainstreaming in local governments to ensure services benefit women, men, boys, girls, people with disabilities and people living with HIV/AIDS; - Collaborate with MGLSD on matters of gender Mainstreaming; - Ensure disaggregation of data and information on local governments by sex and gender where applicable.
Parliament	- Establish appropriate mechanisms to monitor gender equality and equal opportunities; - Review ministerial policy statements and budget frame work papers for their gender responsiveness; - Ensure that all legislation is free from gender based discrimination; - Monitor the implementation of international instruments that promote gender equality and women's empowerment e.g. CEDAW; - Collaborate with MGLSD on matters of gender mainstreaming.

Institution	*Roles and responsibilities*
Political Organisations / Parties	- Promote gender equality in all political party policies, structures, activities and systems; - Disaggregate data and information by sex and gender where applicable; - Collaborate with MGLSD on matters of gender mainstreaming; - Promote Affirmative Action measures in party structures, processes and mechanisms.
Autonomous government bodies and institutions	- Translate the UGP into institutional specific policies strategies and activities; - Support staff to build capacity in gender analysis, planning and budgeting; - Monitor and evaluate sector programmes for their impact on gender equality; - Commit adequate resources for implementation of gender related activities; - Disaggregate data and information by sex and gender where applicable; - Collaborate with MGLSD on matters of gender mainstreaming.
Higher and lower local government, and administrative units	- Translate the UGP into local government and administrative unit specific strategies and activities; - Build capacity of staff and leadership in gender analysis, planning and budgeting; - Monitor and evaluate local government and other programmes for their impact on gender equality; - Commit adequate resources for implementation of gender related activities; - Disaggregate data and information by sex and gender where applicable; - Collaborate with gender and women's empowerment organisations e.g. Women Councils, CBOs and NGOs on matters of gender mainstreaming and women's empowerment; - Enact gender specific laws and ensure that by-lawsenacted redress gender-based discrimination; - Institute and implement affirmative Action measures.

Institution	*Roles and responsibilities*
Civil Society Community and Faith Based Organisations	- Translate the UGP into organisational policies, programmes and activities; - Collaborate with MGLSD and local governments on matters of gender mainstreaming; - Advocate for gender sensitive policy formulation and legislation; - Monitor the implementation of international instruments that promote gender equality and women's empowerment; - Participate in Sector Working Groups and local government planning and budgeting processes to advance gender equality; - Develop and implement programmes that address key UGP intervention areas.
Private sector	- Ensure that corporate policies and practices incorporate gender equality principles; - Ensure that essential products, supplies and services are accessible to both women and men, especially the poor; - Provide incentives and support to women entrepreneurs; - Collaborate with MGLSD and other appropriate institutions on matters of gender mainstreaming; - Broaden corporate social responsibility initiatives and interventions that promote gender equality; - Institute and implement Affirmative Action measures.
Media Organisations	- Collaborate with MGLSD on matters of gender mainstreaming; - Translate the UGP into organisational policies, projects and activities-Publicise, inform and educate the public about the UGP; - Promote the positive coverage of women in the media and eliminate gender stereotypes; - Create awareness of the masses about gender equality; - Build capacity for gender sensitive research and reporting; - Expose cases of gender based violence; - Collaborate with MGLSD on matters of gender mainstreaming and women's advancement.

Institution	Roles and responsibilities
Academic & Research organisations	- Undertake research in line with the priorities of the UGP; - Share research evidence on gender to influence policy, planning and legislation; - Build capacity in gender oriented research; - Design training and educational programmes on gender and women's empowerment; - Allocate sufficient resources towards gender related research projects; - Collaborate with MGLSD on matters of gender mainstreaming; - Translate the UGP into organisational policies, projects and activities
National Curriculum Centre	- Mainstream gender into primary, secondary and tertiary syllabus; - Design education programmes on gender and girl child empowerment in schools.
Development Partners	- Be cognizant of and use the UGP in development cooperation partnerships; - Establish appropriate institutional/ donor coordination mechanisms for ensuring gender responsiveness of development cooperation; - Collaborate with MGLSD on matters of gender mainstreaming; - Develop incentives for promoting gender equality and women's empowerment in development cooperation.

Institution	Roles and responsibilities
Equal Opportunities Commission (EOC)	- Promote affirmative action and non-discrimination in the treatment and enjoyment of human rights irrespective of gender and age; - Promote public awareness and acceptance of the equal opportunities and gender equality and treatment in employment and occupation; - Publish and disseminate guidelines for the implementation of equal opportunities and gender equality; - Guide the communities and other organisations on the awareness of acts, practices, usage, customs, tradition or cultures that undermine equal opportunities, gender equality, treatment in employment, education, social and cultural construction of roles and responsibilities in society; - Examine any law, policy, culture, tradition, usage, custom or plan which is likely to impair equal opportunities and gender equality to persons in employment or enjoyment of human rights.

7.0: MONITORING AND EVALUATION

Gender issues cut across all development sectors and levels. Therefore assessment of progress, outcomes and impact of interventions to address gender inequality is a shared responsibility for all development actors and agents. However, MGLSD shall be responsible for coordinating M&E of the UGP within the overall government monitoring systems and frameworks. The ministry will act as a catalyst to other sectors on gender responsive monitoring. Process and output indicators shall be periodically designed and reviewed within the Action Plan for the implementation of this policy. Key entry points and opportunities for linking the UGP monitoring and evaluation into existing M&E system is outlined below;

7.1 Overall Evaluation indicators

The following overall indicators, among others, will be used to assess the extent to which the purpose of the policy is achieved as well as evaluate impact of the policy on gender equality and women's empowerment.

- Proportion of population below the poverty line by sex of household head.
- Proportion of women in decision-making by sector and level.
- Proportion of population accessing justice by sex.
- Percentage of population accessing public services by sex, sector and location.
- Maternal Mortality Ratio.
- Proportion of girls completing formal education by level.
- Incidence of gender based violence by region/location.
- Proportion of population with registered land by sex and location.
- Proportion of population accessing and utilizing credit schemes sex and industry.

- Proportion of businesses registered by type and sex of owners/promoters.
- Adult literacy rate by sex and location.
- Proportion of girls in leadership positions by level

8. 0 ENTRY POINTS AND OPPORTUNITIES

8.1 The Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP) 2004/05 - 2007/08

PEAP monitoring provides a strategic opportunity and entry point for assessing progress in the promotion of gender equlity across sectors and levels. This requires that established mechanisms, indicators and benchmarks for tracking PEAP performance institutionalise reporting on gender outcomes and impacts.

8.2 The National Integrated M&E Strategy (NIMES)

The NIMES coordinated by the Office of the Prime Minister (OPM) is a framework for harmonizing sectoral M&E systems to reduce duplication of efforts and enhance timeliness, quality of data generated and actual use of M&E information by decision makers. Monitoring and evaluation of the UGP shall be aligned to and integrated within this framework.

8.3 Sector Investment Plans and Budget Framework Papers

Development and review of Sector Investment Plans, Ministerial policy Statements and Budget Framework Papers provides opportunities for strengthening M&E of gender equality, in line with this policy. Sector Management Information and M&E Systems are therefore critical entry points. Equally important entry points for reporting on progress by sectors in addressing gender inequality are the periodic sector reviews and the public expenditure review.

8.4 Local Government Development Plans, Programmes and Budgets

The local government assessment processes conducted annually as well as the Joint Review on Decentralisation (JARD) present an opportunity for

assessing progress and impact of service delivery on women and men at local level. The development of local government plans and budget frame work papers too, provide key entry-points for strengthening M&E of gender equality, in line with this policy.

8.5 Data collection systems

The collection, analysis, reporting and dissemination of data and information through the already established periodic surveys, censuses, participatory poverty assessments and other related activities as well as sector MIS are critical entry points and opportunities for generating gender and sex disaggregated data and information for M&E on gender equality.

9.0 TIME FRAME OF THE UGP

The time frame for the UGP shall be 10 years (2007-2017). A mid-term evaluation of the policy will be carried out within the fifth year of implementation. Terminal and ex-post evaluations will also be conducted as appropriate.

Glossary

Affirmative Action, refers to preferential treatment measures for redressing inequalities or imbalances in accessing resources, power or opportunities. It is a commitment, but of temporary nature.

Gender, is the social and cultural construct of roles, responsibilities, attributes, opportunities, privileges, status, access to and control over resources and benefits between women and men, boys and girls in a given society.

Sex, refers to biological characteristics that make an individual male or female. Sex differences are God given, universal and unchangeable.

Sex roles, arise from the biological differences between women and men and cannot be changed. Pregnancy is an example of a sex role for women, as only women have the ability to bear children.

Gender roles, are the socially constructed and defined responsibilities for example, child rearing is a female gender role rather than a female sex role as it can be done equally by men or women. Unlike sex roles, gender roles are not universal and differ in different places and from time to time. They are also changeable and interchangeable.

Gender Division of Labour, is the allocation of different tasks, responsibilities and activities to women and men in households, communities and society considered socially and culturally appropriate. Gender roles arise from gender division of labour.

Gender Needs, are requirements that arise from people's positioning in society, determined by the socially constructed attributes. Gender needs are normally classified as either practical or strategic.

Practical Gender Needs, (PGN) are the immediate requirements for addressing an existing problem related to socially ascribed roles and responsibilities. If these were met, the lives of women and/or men would be improved without changing the existing gender division of labour or challenging women's subordinate position.

Strategic Gender Needs, (SGN) arise out of the analysis of women's position relative to that of men. If SGN are addressed, the existing relationship of unequal power between men and women is transformed. Intervention at the level of SGN challenges the existing gender division of labour and the position of men relative to that of women. In the Ugandan context, intervention at the level of SGN may include promoting women's ownership of land.

Gender equality, is the ability of men and women, boys and girls to enjoy the same status and have equal opportunity to realise their potential to contribute to

socio-cultural, economic and political development. It can be captured in three dimensions equality in capabilities as in education and health levels; opportunities to utilize capabilities to earn incomes and live to full potential; and agency which is the ability to influence outcomes.

Gender Equity, is fairness and justice in the distribution of resources, benefits, and responsibilities between men and women, girls and boys in all spheres of life.

Gender Issue, is a point of gender inequality that is undesirable and requires intervention. It results from some form of gender discrimination or oppression. A Gender issue arises when there is inequality, inequity or differentiated treatment of an individual or a group of people purely on the basis of social expectations and attributes.

Gender relations, are principally about power. The term gender relations refers to those dimensions of social relations that create differences in the positioning of women and men in social processes. Through gender relations, men are often given greater capacity than women to mobilize a variety of resources and cultural roles. Gender relations consist of social distribution of space, the norms governing the space, and the social, political and economic rights. Hence, gender relations entail the ways in which a culture or society defines entitlements, responsibilities and identities of men and women in relation to one another.

Gender Identity, is our own conception of being male or female and of the roles that we consider should accompany that conception of ourselves. This conception often arises from our individual attributes, as well as society's definition of one's conduct, roles, perceptions and expectations. Gender identity is strongly based on the cultural set up of specific societies. One can be identified with either a masculine identity or a feminine identity.

Gender and equity budgeting, is a type of resource allocation that includes analysis of public revenues and public expenditures from a gender and equity perspective. This means that the budgetary implications for, and impacts on, women and girls, compared to men and boys, are considered. Gender

and equity budgeting does not produce a separate budget but is an analytical tool applied to mainstream budgetary processes.

Gender based discrimination, is a distinction made on the basis of sex, race, religion, disability, etc. This leads to exclusion of groups people and individuals and/or preference being given to others.

Gender mainstreaming, is a conscious approach of an organisation to take into account gender equality concerns in all policy, programme, administrative and financial activities as well as organisational structures and procedures.

It's based on a political decision to work towards and finally achieve the goal of gender equality within the organisation thus contributing towards gender equality in the respective society.

It involves applying a variety of measures, providing resources (financial, human, time, information) and ensuring a process of learning and transformation.

Gender responsive, is the ability of an individual or agency, to take into account the social relations of women and men as well as differences in their needs in any undertaking or decision.

Gender sensitivity, is being conscious of the different situations and needs of women and men, throughout the decision-making process. It entails the ability to recognize the differences in perception and interests between males and females arising from their different social position and different gender roles.

Women's Empowerment, is the process of enhancing women's capacity to take charge of their own development, the process involves enabling women to make their choices, have a say in decisions that affect them, ability to initiate actions for development, change in attitudes, and increased consciousness of equal access to and control of resources and services in order to take charge of their opportunities.

Women in Development (WID)
WID is a concept, which denotes an approach that advocates for women targeted interventions within the mainstream of development so as to improve their condition.

Gender and Development (GAD) is an approach that affirms and supports women's equal role in development. It also questions the direction of development, advocates for structural transformation, and insists on the transformation of gender relations. GAD does not mean a de-emphasis on women, rather its goal is women's empowerment and equality of women and men in the reproductive as well as productive spheres.