



CODESRIA

12th General Assembly
Governing the African Public Sphere

12e Assemblée générale
Administrer l'espace public africain

12a Assembleia Geral
Governar o Espaço Público Africano

ةي عم جلا ةي موم علا ةي ن اشل ارشع
حكم الفضاء العام الإفريقي

Contribution of Women in Influencing Legislation and Policy Formulation and Implementation in Uganda 1995-2005

Elijah Dickens Mushemeza
Bishop Stuart University



07-11/12/2008
Yaoundé, Cameroun

Abstract¹

This paper on impact assessment of the contribution of women in influencing legislation and policy formulation and implementation in Uganda 1995-2005, is premised on the assumption that although women as individuals and groups and/or networks have made some contributions towards advancement of gender equality and empowerment of women in economic, social and political spheres, there is still much more to be done. This is because sufficient gender mainstreaming in the determination of policy choices and legislations and how these affect the quality of life for both women and men particularly in the areas of family, health and education is still lacking.

The paper argues that although the government has been implementing a gender sensitive and responsive constitution, and despite the fact that the number of women participating in politics and governance has been steadily increasing, their participation has not had the desired impact on legislations and policies to make them gender sensitive and responsive to women's rights, interests and needs. The sectors of health, education and family are selected for the analysis because that's where women are affected most. It is presumed that having gender sensitive, responsive and implemented policies; and non-discriminatory laws, in these sectors would go along way in promoting gender equality and women's empowerment.

The main objective of the paper is to interrogate the extent to which women as individuals and groups or networks have influenced the legislations and policies in terms of gender mainstreaming, participation, recognition of women's role in the provision and use of resources, integrated planning, financial framework and advocacy. The paper proposes policy recommendations on how to scale up women's participation, contribution and impact on policies and legislations to the *advancement of gender equality and empowerment of women not only in the public sphere but in the entire society.*

¹ This paper utilized data collected by the Author from the on going research to support the Centre for Women in Governance (CEWIGO) in its initiative to stimulate strategic and focused policy research on governance and democracy in Uganda.

Introduction: Women in governance in historical perspective

The struggle for women's emancipation in Uganda has a long history. Women's movement in Uganda is one of the strongest mobilized societal forces. Its history can be traced during the colonial period and in the activities after independence under the first Milton Obote regime (1962-1971). Unfortunately Idi Amin suppressed the women's organizations, until they re-emerged under Obote's second regime (1980-1985). The National Council of Women (NCW) which was established by a decree and placed under the Ministry of Community Development was a response to a United Nations Resolution, an initiative of the UN decade for women. But this organization lacked the independence and the decree which established it was used by the government to limit the formation and registration of progressive women's NGOs. Even then the struggle for emancipation lacked the revolutionary zeal and focus as Matembe (2002: 65) recounts.

Until the changing times of the mid-1980s, the general view of women in Uganda was very traditional and limiting. Women were thought to be first and foremost wives and mothers. Domestic space was women's domain and their main responsibilities were family related. Generally women were not perceived to be public actors or public decision makers.

Subsequently, when the National Resistance Movement captured power in 1986, the women's movement gained much more support because the political leaders were ready to listen to concerns relating to oppression of and discrimination against women. During the constitution making process (1988-1995), the major concern on women was the long history of their systematic oppression and discrimination throughout the pre-colonial, colonial and post-independence eras. Concerns were also articulated in the sectors of education, family and health.

In the education sector it was also observed at the time that girls were discriminated in terms of receiving education. Boys' education was always preferred. Whenever parents failed to raise sufficient funds, girls were the first to be recalled from schools. Girls who became pregnant were denied a chance to continue their education.

In the family sector concerns were raised about laws which discriminate against them in several aspects: property ownership, marriage, separation, divorce, custody of children and inheritance. It was noted that it is common in our societies for women to be denied the right to

own property. Whatever a woman owns before marriage belongs to her family while after marriage every thing belongs to the husband and his relatives or clan. A daughter is excluded from becoming heir to her father even where there is no son in the family.

In some communities the widow is regarded as “property” herself, able to be inherited as part of estate (The Report of the Uganda Constitutional Commission, 1993). There were cultural practices that were identified as inconsistent with modernity, health and development ideals. The practice of forcing young girls into marriage, the practice of bride-price and its commercialization and the negative connotations it carries, the tradition of widow inheritance, female circumcision,, the practice of denying women and children eating certain nutritious foods, all became important issues for debate, scrutiny and attention.

The above concerns were made against a background of understanding that Uganda was already a signatory to various International legal instruments including the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (1979). The challenge has been on how to translate the state’s obligation towards international agreements it has ratified into effective legislation, policy and action.

Furthermore, Uganda’s past three constitutions 1962, 1966 and 1967 all carried bills of human rights and fundamental freedoms. The bills focused on civil and political rights and fundamental freedoms like the right to life, personal liberty, individual property etc. and fundamental freedoms like freedom of movement, expression, assembly and association. The bills however do not make provision for the enjoyment of economic, social and cultural rights like right to education, employment, social security, good health and adequate standard of living. The constitutions also do not capture the equality of gender in enjoying the civil, political, social, economic and cultural rights. The constitutions apart from the courts of law provided no other institutions for the enforcement of human rights observance particularly on gender inequalities. Worse still there were no policies to deal with awareness and service delivery on gender as a development concern among policy makers and implementers. Similarly, the family law particularly, the Marriage Act (1904), Divorce Act (1904), Succession Act (1906) were not amended after independence to be gender complaint.

Situation Analysis

Uganda over the last twenty years has made some achievements towards gender equality and empowerment of women. Indeed as the Uganda Gender Policy (2007) points out, key positive milestones and gaps can be highlighted in the sectors of our interest (education, health, family) in this paper.

The Universal primary Education (UPE) has increased overall enrollment from 2.7 million in 1995 to 5.3 million in 1997 and to 7.3 million in 2002 with girls constituting 49% (3.6 million); in 2005 it rose to 49.6% (3.6 million) and 2006 it stood at 50% (3.65 million). Affirmative action in Public Universities (Makerere University) increased enrollment of girls/females from 23.9% in the academic year 1989/90 to 29.2 in 1990/91 when it was introduced and 49.5% in 2003/04; and 45.2% in 2005/2006. Literacy rates increased from 54% in 1991 to 69.6% in 2002. The imbalance emanates from varying levels of enrollment and attendance of education at all levels. 77% of the males are literate compared to 62.4 of the females (2002 Population and Housing Census).

In the health sector, 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). Rural water coverage increased from 54.9% in 2002 to 61% in 2006. On health rights, high mortality and mobility rates remain a challenge. The Uganda Demographic and Health Survey (2006) shows that infant mortality is 76 deaths per 1000 births and under five mortality is 137 per 1,000 births. The UDHS 2000/1 puts maternal mortality ratio at 505 per 100,000 live births. The high total fertility rate at 6.9 has bearing on the rapidly increasing growth rates (3.3%) per annum, which in turn has negative consequences on provision of health services for women and increases the dependence ratio. The high incidence of teenage pregnancies is associated with high risks to health and life of both mother and child (UGP 2007:9-10).

In the family sector, a number of gaps exist in terms of achieving equality and empowerment of women. 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 Uganda Strategic

Country Gender Assessment (World Bank 2005) points out that women bear the brunt of domestic tasks, in addition to agricultural and other productive work.

In Uganda there is evidence of critical gender related barriers to access to justice which 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. 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 (UGP 2007:9).

Furthermore, gender based violence in its various forms (domestic violence, sexual harassment, trafficking, rape and defilement) is still a critical concern to the Ugandan society. The UDHS (2006) indicates that 60% of the women and 53% of the women aged 15-49 years experience physical violence, 39% of the women sexual violence while 16% experience violence during pregnancy. Similarly, it was reported that 48% of ever married women reported physical violence by their husband or former husband (UGP, 2007:10). Furthermore, in the family sector, laws on domestic relations, inheritance, domestic violence, sexual offences and on land and property remain negative and oppressive to the advancement of gender equality and women's empowerment.

In light of the above observations, our concern in this paper is to interrogate the contribution of women in policy and legislation formulation and implementation to address the concerns that were identified during the constitution making process and the current remaining policy and legislation gaps particularly in the family, health and educational sectors. *Our main argument is that although women as individuals and groups and/or networks have made some contributions towards advancement of gender equality and empowerment of women in economic, social and political spheres, there is still much more to be done. This is because sufficient gender mainstreaming in the determination of policy choices and legislations and how these affect the quality of life for both women and men particularly in the areas of family, health and education is still lacking in Uganda.*

In analyzing the above research issue the concept contribution was found to be problematic. Policy and legislation formulation and implementation is done by various actors in society including both men and women. Successes and failures cannot be attributed to one gender. Therefore singling out the contribution of women alone poses conceptual dilemmas. Nevertheless, we have devised a conceptual framework that dissects the concept contribution and how qualitatively it can be measured. We thus turn to the conceptual framework that presents benchmarks to carry out an impact assessment of the women's contribution over the years.

Conceptual Framework

To assess the impact of the contribution of women in formulation and implementation of legislations and policies in the health, education and family sectors, it is important to identify the relevant legislations and policies in those sectors. It is also important to analyze the extent to which women as individuals and groups or networks have influenced the legislations and policies in terms of gender mainstreaming, participation, recognition of women's role in the provision and use of resources, integrated planning, financial framework and advocacy. But what do these benchmarks really mean?

Gender mainstreaming is a process to ensure that the concerns and needs of both women and men are considered in all planning and policy-making and that all policy-makers are aware of the needs of women and men and their roles and responsibilities. It is a conscious approach of an organization to take into account gender equality concerns in all policy, programme, administrative and financial activities as well as organizational structures and procedures. In order to realize gender mainstreaming it is important to modify the **legal framework**. Is the legal treatment of men and women equal? Are men and women equal under and before the law? Are gender-issues integrated into the constitution?

Similarly the establishment of a **political framework** for using targeting measures to narrow the gender gap is crucial for gender mainstreaming. To have a viable political framework and to monitor the legal framework, an **institutional framework** for gender issues must be established and functional. To what extent have the women pushed and realized a political, legal and an institutional framework which facilitate gender equality and women's empowerment? Has the institutional framework enabled women to fully realize the desired affirmative action?

Furthermore, a **financial framework** is crucial for realizing gender-aware policies and to demonstrate political commitment to gender mainstreaming by allocating sufficient resources to gender integrated policies. How have women worked towards achieving such a realization?

The second benchmark is **participation**. Besides some exceptions, women are generally under-represented at the decision-making level in the most critical sectors and are rarely consulted regarding public projects. Sometimes capable women are placed below a man as Vice- Chairpersons when clearly a woman is better qualified and capable. It is important for every progressive government to always consult women leaders at various levels and ensure their participation in order to formulate legislations and policies that reflect their needs and demands. Consultations are also necessary when appointments are being considered so that capable women are selected. If this is not done the tendency to blame all women when one woman disappoints society will persist. A participatory framework is therefore crucial for involving beneficiaries in public policy through stakeholders-participation by working in collaboration with government, development organizations, and civil society organizations. Ultimately, women's equal participation, their perspectives, knowledge, and experiences are all crucial to the creation of a more just, prosperous, and peaceful nation. Participation therefore implies contributing and taking part in the implementation of/benefit from development interventions, including resource allocation and utilization, as well as in decision making, planning, and administration. The question for us is that: **To what extent have women been consulted and involved in the formulation and implementation of the existing policies and legislations in the health, education and family sectors?**

The third benchmark is recognition of women's role in the provision and use of resources. A progressive policy and legislation in which women's contribution is reflected should recognise women's role in the provision and use of resources in relation to their needs. **To what extent have women promoted gender and equity budgeting?** Gender and equity budgeting does not produce a separate budget but is an analytical tool applied to mainstream budgetary processes

The fourth benchmark is integrated planning. The contribution of women should shape the policies to have an **integrated planning (IP)** approach, which recognizes that gender issues

have multi-disciplinary (political, social, economic and environmental) aspects. Gender mainstreamed policies should promote a demand-driven approach towards planning. Policies that have gender awareness should promote the production of gender-disaggregated data on males and females. This can be used as a tool to enlarge the knowledge of women on the use of resource and how to articulate their demands.

This conceptual framework should help us to make an impact assessment and analyze how women's groups/networks and even women in government departments have influenced policy and legislation making and implementation to the advancement of gender equality and women's empowerment.

The International and Constitutional Provisions that Create Political Space for Women

The Existing legal Framework

Prior to the 1995 constitution, there were hardly any policies that focused on the advancement of gender equality and empowerment of women in health, education and family. However, there were legislations in education (Education Act 1970), in the family sector - the Marriage Act (1904), Divorce Act (1904), Succession Act (1906) existed. However, none of these laws were gender complaint and yet no government and the women groups at the time made attempts to amend them.

In Uganda women constitute the largest single social group comprising 51% of its population according to the 2002 Census. Uganda recognizes the importance of protecting women's rights because of their vulnerability. Indeed women's vulnerability arises from their unequal social status and from the unequal power relations they have with men. Women's responsibilities in care giving, economic production and community activities give them a heavy work burden. This makes women generally poorer than men.

To promote and protect the rights of women, Uganda is signatory to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) 1995 but is yet to sign its optional protocol. CEDAW states that... 'the full and complete development of the country, the welfare of the world and the cause of peace require the maximum participation of women on equal terms with men in all fields'.

The convention provides the basis for realizing equality between women and men through ensuring women equal access to and equal opportunities in political and public life as well as education, health and employment. It affirms the reproductive rights of women, and targets culture and traditions as influential in shaping gender roles and family relations. Countries that have signed or ratified the convention are legally bound to put provisions into practice. It basically defines what constitutes discrimination against women and sets up an agenda for national action to end such discrimination.

According to the convention, discrimination against women is defined as ‘...any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing, nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field’. States committed themselves to undertake a series of measures to end discrimination against women in all forms including:

- To incorporate the principle of equality of men and women in their legal system, abolish all discriminatory laws and adopt appropriate ones prohibiting discrimination against women.
- To establish tribunals and other public institutions to ensure the effective protection of women against discrimination and
- To ensure elimination of all acts of discrimination against women by persons, organizations or enterprises.

In 1995, the fourth World Conference on women took place in Beijing and produced an outcome document popularly known as the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action. It set out its goals as gender equality, development and peace and constituted an agenda for the empowerment of women. "The objective of the Platform for Action is in full conformity with the purposes and principles of the charter of the United Nations and international law and that is the empowerment of women. The full realization of all human rights and fundamental freedoms of all women is essential for the empowerment of women." Uganda participated and supports the Beijing Document. The Beijing Platform for Action identified 12 critical areas of priority to achieve the advancement and empowerment of women. Uganda also supports and is a signatory to the Common Wealth Plan of Action on Gender Development; Advancing the Common Wealth Agenda into the New Millennium (2005-2010), The International

Conference on Population and Development (1994), The Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC, 1990).

Together with 190 other governments, Uganda signed the United Nations Millennium Declaration (MDG) in 2000 and is working towards the achievement of eight measurable, time-bound Millennium Development Goals, centered on halving poverty reduced by 2015. MDG 3 is to promote gender equality and women empowerment.

At the regional level, government of Uganda is signatory to the African Charter on Peoples and Human Rights; The East African Treaty (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 Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), Gender Policy and Strategy (July 2004); The New Partnerships for African Development (NEPAD), Social Indicators Programme and the AU Heads of State Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality (July 2004).

At the national level, the Constitution of the republic of Uganda makes a commitment for promotion and protection of social justice and equality of all Ugandans. One of the national objectives is empowerment and encouragement of active participation of citizens, including women, in their governance at all levels. The Constitution further states that all Ugandans including women shall have access to leadership positions at all levels in Uganda. The Constitution under National Objectives and Principles of State policy (VI) stresses that the State shall ensure gender balance and fair representation of marginalized groups on all Constitutional and other bodies.

Furthermore from a gender perspective, the constitution of the Republic of Uganda is acclaimed as being one of the gender sensitive constitutions in Africa. This fact is testified by a number of articles that include:

- Article 21 provides for equal treatment in all spheres of life under the law regardless of sex.
- Article 26(1) protects all persons from deprivation of property
- Articles 31(1) entitles women and men to equal rights during and after marriage

- Article 32(1) mandates the state to take affirmative action in favour of groups marginalized on the basis of gender or any other reason created by history, tradition or custom.
- Article 33(4) further avers that the state shall provide facilities and opportunities necessary to enhance the welfare of women to enable them realize their full potential and advancement
- Article 33(5) accords affirmative action to women for purposes of redressing the imbalances created by history, tradition or custom. It should be noted here that the Uganda Parliament constitutes of 32.2% women and at local government level, women hold 30% of the positions.
- Article 33(6) prohibits “laws, cultures and traditions, which are against the dignity, welfare or interest of women and undermine their status.”
- The Constitution also mandates parliament, among other things, to make laws for the establishing of an Equal Opportunities Commission (EOC) for the purpose of giving effect to constitutional mandates expressed therein.

As noted above, article 32 of the Constitution promotes affirmative action in favor of marginalized groups including women. Apart from being eligible and able to compete equally with men to represent all the constituencies in Parliament, women have been reserved a special seat (Woman District MP) to represent each of the districts of Uganda. Affirmative action has increased the number of women in politics and in positions of decision making. There are currently 103 women Members of Parliament, 80 of them as a result of affirmative action representing districts while the rest represent interest groups (Youth, PWDs, Army, and Workers). This has enhanced acceptance of women as leaders and has increased their self confidence and leadership skills. In other words the main achievement of affirmative action is the increased level of representation and participation of women in politics and decision making both at the national and local levels. Increased numbers of women in politics and decision making has enhanced their visibility in public office, legitimized their presence in areas previously considered to be male domain, and de-mystified some of the public offices such as that of the Vice President. Women in politics and decision making at all levels have provided role models for other women, with the result that more women today are willing to stand for political positions than was the case before affirmative action was introduced.

As will be discussed later this achievement notwithstanding, the aspect of affirmative action relating to representation in politics and decision making has tended to overshadow other aspects of the policy and yet affirmative action is a long-term measure aimed at redressing imbalances caused by history, tradition and custom which should not be limited to political representation.

Actual Practices: Selected Policies and Legislations in Health, Education and the Family Sectors in Which Women Have Made a Contribution

Political and Institutional Framework

As noted above the legal framework for mainstreaming gender was embedded in the Constitution of 1995. Subsequently a political framework was established with the publication of the National Gender Policy in 1997. A political framework for using targeting measures to narrow the gender gap is crucial for gender mainstreaming. To implement the political framework and to monitor the legal framework, an institutional framework for gender issues was also established. The institutional framework for gender issues in Uganda is the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development. Section 6.0 of the Uganda Gender Policy (2007) points out that the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development, has the overall responsibility of spearheading and co-ordinating gender responsive development, and in particular ensuring the improvement in the status of women. In Uganda, the national machinery is part of the government. It provides policy guidelines on gender and it gives technical support in gender mainstreaming to stakeholders. It is involved in the development of gender policies in other sectors, acting both as a catalyst and a facilitator/expert on gender issues. A major task of the Ministry is to organize seminars and workshops to sensitise different categories of policy makers and programme planners to gender issues. The target group is ministers, permanent secretaries, senior officials, members of district development planning committees; men and women a task which the Ministry has not been able to accomplish.

Mechanisms for Gender Mainstreaming

Technical, institutional and policy framework in gender mainstreaming are part of some of the efforts that have been undertaken by the government in addition to law reform. Uganda, like many other African countries, has committed itself to implement the international instruments and programmes of action. As noted earlier in 1985 Uganda committed itself to

CEDAW without any reservations. Uganda has been an active participant in the International Conferences on women. In addition to CEDAW, Uganda has committed itself to implement the Beijing Platform for Action. In 1988, The Ministry of Women in Development was started by Government to act as the Lead Agency in the task of improving the status of women. In 1991, the Ministry was changed from the Ministry of Women in Development to the Ministry of Women, Youth and Culture. With this change, came the loss of some of the autonomy due to the new components that were added. The Ministry had to focus on women, youths and cultural issues. In 1994 the Ministry was restructured to include community development. It was renamed as the Ministry of Gender and Community Development. In 1999, it was again changed with new additions of the Labour and Social Development departments. It is now known as the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development.

The Ministry of Women in Development as it was initially named has gone through several institutional changes including retrenchment of some staff. Retrenchment was carried out with the purpose of increasing efficiency and effectiveness of the civil service; reducing government expenditure and motivating workers. Retrenchment led to reduction of the Ministry staff to a skeleton level that could hardly cover the whole country, taking into account the policy and implementation of decentralization. While planning took place at district level, there were no Gender Officers (technical staff). This undermined the initial efforts that had been undertaken to mainstream gender in the government planning processes (Keiller et al 2001, Ssonko 2002). This reduced the Ministry's visibility as the national machinery for bridging the gender gap between men and women.

The Ministry of Gender Labor and Social Development has been one of the most under funded ministries. Indeed since its inception, it has depended on funds from DANIDA that were terminated in 1998 because according to DANIDA, the Government was not meeting its financial obligations as a "counterpart to DANIDA funding" (Keiller *et.al* 2001). In spite of this, the Ministry under the leadership of women has made some improvements in providing and building the national machinery (e.g. initiating Adult literacy programmes, and teaming with women networks to have the EOC Act and Policy passed by parliament) for the advancement of women and gender equality.

With the backing of the Ministry of Gender, Women's Councils were established under the National Women's Council Act 1993. Women councils are structures composed and charged

with the responsibility of fostering the social economic development of women. However, as one respondent remarked “women councils have only been used for political purposes rather than fostering economic development. Women councils are used as mobilization tools for political campaigns” They start at Local council levels one (village level) and (smallest government unit of administration) to five (district level). They are composed of five women. The chairpersons of the Women councils one and two become automatic members of Local Councils one and two respectively. However, when it comes to Local Council three upwards, the two structures are separated and there is no relationship between the two structures. Indeed the women council statute is not provided for in the Local Government Act and is hence not recognized as a structure by the Local Government. To this end, women councils do not receive funding or technical support from local governments. Under multi party system there have been calls to scrap the women councils.

National Gender Policy: In spite of the above institutional provisions, the Ministry has done some recognizable work that include policy frameworks to guide the work on gender. The Ministry made the National Gender Policy that was approved by the cabinet in 1997. The overall goal of the gender policy is to mainstream gender concerns in the national development process in order to improve social, legal/civic, political, economic and cultural conditions of people in Uganda in particular women. The policy recognizes gender relations as a development concept in identifying and understanding the social roles and relations of women and men of all ages and how these impact on development.

The National Action Plan (1999/2000 -2003/2004) identified four critical areas of concern for the government of Uganda. These were poverty, income generation and economic empowerment; reproductive health and rights; legal framework and decision making; and the girl child and education (Ministry of Gender 1998). The relationship between this plan and the other national development plans was not clear. Secondly, it was developed without any financial considerations or a Monitoring and Evaluation framework.

Nevertheless, under the leadership of able women as **Table 1 shows** and with support of women Civil Society Organizations, the Ministry undertook to appraise the effectiveness of the National Gender Policy. This was in recognition that the national development process in Uganda has not been static. The adoption of a Poverty Eradication Action Plan and Decentralization Policy which were major policy shifts warranted the revision of the policy.

The revised version makes clear links to all major policy initiatives in Uganda (NGP, 2007: v). *We are yet to see how the revised National Gender Policy impacts on other policies in place or those that are yet to be formulated.*

Health Sector

a) *National Health Policy*

b) *Water Act*

(a) National Health Policy

The development of a new national health policy for Uganda for the period from 1999 to 2009 began in 1996; the policy was approved by the cabinet in 1999. The New policy signifies a transition from emergency relief operations within the health sector to a social development perspective on health (Ministry of Health 1999a).

In 1993, the Ugandan government produced a Health Policy White Paper and a three-year Plan Frame 1993–1996 (extended to 1997/98). During this planning period, health policy focused on consolidating existing PHC services and addressing AIDS. From 1998 onwards, the eradication of poverty in the health sector became the priority. The overall policy goal for the current National Health Policy (1999–2009) is the attainment of good standard of health by all people in Uganda, in order to promote a healthy and productive life (NHP 1999).

Gender mainstreaming – The National health policy is gender compliant. Guiding principle (i) states that: a gender sensitive and responsive national health system shall be achieved through mainstreaming gender considerations in planning and implementation of all health programmes. Gender sensitivity will require that gender related barriers to health care be removed. Equal weight shall be given to knowledge, values and experience of women and men, and that they participate equally in research, policy and decision making. Sexuality and sexually related behavior and gender relations including child sexual abuse, violence against women, genital mutilation and other harmful practices shall be routinely taken into consideration and addressed in collaboration with the relevant stakeholders.

Under the Uganda National Minimum Health Care Package (UNMHCP) a mechanism that should allow cost-effective, integrated implementation of health problems, gender mainstreaming comes out prominently. The minimum health care package consists of the

following: control of communicable disease (malaria, STI/HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis); Integrated Management of Childhood Illness; Sexual and Reproductive Health Rights (Sexual Ante-natal and Obstetric Care, family planning, adolescent reproductive health, violence against women); and other public health interventions.

Under section 6 – Health Financing, government commits itself to focus the use of public resources (including official development assistance) on health services that are demonstrably cost-effective, have the greatest impact on reducing mortality and morbidity, and/or have a clear bias to protecting the poor and most vulnerable population as well as taking due consideration of the gender related health care needs and concerns.

Participation of women in formulating the policy – Policy formulation involved a wide range of stakeholders. This is reflected in the conclusion section of the NHP thus:

The consultative process that was applied in developing this policy document has generated wide consensus on the priority health development objectives and the strategies for achieving them. It is hoped that the same spirit of collaboration will prevail during period of implementation (NHP 1999).

Participation in policy formulation through national workshops is however viewed by some women as inadequate. During the interviews views of such nature came up from well known academic intellectuals

The process of policy making is more internal and many women are not involved. Some of us are brought in at the last minute to make comments or critique what is presented during workshops (Grace Bantebya).

Similarly, implementation of policy is not gender compliant as one of our respondents recalls:

In ministry of health, we can say ideally women participate but at lower levels of carrying out their work. But if we talk of decision making, there is no participation because there are few women in positions that matter to take decisions. For example, MoH has only one woman placed in the decision making bracket as a Permanent Secretary who has been in that decision for less than one year. Perhaps, the other woman I can point out is the head of nurses. So we can not expect women to take

decisions or influence policy when they are not at the top decision making level (interview with Christine Mubiru).

The above observation is supported by the findings as the Table 2 summarizes the gender representation in the MoH at the top management level.

Table 1: Gender categorization of key decision makers in the Ministry of Health

| Position | Female | Male |
|------------------------------------|----------|-----------|
| Minister | | 1 |
| State Ministers | | 2 |
| Permanent Secretary | 1 | |
| Directors | | 2 |
| Director General | | 1 |
| Under Secretary | | 1 |
| Commissioners/Heads of Departments | 1 | 7 |
| Assistant Commissioners | | 2 |
| Total | 2 | 16 |

Source: field data October 2007

Financial framework - Recurring health budget funding on part of the government has gradually increased from 43% in the early 1990s to 63% in 1997/98 (MOH 1999a).

International donor agencies were expected to fund the remaining part. The annual per capita expenditure for health, including government and external contributions, at the time was USD \$3.95 (MOH 1999b; MOFPED 1998).

The Uganda Essential Drugs Management Programme (UEDMP), now known as Uganda Essential Drugs Support Programme (UEDSP), was founded in 1985 (Okunzi & Macrae 1995). Since then, health care has been centered largely on the issue of pharmaceuticals (Danish Red Cross 1999). Considerable funds are invested in pharmaceuticals, tending to make them the focus of the health care system. Drugs have great value on the grey market, and illicit drugs can be purchased in local shops and stands. Several studies pointed to a

wholesale disappearance of drugs from public health facilities (Economic Policy Research Centre et al. 1996, Adome et al. 1996).

Recent health reforms have centered on systemic problems and on capacity-building in key support systems. The system is primarily underwritten by external funding, although administered by largely unmotivated civil servants. This external funding does not generally include the payment of salaries, but only covers a per diem for health staff and travel expenses outside the country. This inadequate compensation is partially offset by bonuses that often attract more attention than the job itself. Since funds are generally not requested from below, but distributed from above, there is only a very limited sense of ownership in the items procured or the infrastructure built. Where there is no participatory involvement on the part of the local community or district leaders, or **women** maintaining district programmes becomes a problem, and many of these health facilities soon end up in a deplorable state (Hultberg 1999).

The heavy reliance on external funding unbalances the system and decreases its long-term sustainability. Most foreign officials are only concerned with specific projects, rather than the overall system. The broadest goal of public health Policy namely, the building of a comprehensive and sustainable health care system, receives insufficient attention, while smaller projects or programmes are often over-funded, pursuant to the interests of international donor agencies. Health care is virtually transformed into a biomedical product that is donated to the beneficiaries for their consumption.

In another development the resource envelope within the Medium Term Expenditure was expected to grow from 4,051 billion in 2005/2006 to 4,276 billion in 2006/2007. In spite of the projected increase in overall expenditure government planned to reduce expenditure on health – 13.7% to 9.7%. The assumption was that government would increase reliance on the provision of health care by the private sector. However, this move has had a negative impact on the welfare of women by reducing household expenditure as well as increasing the burden on home based health care services.

Women's Role in the provision and use of resources – There is no evidence in the Ministry of Health that women have influenced the process of budgeting so that mainstreamed gender

programmes are prioritized. Key positions in the Ministry on policy formulation and implementation are occupied by **males as already discussed above.**

Integrated Planning – The National Health Policy and Strategic Plan Frame were formulated within the context of the provisions of the constitution of the Republic of Uganda 1995 and the Local Government Act, CAP 243 that provides for decentralized governance and service delivery. In addition the Health Policy derives guidance from the National Health Sector Reform Programme and the National Poverty Eradication Programme (PEAP). The Policy also strongly reflects the Alma Ata Declaration of Health for All (HFA) strategy. In addition, SWAP has rallied those in the health sector around a single policy and the implementation of a single national strategic plan, and the use of a common management system.

(b) Water Act

The Water Act came into force in 1995. It provides for the use, protection and management of water resources and supply, the constitution of water and sewerage authorities and facilitates the development of water supply and sewerage undertakings.

Gender mainstreaming – The Act is gender neutral and even where bodies for the management of water are created, there is no effort to ensure that there is representation of both women and men on the bodies created. This is unfortunate because Uganda is a male dominated society and its institutions are still male dominated.

Participation - In the Ministry of Environment and Water out of sixteen key people involved in policy only five are females as shown in the table 2

Table 3: Gender categorization of key decision makers in the Ministry of Environment and Water

| POSITION | MALE | FEMALE |
|---|-------------|---------------|
| Minister of Environment and Water | | 1 |
| Minister of State for Environment and Water | | 2 |
| Permanent Secretary for Water and Natural Resources | 1 | |
| Directors | 2 | |
| Commissioners | 8 | 2 |
| Total | 11 | 5 |

Source: Filed data, October 2007

Decisions are made from the position of a Commissioner and up and if this Ministry has not had a gender awareness and analytical training it would be difficult to address gender related concerns of men and women. There is no evidence that the Water Act and the National Water Policy were a result of nation wide consultations in which women would have made a contribution.

Women's role in the provision and use of resources - in Uganda women still face lot of barriers to participate in community development activities including water projects. These barriers include refusal by husbands to attend meetings that address issues of safe water, discrimination, subordinate roles, weak leadership, lack of mobilization, lack of time and failure to see the benefit of their participation. Their participation in water projects is largely centred on the provision of their labour for unskilled work, often adding to their already heavy workload. Women are generally better maintainers of water facilities than men. Because of their routine involvement in water collection, women are generally aware of the breakdowns and leakage when they occur, and can carry out routine preventive maintenance. And, once trained, women tend to be more reliable and have a lower turn over rate than men who often migrate to look for jobs in towns and the city. This is particularly true of older, married women. Women also have an edge over men because of their greater ease of relating to other women users. Where women have been involved in water committees or other management bodies, they have often been taken as representatives with a passive role and few real responsibilities. In addition, women are rarely, if ever, given training in the organizational and technical skills needed to successfully implement and maintain water projects (Kabonesa and Happy 2003)

Women have been particularly active in financial aspects of water supply projects such as fundraising, fees collecting, fund keeping and supervision of local boards, because of their perceived willingness and dependability in these roles. In the north east the Karamojong women's groups collect funds for water projects from the sale of traditional beadwork. Once the initial money is raised, the women convince their husbands to make large donations (Alina 1985)

Education Sector

a) National education policy

Policies that Promote and Protect the Rights to education: International standards require that education and educational institutions must be available, accessible (both physically and economically without discrimination), acceptable in terms of cultural relevancy and quality) as well as early adaptable in the context of cultural settings. Furthermore, among other things the State, under the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural rights (art 13) is enjoined to establish free and compulsory primary education. Under the Constitution (art 30) the right to education is provided. It is also provided for under the Children's Act. Education is one of the National Programme Priority Areas of GoU. To operationalize this priority which is in the PEAP, MoES developed the Education Sector Investment Plan (ESIP) with the following strategic objectives: to ensure universal and equitable access to quality basic education for all children; to ensure equal access by gender, district and special needs at all levels of education; to improve the quality of education, sports and training at all levels; and to build capacity of the districts by helping education managers to acquire and improve on their knowledge, skills and attitudes to be able to effectively plan, monitor, account and perform other managerial functions. To ensure the provision of education, government has developed and implemented the following programmes:

Universal Primary Education (UPE): In 1997, GoU introduced UPE with the aim to broaden access to primary education. The implementation of UPE has progressively improved over the years particularly in the areas of training and recruitment of more teachers, construction of more classroom blocks to accommodate the increasing numbers; and purchase of instructional materials. The programme which initially targeted 4 children per family now covers all children of primary school going age. It should however be noted that UPE provides free but not compulsory primary education hence there are still some children who are not enrolled. Similarly, UPE is only free as far as a tuition fee is concerned. Pupils are still required to purchase other scholastic materials like exercise books and pens which some parents find prohibitive. Furthermore, UPE implementation is constrained by huge short-falls of qualified teachers, high pupil classroom and pupil text book ratios all affecting the quality of education.

To ensure that Universal Primary Education is accessed by children all over the country and specifically the vulnerable areas, GoU together with development partners designed tailored

education programme that suits unique circumstances in some remote and difficult areas. These include Alternative Basic Education for Karamoja (ABEK) being implemented in collaboration with Save the Children in Uganda and multi-grade teaching in sparsely populated areas like Kalangala District.

Universal Post Primary Education and Training (UPPET): Following the success of UPE in ensuring free access to education for all children in Uganda, government has come up with the UPPET policy to ensure that pupils who complete the primary school cycle are absorbed in post primary institutions. The UPPET programme started in 2007. In recognition of the limited capacity of government aided secondary schools, government has co-opted private post primary institutions to participate in the implementation of the programme. It is however observed that the programme is allocated limited resources (27,000/- per pupil per term), which often affects the delivery of quality education.

Challenges to enjoyment of the Right to education: Overall, the effectiveness of these apparently good educational programmes has been questioned by many. Much as enrolment in primary school has improved tremendously over the years following the introduction of Universal Primary Education Policy, the drop out rate is still very high at 52% in 2006. According to Ministry of Education and Sports, out of two million pupils who enrolled in primary schools in 1987, only 433,010 (25%) sat their Primary Leaving Examinations in November 2004. The other issue of concern is in regard to the quality of education that children are receiving under UPE. According to a study done under the National Assessment of Progress in Education (NAPE), numeracy levels of Primary Six (P6) pupils has slipped from 41.5% in 1999 to 20.5% in 2003. The study also found out that the performance of children in urban schools was much better than those in rural areas where the majority of children study. The literacy and numeracy levels in P6 in urban schools stood at 40% and 68% respectively in 2003 against 8% and 15% for rural schools. There are also regional inequalities in regard to delivery of education, especially with respect to the northern region. It has been observed that while many children are going to school, many drop out before Primary five (P5) or graduate without even mastering a minimum set of cognitive skills. This has been attributed to overcrowded classes, poorly qualified teachers, and ill-equipped schools, difficulties by parents to provide lunch, scholastic materials and school uniforms to the pupils. Furthermore, PWDs have not been able to enjoy the right to education because most of the existing schools are not accessible to them in terms of facilities specific to PWDs.

b) *Education Act*

The Education Act which is the principle legislation was enacted in 1970. The Act provides for the development and regulation of education, and for registration and licensing of teachers in public and private schools. It is completely gender neutral and fails to take into consideration the gender related barriers to education (FIDA-Uganda, 2006: 26)

c) *Education Bill 2006*

The Draft Bill proposes to amend, consolidate and streamline the existing law relating to the development and regulation of education and to provide for vocational training. It will repeal the Education Act of 1970 and the Industrial Training Act

Gender mainstreaming – The draft law focuses on opening opportunities for all regardless of gender

Participation – The Bill is at the level of cabinet. There is no evidence of active participation of women organizations/networks during the drafting of the Bill. Even the two members of the education service Commission who are females have not been consulted so far to make an input.

Family “Sector”

a) *The Energy policy*

b) *Domestic Relations Bill*

c) *The Land Act*

d) *The EOC Act*

e) *The Local Government Act CAP 243*

a) The Energy Policy Process

In the early 1990s the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Development identified areas in the energy sector that needed extra attention. One of these areas was electricity. The main focus of the Ministry was first to develop a policy framework dealing with the supply and demand of electricity. This was necessary because the Ugandan government had an ambitious economic recovery with emphasis on the industrial sector. Over the years pressure increased on the electricity supply capacity that was available. With the pressure and the demands of the economic recovery programme, there was a need to develop policies and guidelines to increase the power supply. Thus, the ministry started with the development of the Power-sector Strategy Plan in the mid 1990s, which provided the framework for the policy, strategy

and action plan for the power-sector. The main issues in this action plan were the increase of the power generation, the development of new power plants and the privatization of the Uganda Electricity Board. The plan was based on an already existing power strategic plan, but several stakeholders in the energy policy process found that the plan did not sufficiently cover all the problems in the power sector, like involving the private sector in the energy supply and distribution.

In 2000, with the assistance of consultants from GTZ, government started with developing a National Energy Policy. Previously, annual ministerial policy statements had driven Uganda's energy sector on the budget. However, the importance of the energy sector in the economy requires the adoption of a long-term planning approach for energy development. In particular, the liberalization of the energy sector, in line with the overall macro-economic policies, required the availability of a clear, long-term policy to encourage project development and to harmonize sector activities.

Participation - The energy policy formulation process was driven by the experiences and knowledge available in the ministry. Various groups of expertise within the ministry formed a task force, which collected data by stakeholders through participation and consultation on rural energy, power, electrification, petroleum also including several aspects of gender, like access to resources and energy use of men and women. After consulting the stakeholders, the taskforce discussed priority issues and started formulating a first draft. The latter was carried out mainly by members of staff of the Ministry for Energy and Mineral Development and the Ministry of Finance and Planning. Then a couple of workshops with the task-force and some operators in the sector were organized to put the findings in a rapport and send the draft of the energy policy to the stakeholders for comments. After receiving the comments from the stakeholders, the draft version of the energy policy was adjusted in relation to the comments. The final document was publicized in September 2002.

From a ministry point of view, one of the problems that were faced in the formulation of the energy policy is the fact that there is no single officer who is in charge of the energy policy at the district level. There are people in charge of water, education, environment, etc. but nobody for energy. Looking at the district plan, energy is not mentioned. So despite the decentralization policy of the Ugandan government, it is difficult to involve the decentralized governmental levels in energy policy. Another challenge for the Ministry for Energy and

Mineral Development is to see how to integrate energy into the development plan as a whole. Energy stands high on the PEAP, and it is recognized as having a direct impact on poverty alleviation.

Gender mainstreaming - First of all, stakeholders were able to participate during the energy policy formulation process, since they were consulted about all the aspects within the energy policy. These stakeholders were not only public institutions, but also international development organizations, NGO's, CBO's and private companies dealing with energy issues. One of the stakeholders was the East African Energy Technology Network. Although the participants' objectives included integration of gender and women's issues into the policy, specific organizations aiming at women empowerment or gender equality did not participate in the consultation process. Furthermore, although the Minister of Energy and Mineral Development was female at the time, there were hardly women who worked in decision-making positions within the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Development.

The recognition of women's role and energy needs in the energy policy of Uganda is made explicit in some sections of the policy, but mostly the policy speaks about households. Considering the fact that women are the main users and providers of household energy, these sections in the policy are indirectly aimed for women. However, women's productive role is neglected in the energy policy.

As can be observed the Ministry had no serious concerns in linking the National Energy Policy with the National Gender Policy. Therefore as far as the Energy policy is concerned, women have not made any meaningful participation and impact to achieve gender equality and women's empowerment

Integrated Planning - The need for an appropriate energy policy is recognized by the Constitution, which states that; *the State shall promote and implement energy policies that will ensure that people's basic needs and those of environmental preservation are met.* The Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP) also recognizes energy as having a direct impact on poverty alleviation. As a result, a partial integrated energy policy was developed, not only looking at one sector of energy, but at all the sectors related to energy; petroleum (both upstream and downstream), supplies, new and renewable sources of energy, energy efficiency. We refer integrated planning as partial because a policy that is partially gender compliant cannot be treated as having achieved integrated planning.

Legislations

c) The Domestic Relations Bill

The Domestic Relations Bill (DRB) has a relatively long history that dates back to the 1960s during which period the Government of Uganda (GoU), together with the women's movement has been working towards having a just family law. The DRB is thus a reflection of a sustained and comprehensive consultative process that aims at consolidating all domestic related laws, namely marriage, divorce, separation, inheritance and property rights...The proposed law is intended to regulate relations in marriage and the family and will be crucial in determining, particularly, the legal status of women and children, thus not only enhancing family but also national stability and ultimately poverty reduction (UWONET 2004).

Gender mainstreaming - The Domestic Relations Bill is a crucial piece of legislation for Ugandan women. It addresses women's property rights in marriage and women's right to negotiate sex on the grounds of health, sets the minimum age of marriage at eighteen, criminalizes widow inheritance. As a compromise measure, bride price will not be prohibited, but the payment of bride price will no longer be essential for the formalization of customary marriages, and any demands for the return of marriage gifts will be an offence. The bill criminalizes marital rape and provides for civil remedies, such as compensation and restricting orders. The grounds for divorce are equally applicable to both spouses and alimony is provided for. The Domestic Relations Bill continues to exclude cohabitation from the presumption of marriage, but provides parties to such relationships with certain rights, including the right to register the fact of cohabitation and particulars of any monetary or non-monetary contributions made. A competent court may then distribute the property equitably in accordance with those contributions, and may do so even when registration has not taken place. Polygamy is also strictly regulated by guidelines that provide for the economic support of all wives. The bill also provides for equal sexual rights and establishes more equitable grounds for divorce.

Participation – The DRB was first tabled before Parliament on 9 December 2003. It referred to the Committee on Legal and parliamentary Affairs by the House. However, the Bill was not brought back to the House until 2 May 2005. It has been revealed by our respondents that Members of Parliament were ready to debate the Bill but the responsible Minister could not

move a motion to have it read for the Second Time because it was considered that sufficient consultations had not been made on the Bill, especially from the Muslim community which strongly opposed the Bill. Parliament requested the executive to inform them of the areas of objection raised by the Muslim community and to present details of the objections to Parliament.

When we made the initial attack on the proposed Bill, the law Reform Commission, made several revisions to the report they had prepared. For example, they altered the earlier stand on the number of wives a man may be “allowed” to marry. Instead of the original position of two wives, they made it four. But they left in place the ridiculous conditions that one must fulfill to be “allowed” to marry another wife...Anti Muslim forces have intensified to recruit women to their side by drumming up the badness of polygamy. So far there have been no reported cases of success; at the same time this is a matter to watch carefully. However, “educated” we think we are, Islamic law cannot change to accommodate the wishes of an individual wife whose priority in life is to be an only wife - **(Abasi Kiyimba 2000: 36-37)**.

On 9 May 2005 the Minister of justice and Constitutional Affairs made a statement about the contentious clauses of the Bill to parliament. The second reading was adjourned to enable exhaustive consultations with the Muslims and others opposed to the Bill. By the end of the 7th parliament, the Committee on Legal and parliamentary Affairs had concluded its consideration of the Bill and prepared a report in which it proposed several amendments to the Bill. But because the bill was not passed into law, it lapsed.

This Bill had reached this far because of significant women’s contribution to the process. UWONET at the time headed the DRB Coalition made of up forty eight (48) civil society organizations. The coalition was able to carry out research (UWONET 2004), mobilize various stake holders to appreciate the need to have a consolidated, gender mainstreamed legislation, and organized workshops to strategize getting the Bill Back on to Government’s agenda.

The spirit of participation and contribution of women is captured in some of the voices at the consultative workshop 27 July 2006 to strategize how to carry the struggle forward to have the Bill back to the public agenda

It is not right to say that the process of advocating for the enactment of the DRB has been handled only by elite women; over the years it has involved many women and a wealth of information has been collected (Kakooza 2006: 55).

There is no single piece of legislation in Uganda that has had as much research as the DRB, which is very telling. Once one attempts to change power relations within the family this is bound to change each and everything within and outside the family by one stroke of one piece of legislation. This certainly spills over. This is why the struggle has taken this long (Kakooza 2006: 55).

The DBR has not been passed as law which would promote gender equality and women's empowerment for a number of reasons: i) limited awareness about its provisions resulting into a misconception that it is intended to promote alien (western) culture; ii) misinterpretation as a women rather than a gender concern; iii) inadequate conceptualization as a development/poverty issue; iv) the misconception that it is elitist, having nothing to do with the rural poor; v) the protectionist interests of female and male advantaged members of society, who fear that they will be dispossessed out of their property vi) the fear, by especially the men that it will reverse the social order and promote female privilege; and vii) resistance to change arising out of the deeply ingrained cultures, norms and values (UWONET 2004: ix).

Apart from the DRB, women have engaged the state to challenge laws that oppress them. The Divorce Act for example, (came into force in 1904) which applies to persons that are domiciled/permanently resident in Uganda), was challenged by women organizations as being discriminative. This is yet another example that illustrates women's attempts to force the government (through litigation) to make non-discriminatory laws. In their judgment in FIDA (U) & Others v. Attorney General (Constitutional Petition No. 2 of 2003), their Lordship of the Constitutional Court all agreed that the above provisions of the Divorce Act are contrary to the stated provisions of the constitution to the extent that they are discriminate on the basis of the sexes and are therefore void. They ruled that in the application of the Act, the provisions should apply to husband and wife equally but observed that application of their order was likely to meet difficulties. Parliament was therefore advised to take appropriate remedial action which it has failed or refused to do (UWONET, 2006). This case is a good example of women's contribution to gender mainstreaming of legislations and exposure of the

government reluctance to operationalise the constitutional provisions for women's equality and empowerment.

Local government Act

Gender mainstreaming - The LGA CAP 243 provides that women councilors must form at least one third of the total number of councilors at all levels of councils from the village to the District. This is aimed at ensuring participation of women in decision making. Gender mainstreaming and in particular the participation of women in capacity building activities, sensitization on gender issues have been made indicators of minimum conditions and performance measures during the annual assessment of local government's performance. The Local Government Act CAP 243 operationalises the constitutional provisions for affirmative action by providing for one-third of the seats on each local council to be reserved for women. The Act also provides for affirmative action with respect to other marginalized groups (people with disabilities, youth, the aged, etc) in the composition of local councils. These provisions have resulted in a significant increase in the number of women in political decision making at the different levels of the local government (i.e., district councils, sub-county councils, city division councils, municipal councils, municipal division councils and town councils).

Increased representation of women in decision making structures of local government is especially significant in the context of decentralization as substantial powers have been devolved to lower levels of government where policies, budgets and development plans are made. This means that at the LC III level, which is the lowest governance structure for planning and budgeting, at least one third of the councilors in the 954 sub-county, town, and municipal councils are women. This number is further boosted by women representatives of youth, people with disabilities and the elderly and women councilors elected or nominated on the "non-affirmative" tickets.

Participation – Women organizations and MPs were very active in the formulation of the Local Government Act. Women have also been active in the implementation of the Act particularly in the Electoral politics and representation. However, their participation has not resulted into the desired impact as far as resource allocation is concerned to training in gender analysis, maternity health etc. Uganda for example, still experiences high death rates of mothers during delivery periods.

Integrated Planning - The Local Government Act was formulated under the movement system. A number of women groups participated during sensitization and consultation workshops. The law reflects the spirit of gender mainstreaming. However with the introduction of multiparty system in Uganda there is an urgent need to review the law to be consistent with the new system. This is an opportunity for women activists, groups to influence legislation to have more gender equality and women's empowerment. Areas to focus include, budgeting, involvement of women in implementation of policies, fair representation of political parties in committees according to their strengths in councils.

The Land Act

The Land Act 1998 is Uganda's principle legislation on land. It provides for tenure, ownership and management of land. It was amended by the Land (Amendment) Act 1 of 2004.

Gender mainstreaming – The Land Act makes an effort to preserve the rights of women, children and persons with disabilities to the use of customary land in section 17. Any decision taken in respect of land held under customary tenure whether held individually or communally has to be according to the customs, traditions and practices of the community concerned. However a decision that denies women, children or persons with disability access to ownership, occupation or use of land or imposes conditions that are in contravention of relevant provisions of the constitution which entrench their rights, is null and void.

Until 2004, the main provision protecting family interest in land was s. 39 of the Land Act. The provision prohibited spouses from dealing in land from which a “family derives sustenance” without written consent of the other spouse and their offspring. The provision still provides some protection to women in marriage but it does not extend its protection to couples cohabiting outside formal or legal marriages. In addition to that, the Land Amendment Act of 2004 removed the requirement of consent of the offspring to dealings in land by their parents. The removal of this condition was because it was argued that adult offspring were frustrating the development of land markets by unreasonably withholding their consent to parents' transactions in land. As a result, the Land Act is now devoid of protection of children's rights to stay on family land (UWONET 2006:21).

Section 19 of the Land Amendment Act, 2004 introduces a new section 38A to the Land Act and provides for security of occupancy of spouses. Security of occupancy means a right to have access to and live on family land. “Family land” is then defined very broadly as land on which the ordinary residence of the family is situated, and land from which the family home shall be situated, or which the family agrees that they derive sustenance from. Land from which the family derives sustenance is also defined to mean land which the family farms, or land which the family treats as the principle place which provides the livelihood of the family.

Participation – Women particularly members of Parliament were very active in the formulation of the land Act. They were supported by women organizations that had interest in gender mainstreaming the land issues. Similarly participation was reflected during the struggle to have co-ownership clause in the land Act as we explain shortly. This participation is also reflected in the on going consultations to have a broad and more inclusive land policy.

Women’s Role in the provision and use of land resource – Legal provisions for spousal co-ownership still elude Ugandan women in spite of the fact that there is strong evidence for support for spousal co-ownership of land indicated in the 2005 Gender Monitoring Baseline Survey. The over all approval rating for spouses to co-own land was found to be 61.4% and the disapproval was 24.6%. All regions of the country gave ratings above 50%. The most disappointing period was in 1998 when the co-ownership clause was introduced in parliament to form part of the law on land. Despite the support it had during the debate in Parliament, when finally the Bill was passed and the President assented to it, the co-ownership clause was missing. Why didn’t the responsible persons put such an important clause agreed upon during the debate in Parliament in the final text? The answer could be perhaps the male domination on important organs of Parliament that scrutinizes final texts passed by Parliament. The other explanation is that women relaxed and did not follow up the issues up to the final text that was taken to the President for assent.

Table 4: Showing gender representation on key decision making positions in the Ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development

| | Female | Male |
|---------------------|----------|----------|
| Minister | | 1 |
| State Minister | | 3 |
| Permanent Secretary | | 1 |
| Directors | | 1 |
| Commissioners | 2 | 1 |
| Total | 2 | 7 |

Source: Field data October 2007

The EOC Act 2006

In December 2006, Parliament of Uganda passed the Equal opportunities Commission (EOC) Bill for the establishment of the commission. Earlier on; government had passed the National Equal Opportunities Policy. The purpose of the Act is to provide for the composition and functions of the Equal Opportunities Commission. This is pursuant: Constitutional National Objectives and Directive principles of State Policy which among others, provide for, Gender balance and fair representation of marginalized, protection of the aged, balanced and equitable development, recognition of women in society, recognition of the dignity of persons with disabilities.

Furthermore, article 32(3) states that “there shall be a commission called the Equal Opportunities Commission whose composition and functions shall be determined by an act of parliament; and Article 32(4) of the constitution enjoins parliament to establish the Equal opportunities Commission within one year after the coming into force of the Constitution Amendment Act, 2005 (30th September 2006). The Act provides for an institutional framework for the purpose of promotion of equal opportunities, elimination of discrimination and giving full effect to the principle of affirmative action in favour of marginalized groups. Marginalized groups include persons discriminated against on the basis of, but not limited to : sex, race, colour, ethnic origin, tribe,, birth,, creed or religion, social or economic standing, political opinion, disability, gender, age, or any other reason created by history, tradition or custom, for the purpose of redressing imbalances which exist against them.

Gender mainstreaming – Part 3 of the Act – Functions and powers of the Commission provides that the Commission will monitor, evaluate and ensure that policies, laws, plans, programmes, activities, practices, culture and customs of: Organs of the state, Statutory

bodies, Public bodies, Private business and enterprises, Non-governmental organizations, and Social and cultural communities are compliant with equal opportunities and affirmative action.

Participation – In November 2002, ACFODE organized an EOC consultative meeting with different stakeholders advocating for the establishment of EOC. The purpose of the meeting was to give an update to the stakeholders on the processes geared towards the establishment of the EOC, identify challenges and gaps faced in the struggle to realize the establishment of EOC and bring on board more stakeholders to complement each other.

As a result ACOFDE' initiative crystallized into a coalition of advocacy for the establishment of an EOC. Among the members of the coalition included: NUDIPU, FIDA-U, NACWOLA, NGO-Forum, UWONET, UMWA, ANPPCAN, and UNASO, Friends for Peace and Religious Tolerance and FOWODE.

Subsequently, in November 2003 ACFODE organized an EOC consultative meeting with different CSOs and activists advocating for and working with the marginalized groups. The coalition held several strategic planning meetings and developed an advocacy and media strategy to ensure an effective campaign for the establishment of EAC. The media campaigns included the use of newspaper articles and supplements, Radio talk shows, media spots, press conferences and press statements. Information, education and communication materials such as posters, fliers, brochures and calendars were developed on marginalization and discrimination; the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development was involved as a strategic partner in planning and facilitation in collaboration with the Netherlands Development Agency – SNV. The coalition became a member on the national task force that coordinated the activities of EOC.

The coalition organized other activities that put pressure on the government to establish the EOC. In September, a petition was presented to the speaker of Parliament and was forwarded to the Legal and Parliamentary Affairs Committee. The petitioners prayed that article 32(2) of the 1995 constitution be maintained and an independent EOC be established, Parliament enacts a law to establish and operationalise the EOC and, the functions of the EOC which were delineated to the UHRC be redirected to tee OC. A peaceful demonstration to Parliament was held to support the establishment of EOC in 2003. On 27 February 2005, the

coalition made a presentation to the Legal and parliamentary Affairs Committee on the then published Constitutional (amendment) Bill 2005, on establishing an independent EOC, its composition, functions, tenure of office and a time frame for its establishment and operationalisation amongst others.

Of interest to this study, it is important to note that the coalition spearheaded by a women's organization, and the Secretariat of the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development refined and presented the EOC working bill to the Legal and Parliamentary Affairs Committee for incorporation into the Constitution (Amendment) Bill, 2005 at the request of the Committee. Studies were carried out by CSOs, workshops were held on awareness raising. In particular, on 10 November 2006 CFODE organized a workshop with 30 MPs where CSOs presented their concerns over the status of the Bill, before Parliament passed it. The major Concern on the Bill was that the Commission should not be toothless but with powers to bite. On 12 December 2006 parliament passed the law on Equal opportunities.

Although the EOC has not yet been established the above experience shows how women have organized and made modest contribution towards empowerment of marginalized groups through a progressive legislation and policy in Uganda. But what is surprising is the reluctance of the government to put in place the commission and the Secretariat to implement the ideals of affirmative action.

Assessment

Affirmative Action – It is clear that the momentum and remarkable unity of purpose and effort by women, which was depicted during the CA process and which resulted in the positive impact on the constitution-making process was not sustained after the passing of the Constitution. Women organizations and networks mobilize and organize on adhoc basis for particular issues rather than having a sustained and focused struggle on gender equality and women's empowerment. As a result women as beneficiaries of affirmative action have not done enough to shape its interpretation, monitor its implementation and ensure that its provisions are enforced.

As Kharono (2003:11) observes “The weak sense of ownership of affirmative action among women and their various organisations and networks has contributed to the continued perception that affirmative action is a gift from the NRM government rather than a right. That this perception persists notwithstanding the constitutional provisions illustrates the

failure of its proponents to own, engage and define its content and develop a coherent and strategic agenda on its implementation. Given this failure it is not surprising that a large number of women beneficiaries of affirmative action, not only feel obliged to the NRM government, but also dare not challenge the status quo. They find it easier to fit into, rather than transform systems cultures and structures that have marginalised them, which is the intended purpose of providing for affirmative action in the constitution”

Water Act - There is need to mainstream gender in water resources management in order to give adequate consideration to the roles, needs, access to and control over resources and decision-making of both women and men. Mainstreaming gender in policy and programme development must be recognized in relation to the overall programmes and in specific areas such as UPE/USE, energy, etc river basin development and management.

Gender weakness still prevails at both governments, private and individual levels in the provision of water service. With liberalization government opened up opportunities for private companies' individuals to bid for contracts of constructing wells and hand pumps. There is still a lack of gender sensitivity in recognizing women as participants, change agents and beneficiaries. However, there have been some positive changes in law that gender is being worked at in the government sector. But, written concepts are yet to be put in practice. Policy and practice seem in isolation with each other, so practicing the concept prior to gender mainstreaming is necessary.

Gender mainstreaming - Women's participation in the planning, designing, implementation and management of projects or programmes developed by outside agencies should ensure that the systems meet the demands of women, and that they function better. Women's involvement is necessary throughout the whole project process from planning to sustainability to make a difference and yet this has eluded policy implementers in Uganda.

The design of the projects should go beyond the practical needs of women for more and better quality services. They need to be able to involve women in a range of ways, including their meaningful (not token) participation in decision-making from design through to management and evaluation. These projects need to be used as leverage for addressing gender inequalities at the community level, otherwise women's participation will remain peripheral, and the range of needs they have (e.g. for income generation, for more say in community decision-making) will remain unmet.

The success of influence on selected policies/legislations and the resulting projects in meeting women's gender needs should be measured using these criteria: women's participation in project activities; changes in the traditional gender division of labour; women's access to and control over resources; equity in sharing of benefits; and women's increased status and involvement in new development initiatives. The evidence on the ground shows that implementation of programmes at the local level in health, education, and family sectors is opposite to what the laws and policies espouse.

The implementation of programmes that ensure promotion of the rights of women are hampered by the meager resources that are allocated to it by government both at the centre and at the local government (LG) level where they share an allocation of barely 1% of the budget with other activities which in most cases is not actually released. As the Minister for Gender, Labour and Social Development observed:

The Beijing platform for action emphasized the importance of identifying and mobilizing resources from all sources and across sectors. But now time has come to transform commitments into reality through action... I strongly hope that this meeting will be a further step in women's progress towards empowerment and a call for firm, resolute and specific actions on financing for gender equality – M/S Syda Bbumba while officiating at the opening of the Common Wealth Women's Network Workshop, Hotel Africana, Kampala, 20 November 2007; Daily Monitor, 22 November 2007)

Programmes for gender which get implemented are those which are donor funded. Few projects allocate enough preparation time for gender responsiveness. Many of them are time bound and target oriented reducing the scope for gender sensitive works that takes much of time.

Much of the project work is piecemeal and uncoordinated, run by agencies and within communities where little gender sensitization has taken place and where awareness and understanding of gender inequality is low.

By focusing on everything and everywhere could turn out to be ambitious. That can be in itself a weakness, because the volume of work then becomes enormous. Coupled with the fact that not all people working in the public sector have skills in gender analysis, not everyone

has the capacity to be able to identify gender issues and design appropriate interventions to address them.

The Land Act – The recent legal changes have had no significant impact on women’s land rights in Uganda. Women’s tenure on land continues to be dependant on the rights of husbands, and other male relatives. The 2005 Gender Monitoring Baseline Survey for the Land Sector Strategic Plan (LSSP) found that only 3% of spouses in Uganda co-own registered land. Male ownership of land still predominates in all regions with only about 16% of women holding registered land (UWONET, 2006). In spite of the women’s efforts to have a co-ownership clause in the Land Act both in 1998 and during Land Amendment Bill 2003, the women lost the battle and instead settled for the right of occupancy which unfortunately can only be enjoyed by a woman during the lifetime of her husband.

Health Policy – In the health sector, the interpretation of gender has traditionally bent towards reproductive health care for women. While this may improve services for mother and child, at the same time it may endanger attention to other health problems for women. Focusing on reproductive health care tends to neglect the fact that gender inequality itself can lead to ill health of women. Being a woman may be of the major predisposing factors for ill health, because women face particular barriers to report and seek care for their illness. Women’s low status in society and household limits the availability of resources to pay for services. Financial constraints in the health care system pose significant challenges; for instance, user fees impose a heavy burden on the most vulnerable groups, especially women. Cultural factors may severely limit women’s access to health services; say in cases where women are restricted from consulting male health workers, and the fact of insufficient time to visit health units. Patriarchal practices such as wife battering are seldom reported to medical workers due to the fear of cultural sanctioning. In addition, women’s special needs, determined by social norms, such as privacy, are often not met in the services offered (CEEWA 2002). Therefore despite the existence of the National health Policy and other policies and legislations, women have not been able to make the desired impact to promote gender equality and women’s emancipation.

Equal opportunities Act – Before 2006 the absence of an implementation framework informed by appropriate policy, law and institution was a major weakness for affirmative action. Once the commissioners and the Secretariat are put in place, the EOC will provide the

frame work for the purpose of equal opportunities, elimination of discrimination and giving full effect to the principle of affirmative action in favor of marginalized groups. The women have made a contribution to reach where we are but yet more is still to be done to have the EOC established and functional according to the principles enshrined in the constitution.

Education Bill – It has been established that UPE did not introduce affirmative action for the girl children in education. It simply opened up opportunities for more children, who would otherwise, not have been able to afford basic education to obtain it. It is clear that emphasis has been on improving access for all without particular emphasis being given to the girl child. The government left it to the parents to decide which children would enjoy this facility. This mechanism has not checked the socio-cultural factors that make the parents to give preference to the male child. There is evidence to show that there is disproportionate school drop out rates of boys and girls where socio-cultural factors work against the girl child (UBOS, Socioeconomic Survey: 2002/2003).

Furthermore, in spite of the fact that early pregnancy has been found to be one of the factors that hinder the advancement of girls in the education system, the Bill makes no provision for dealing with this problem. And in spite of the fact that the MOES has passed a policy outlawing corporal punishment, and the constitutional Court has pronounced that meting out corporal punishment is contrary to provisions of the constitution, no provisions have been included in the proposed law to deal with it. The above gaps like in other proposed legislations show how much there is to be done to mainstream laws and have them implemented.

Advocacy - While there seems to be a relatively progressive, political environment, policy advocacy work is still vital if women empowerment is to be achieved. Some progressive Laws and policies have been put in place by government, e.g. the 1995 constitution, the national gender policy, the national action plan on the advancement of women, the affirmative action provisions in the local government act, the health policy and energy policy.

Similarly, several institutions geared towards supporting the advancement of women have strengthened or developed in the country over the last eighteen year that include the women NGO, the women community based organizations, the donor committee on gender, and the Ministry of Gender, Labor and Social development.

In spite of this, unfair laws, and negative customary practices and beliefs that impinge on the rights of women are still dominant. These coupled with the level of poverty in the country make women and girls to lag behind men in all the social, political and economic aspects of life.

It is clear that the policy advocacy work that has been done has not engaged extensively with the key Government processes such as PEAP, Sector Wide planning such as the PMA. Due to this, there has been a tendency for it to be marginalized and not to receive the attention it deserves. This has been worsened by first, lack of a consistent unified and coordinated voice on gender issues by government in collaboration with the civil society. Secondly the unity among NGOs is often short lived. It is high during peak times of the advocacy campaigns and weakens if the advocacy aims are not achieved within a short time. This affects the availability of a consented and collective influence on government and donor policies.

The programmes geared towards achieving government commitments to women empowerment are not systematic and lack benchmarks/publicized benchmarks. This makes holding government accountable to its commitment to women empowerment difficult. This situation is worsened by the fact that most of the gender focused NGOs pressure to government to meet its commitments has had limited participation of the grassroots women and men mainly because of the ineffective strategies or adequate financial and skilled human resources. In fact, policy advocacy is dominated by Kampala based National NGOs with limited resources from donors. Similarly, institutions have limited skills in gender and policy advocacy, which impinge negatively on their work.

This is why it is important to understand where power lies in the process of gender advocacy. Power lies in customary laws and practices which govern the community, the men to whom customs have accorded more power, the government which makes policies and the donors who provide the resources and the women and men at the grassroots who are victims but also agents of change through the socialization process.

Policy advocacy cannot be an end in itself. It is a means to an end and hence the call for integrated programmes where policy advocacy is one of the strategies used to change the quality of lives of poor women. It also means that for policy advocacy to succeed, direct

investment needs to be made in programmes aimed at poverty alleviation. It means ways need to be explored to reduce the woman's work load so as to free her time to engage in initiatives aimed at enhancing her social status beyond the household rather than being complacent as Tamale (2001) submits:

Thus more often than not, the beneficiaries have felt an allegiance to government for having given them this opportunity and have fallen into traps of complacency and self-satisfaction rather than advancing the concerns of women.

Policy Recommendations

The paper has identified gaps both in the existing selected policies and legislations vis-à-vis women's contribution according to the benchmarks set. The recommendations that follow are aimed at increasing the contribution of women particularly organizations and networks working for gender equality and empowerment of women. Our proposals are out of conviction that civil society organizations and civilian think-tanks (including women's organizations and networks) have an important role to play in this endeavor, as repositories of knowledge, advocacy, popular participation, accountability and empowerment.

Gender mainstreaming – There are areas which lack policy and legislation and therefore women's participation in both formulation and implementation is crucial. For example: education of adolescent mothers – schools still largely exclude them from continuing in the education system; laws to prohibit corporal punishments in schools; sexual offences law – this would address issues like prostitution, homosexuality, lesbians bi-sexual; domestic violence and female genital mutilation; conflict and peace building policy; laws that regulate Micro Finance Institutions etc.

Gender and equity budgeting – Women organisations/Networks should get more interested in the budgeting process in the health, and education sectors. In adequate resources are provided for health and education needs of women both at the local government and national levels. It is important for women's organisations and networks to acquaint themselves with operation of sector-wide approaches. A swap is a government's macro-economic framework within which Medium Expenditure Frameworks determine the resource allocation for a sector. It includes definition of an overall sector policy framework, prioritisation of objectives, expenditure programmes, capacity building, and joint administration and financial management. Women leaders and activists should therefore train and gain skills in public

policy and gender sensitive analysis (gender-aware policy appraisal, gender disaggregated beneficiary assessments etc).

Domestic Relations Bill – There is urgent need to review the contentious sections that are holding up the whole process of enactment of the Bill into law. Enactment of the DRB into law has the potential to address gender based inequalities such as land rights, decision making, and the invisibility of women’s work, all of which are core gender dimensions of poverty in Uganda. *It is therefore important for women coalitions to move quickly and get the DRB back onto Government’s agenda.*

The Local government Act – Largely it reflects the movement system previously adopted in the country. There is an urgent need to review the Act to make it consistent with the multiparty system. This is where women organizations and networks should participate so that strategic gender needs are not sacrificed to partisan interests. Strategic gender needs refer to the long-term needs of women and men in their struggle towards empowerment and women’s emancipation thus challenging the prevailing gender inequalities.

Education Policy/Bill – Should be reviewed to enhance the government’s commitment to the girl child. GoU should step up efforts that ensure increased enrollment of girls and their progression throughout the education system. In addition women organizations and networks should continuously sensitize parents and guardians on the socio-economic conditions which limit the girl child progression in education.

Advocacy - The good practices that emerged during the coalition advocacy activities on Equal Opportunities Commission (EOC) should be utilized in other policy and legislation formulation process and implementation. Such good practices such as use of public dialogues, frequent updates on the progress to stakeholders and individual human rights activists, use of various methods of mobilization such as writing letters, emails and telephone calls, team work and voluntarism, use of news papers supplements capturing a wider coverage of society, information dissemination to MPs and mobilizing them to participate in debates on the subject matter both in and outside the house, should be maintained.

Engaging the Government – The fact that the government has been reluctant to put in place the EOC the main institutional framework for affirmative action, and the fact that a number of

legislations that oppress women have not been amended, and given inadequate resources allocated to programmes that would promote gender equality and empowerment of women, **(what others call lack of political will)** it higher time the women coalitions engaged the government on the basis of the constitutional provisions and rise up to the occasion of demanding compliance to the supreme law of the land. This however requires unity of purpose that takes a bi-partisan approach under a multi party dispensation.

Conclusion

The paper sought to interrogate the contribution of women in influencing legislation and policy formulation and implementation in Uganda between 1995 and 2005 in the health, education and family sectors. The paper argues that although the government has been implementing a gender sensitive and responsive constitution, and despite the fact that the number of women participating in politics and governance has been steadily increasing, their participation has not had the desired impact on legislations and policies to make them gender sensitive and responsive to women's rights, interests and needs.

This state of affairs is explained by first, women as beneficiaries of affirmative action have not done enough to shape its interpretation, monitor its implementation and ensure that its provisions are enforced. And second, the government has demonstrated on several occasions its reluctance (what others call lack of political will) to operationalise the constitutional provisions for gender equality and women's empowerment.

The paper however recognizes some achievements in terms of the constitutional provisions, institutional and political framework in place which women and society can build on to achieve greater gender equality and women's empowerment.

The paper also proposes policy recommendations which if properly implemented would go along way to scale up women's impact on policies and legislations for gender equality and women's empowerment.

References

- ACFODE, ARISE, *A Women's Development Magazine Issue No. 41, March 2007*
- ACOFODE, ARISE: *A Women's Development Magazine Issue No. 40 December 2006*
- ActionAid Uganda, 2000, *Draft Country Programme Review Report*, Kampala: ActionAid Uganda.
- Adome, R.O.; et.al, 1996, *Popular Pills, Community Drug Use in Uganda*, Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis.
- Alina R. S. 1985, 'Women's Role in Water' in P. P. Kabalikat , ed, *Women's Issues in Water and Sanitation: Attempts to address an Age-old Challenge*. IDRC, Canada.
- ARISE, *A Women's Development Magazine Issue No. 39 August 2006*
- CEWA-Uganda, 2002, *Participants Notebook: Integrating Gender into Economic Policies*, Kampala: CEWA (U).
- FIDA-U 'Shadow Report of Uganda's First Periodic State Report to the African Commission on Human and People's Rights' Presented to the 40th Ordinary session of the African Commission on Human and people's Rights, Banjul, the Gambia 15 – 29 November 2006.
- Kabonesa C.; and M. Happy, *The Gender Gap In Water Resource Management In The Nile Basin Countries: The Case for Rural Women in Uganda*, Paper presented at "Role of NGOs and Media in the Nile Basin Initiative" Session, March 16th, 2003, Kyoto, Japan
- Kharono, E.; 2003, *Critical Review of Affirmative Action in Uganda*, Kampala: UWONET.
- Kiyimba, Abas (2000), 'The DRB: The Issue is Not the Number of Wives' in *ARISE: A Women's development Magazine* Published by ACFODE No. 29
- Matembe, M.; 2002, *Gender, Politics and Constitution Making in Uganda*, Kampala: Fountain Publishers
- MFPEP *Poverty Eradication Action Plan 2004/5 – 2007/*, Kampala
- MFPEP, 2006, *Gender Inequality in Uganda: The Status, Causes and Effects*.
- MGLSD, *Gender Bulletin, Vol. 9 No. 2 2000*
- Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development (2006), 'Gender Inequality in Uganda: The Status, Causes and Effects' *Discussion Paper 11*
- Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development, 1999, *The National Action Plan on Women*, Kampala: Uganda
- Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development, 1999, *Third Country Status report on CEDAW*, Kampala: Uganda

- Mulyagonja I. K.; 2006, *Domestic Relations Bill Coalition: Report on Background Study for Re-Strategizing for Enactment of an Equitable Family Law for Uganda*, Kampala: UWONET.
- Okuonzi S & Macrae, J.; 1995, Whose Policy is it anyway? International and National Influences on Health Policy Development in Uganda, *Health Policy and Planning* 10(2):122-132
- Tamale, S.; 2001, *Women's participation in Politics, Strategies for parliamentary and local council elections 2001*, Keynote address at a Women's breakfast meeting in preparation for the Ugandan Parliamentary and local government elections 2001, organized by the East African Sub-regional Support Initiative for the Advancement of Women (EASSI), March 23rd, 2001 at Sheraton Hotel, Kampala
- UBOS, *Socio-Economic Survey*, 2002/2003
- Uganda Women's Network: Domestic Relations Bill review report 2001*
- UWONET, 2004, *Gender Transformation and Empowerment: The Domestic Relations Bill and The Poverty Eradication Action Plan, Exploring the Linkages.*
- UWONET, 2006, *Gender Audit of Key Laws Affecting Women in Uganda.*
- UWONET, *News*, Vol. 7 Issue No. 1 August 2005