of land allocated; while women and girls are the ones most directly involved in all aspects of food production, men may decide to allocate more land to cash crops at expense of food crops. Figure 3 shows the division of labour between men and women in a village in Arua as reported by the women.

The women said that at times the men invite communal labour to open up an ambitious venture then leave the remaining work for the women. One of the greatest constraints on the expansion of food production is the lack of additional labour; women's workload is already too heavy. For example, maize grain is hard and needs machines to grind it but there are not many available. Planners must be reminded that women are over-employed, and are not an economically idle resource awaiting supply response incentives. Time constraints have implications for the participation of women in economically productive and social sector investments and programmes. Thus mothers may have no time to take children for immunizations, no time to boil water and prepare special food, no time to go to literacy classes.

Women do 50% of the local trade and their income-generating skills include basket weaving, beer brewing, embroidery/needlework, and the sale of cooked foods. Semi-structured interviews with key informants in Mubende and Kibaale revealed that women have control over the sales of products like handicrafts and food which fetch little money. Men regard women and children in part as wealth objects so whatever labour they put into land is controlled by men and so are the proceeds. Permission to sell the women's products has to be sought from husbands. In most cases husbands do the marketing and sometimes withhold returns or report a false price. Women end up selling cheaply to middle men who come to the village. ActionAid found that in Mubende and Kibaale women are increasingly responsible for meeting household needs once paid for by men's cash crop income; 30% of women with children in school paid all or part of their expenses. Accordingly women are adopting strategies to generate income which include the sale of food crops, alcohol, labour, sex and other services.

![Figure 1.4: Arua](image)

A group of women drew a chart showing the division of labour

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Women %</th>
<th>Men %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>initial land opening</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>harrowing</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>planting</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weeding</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>harvesting</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>processing</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>constructing granary</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100 (about once a year)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marketing</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ActionAid, 1994

Patterns of household expenditure reflect the status, bargaining power, and options of the members. In the north within the household women are visibly more poor than men; children describe their mothers as poorer than their fathers. In maleheaded households the share of alcohol in total spending is about twice that observed in female-headed households (Mission estimate using the Integrated Household Survey data).

Educational enrollment is substantially lower for girls, as is shown in Chapter 4. In villages in Mubende and Kibaale ActionAid found that education is considered to interfere with the traditional values of a good wife leading to loss in bride wealth. Parents tend to think that girls are by nature
intellectually inferior to boys and therefore it is not worthwhile to educate them. It is prestigious to have highly educated sons. Illiteracy makes women vulnerable to scorn; parents tend to pull girls out of school to help with house and farmwork; school dropout rate is high in P6 and P7.

In rural areas there is an estimated maternal mortality rate of 600-1000 per 100,000 births which is one of the worst rates in Africa. In Madi county it was mentioned that women are reluctant to take babies for immunisation because it is believed that it causes serious diseases and death. It is believed that immunisation for older ages sterilises young women (ibid, p3).

In Vuu village the over-drinking of beer causes ill health in women. Women drink too much after work to achieve a psychological relief a trend that is increasing. In the past men used to stop this but now the two are the same. Women drink from the marketplace and at home in the late evenings; this changes people's morals and can lead to family breakdown.

Women's lack time, education, and information has effects on their children's wellbeing. Dirt and diarrhoea lead to lack of nutrition which is compounded when there is lack of time to cook for the baby.

Cultural deprivation: A very high value is attached to childbirth. In 1968 the lifetime fertility average of women was 7.1 births per woman and in 1991 it is still 7.1. 67% of women have had at least 1 pregnancy by the age of 18. A national family planning policy is only recently coming into being. UNICEF suggests that the reasons for the high fertility include a young age of marriage, low numbers of single people, minimal use of modern contraceptives, the low status of women, poorer educational opportunities for girls, the importance attached to having children as a source of labour and prestige and family members to look after one in old age. Most clinics distributing contraceptives are in urban areas while 80% of women of childbearing age are in rural areas. UNICEF suggests that up to 30% of births are mistimed and 5% unwanted (UNICEF, 1994, p45); the total number of births per lifetime is higher than the perceived ideal. In a 1988 study 84% of women had a favourable attitude to contraception while up to 40% or more husbands disapproved of it. The decision as to how many children is the husband's "When you want surgical contraception, the husband has to decide. Why should a man decide for me? It is my life." (Kiboga focus group) (UNICEF, 1994 p45). In Mubende and Kibaale medical family planning methods are believed to have serious side effects on users in the long run (ibid, p13). Courses in family planning have been directed at women so men fail to see problem.

Girls are less valued than boys and are given away at an early age in exchange for wealth. They are restricted from the cash sector and often hand over cash to their husbands. They are more often paid in kind, usually salt, soap or food. Cash earning brings higher status and men are not keen on women who are economically independent. In Kampala women traders are called Dubai which means "a woman who will do anything for the sake of earning money." Husbands sometimes make it their right to decide whether or not a wife should work for pay and in some cases men abdicate responsibility for families when their wives earns cash.

"Women have no choice about marriage; it is compulsory for a woman to marry. For a woman it is a curse not to marry" (Kabale focus group - UNICEF p55). Less than 2% of women never marry at any point in their lives. Civil marriages, religious marriages and customary marriages are all recognised by law. Christian church marriages are monogamous, Muslim marriages and customary marriages may be polygamous. There are also less formal consensual unions without legal ratification, religious ceremony or brideprice; if she has his child she becomes his "wife". There is a legal minimum age of 18 for marriage but customary marriages may be arranged for much younger adolescents, especially girls. Thirteen is considered acceptable in many areas. "Girls in families are forced to marry at an early age for getting cows so their brothers can get married"(UNICEF, 1994,p55). 41% of girls aged between 15 and 19 are married. "A recent study on reproductive health in Mbale, Mbarara, and Gulu found that over the last two decades the age of first marriage had been decreasing from 18 down to 14. They attributed this to hardship, war and insurgency, and a breakdown of socio-cultural institutions." (UNICEF, 1994 p55)

Customary marriage is a binding of two families; the amount of brideprice varies by ethnicity
and region. The following tribes still practice it: the Kiga, Nyankole, Bamba, Itesot, Nyoro, Lugbar, and Alur. It often leads to early marriage for girls as parents wish to obtain cows. Among many eastern, northern and western tribes brideprice tends to be high and paid in cows - if marriage ends in divorce it has to be repaid. In Central region brideprice is very modest and involves gifts, usually locally-brewed beer, with no question of repayment. In Central region brideprice is less of an obstacle to divorce or polygamy. "In Mawagola a father may demand 100,000 for his daughter. The youth works hard and may pay it off in instalments" (Masaka focus group) (UNICEF, 1994 p56). Not paying brideprice leads to a loss of prestige. "In cases where brideprice is not paid, women are mistreated and considered to be cheap prostitutes" (Apac) (UNICEF, 1994 p56). Brideprice does not buy a woman but compensates her family for the loss of her labour. It tends to make marriages more stable as families negotiate to settle disputes. However in the UNICEF study district personnel said it was commonly agreed that brideprice meant that the woman belonged to the husband and his clan, in some cases as chattels (property). Brideprice entitled the man to the woman’s labour, obedience, sexual availability, and fertility (UNICEF, 1994 p56).

In Bundibugyo the Bamba men (fathers and brothers) negotiate early marriages for girls limiting their opportunities in other aspects of life, such as education. The cows are used for the education and bridewealth of their brothers. In Vurra village in West Nile the elders said that a woman is supposed to produce as many children as the cows paid in bridewealth, and is expected to continue producing as the cows paid in bridewealth multiply. Bridewealth keeps women in marriages despite maltreatment in case parents can't pay back. Because of this a girl's natal family sees her as a "visitor" who will grow up to belong to another clan (UNICEF, 1994, p51) In marriage a woman is often regarded as a possession of the man or property of the clan but not a clan member.

Circumcision of girls is practised in Kapchorwa by the Sebei. It is a source of problems including bleeding, infection, and AIDS risk, and later reduced sexual pleasure, difficult deliveries and maternal mortality. (UNICEF, 1994 p52, ActionAid, 1994, p8). ActionAid report an interview with a Sebei clan head who explained that circumcision is "part of a rite of passage, a turning point from childhood to adulthood. Without the rite a woman would be regarded as childish, irresponsible, outcast, and importantly impure."

In most areas men who can afford to practice polygamy. "Every man has at least 2 wives" (Iganga interview (UNICEF, 1994 p56). It brings status and prestige, provides free labour, or may be a response to barrenness in the first wife or the lack of a male child. Multiple wives guarantees sexual access to a wife at all times (there are cultural taboos during menstruation, after a birth, and during mourning). In rural areas polygamy is more common among the wealthy and the educated. Some polygamous marriages are formal, especially among the Ankole. Wives live together under one roof or in the same compound. In less formal polygamous unions a man may have one wife in one village and one in another or in the city. Many men in the Central region maintain one or more extramarital relations and some groups look on them leniently especially if there are children. 33% of married women in rural areas and 31% in urban are in polygamous marriages; women with high education are less likely to join polygamous unions.

The Bahima practice wife-sharing; the husband has first priority in relation to a wife but she is considered an addition to the clan and the family and she is available sexually to blood brothers, relatives and friends. "District personnel report that wife sharing still occurs for this Western tribe, but it seems to be decreasing." (UNICEF, 1994 p57).

Within marriage sex is expected and obligatory for women; many people say it is predominantly for reproduction but there is also a commonly held belief it is necessary for good health (UNICEF, 1994 p58). "Women in the districts were articulate about their lack of voice within the family about sex." (UNICEF, 1994 p58). Extra-marital sex is the expected norm for men and up to 80% of rural women say their husbands have outside partners (UNICEF, 1994 p58).

Marital instability results from infertility, alcoholism, extramarital sex, a young age at marriage, polygamy, perceptions of laziness, physical abuse, economic problems, neglect, extended family obligations, and sexual dissatisfactions (UNICEF, 1994 p58). Divorce leads to economic
deprivation for women and children; they can be deprived of material property, lose access to land for cultivation, have to repay bridewealth, and might have to leave children with the husband. Men only have to establish one ground for divorce, while women have to have more than one ground. She usually returns to live with relatives. Single women with children are stigmatized and often viewed as prostitutes.

The inheritance of the widow and children by a brother of the deceased is practised by some tribes in Uganda including the Banyankole. It is used to protect woman and children within the clan. The practice can increase the transmission of HIV/AIDS. Traditional practices are now changing; the widow has an increasing choice of partner among potential heirs and even whether to marry again. Some areas are choosing to support the widow and children without direct inheritance. Sometimes widows are just sent away. "Mbatusse 42 once a resident of Lwezo village, Butambala County, Mpigi District narrates her ordeal with her father-in-law. "I lost my husband five years ago. He left me with 5 children, 1 boy and 4 girls. Recently my father-in-law held a meeting with other family relatives and they said that they can no longer support me. They have decided that I go back to my parents' home with the 4 girls and they retain the boy as he is more useful to the family. Our house has been pulled down leaving us with no shelter. I have been married for 11 years and have grown food on which I am feeding my children. I am not sure how I will bring them up" (UNICEF, 1994 p7).

Women are subjected to religious condemnation for causing the fall of man and hence original sin. Many religious practices marginalise women; there are no women priests and in some cases they must worship separately from men. Men tend to dominate religious committees and offices such as church warden. Most muslim families in rural areas do not send their daughters to school.

Women have less access to information than men. While the number of newspapers has increased over the years only 44% of women can read. State-owned Radio Uganda broadcasts for 18 hours a day but only 50% of households own radios. Rural women are always at work or at night tired asleep or tending to child, husband or sick household members. In a survey in Moyo only about half the women had any opportunity to listen and only 11% listens daily. Radio transmission is weak in remote rural Uganda which is where the most vulnerable women live. Also batteries are expensive and men may not be willing to allow their wives to listen to "liberating" programmes aimed at women (Nalwanga-Ssebina, 1988 in FHHBS). Less than 1% of households have TV sets and most broadcasting is in English. NGOs serve the rural areas with newsletters containing useful and interesting information some of it aimed at women.

Political deprivation: Within the home women are meant to be obedient to men and responsible for all domestic work. In all the activities men make all the decisions. "Female physical security is often violated through a wide range of abuse which includes rape, assault, beating, and female circumcision." ActionAid Uganda, (1994 p8) The degree varies between cultures.

Employed women are the least vulnerable, but they are subject to exploitation by male opportunists, sexual harassment at workplaces and often they have to leave their children at home unattended. Due to home demands they often cannot get promotion. Most employed women are in junior secretarial, clerk, teaching and other lowly groups. The 1988 census of civil servants showed that only 5% were women (UNICEF, 1994 p9)

Female-headed households are an emerging phenomenon. For example the mass recruitment of able-bodied men in Kabale to go to work on tea estates has produced a large number of female-headed households in Kabale. Women become heads of households due to male migration, separation or divorce, being widowed, or being a polygamous wife living in a separate house. Single mothers form a sub-group; no-one is responsible for her requirements, she has no control over resources, and is often subject to public scorn. A recent trend is that these women are regarded as a potential source of AIDS and looked on with community suspicion. In rural communities of West Nile this group is denied residence. Most societies have stern punishments to limit premarital pregnancy. As family ties loosen this group is likely to get bigger. The loss of labour and income of one adult lowers the
economic status of these households. Women have less education, fewer legal rights and less access to support services and they can become entrenched in poverty.

Urban women: The role and place of the wife in the average urban family does not differ much from that of the rural wife. The urban community’s sense of obligation to widows is questionable and not guaranteed by tradition.

Children: Almost half the population is under 15; the Department of Probation and Social Welfare estimates that 4 million children (about half) are vulnerable and live in difficult circumstances. The categories of children at risk include orphans (1.2-1.5 million), disabled children (approx 800,000), displaced or refugee children (unknown but possibly 300,000-400,000) and street children (2-4000) (UNICEF, 1994 p72) A recent article in New Vision claimed there were currently 10,000 street children. The infant mortality rate was higher in 1991 than it had been in 1968: 122 deaths under 1 year old per 1000 live births, compared with 120 in 1968.

Child malnutrition was seen as a major problem for children under 5 by the district leaders interviewed by UNICEF (1994, p46). The Uganda Health and Demographic Survey found that almost 1 out of 2 children is stunted (46.3% in rural areas and 25.3% in urban areas), and 1 in 4 wasted.

The New Vision studied 40 households in Kampala and found that half of them were sending their children to do work like hawking, fetching water, or manual work to earn money to supplement family income.

Adolescents (aged between 10 and 19) have particular vulnerabilities: to school drop-out, adolescent pregnancy, HIV/AIDS, unemployment, and separation from family. “Girls get involved in love affairs with sugar daddies, not because they enjoy misbehaving, but from lack of financial support.” (Kampala focus group). Seeley noticed the risky behaviour of adolescent girls who live with parents and want dresses and cosmetics but have no access to household cash (even though they work on their parents’ farms). They seek lovers for fancy goods. Adolescents who get pregnant are seen as outcasts and can cause family breakdown. A Moyo focus group reported that a pregnant adolescent, even if married, becomes isolated at home, from school, and from her spouse. About 50% of rural teenage mothers whether they are married or not do not get any support from relatives, friends, or spouses (UNICEF, 1994 p44). Adolescent mothers have a high risk of premature births and low birthweight babies leading to health problems for the child.

Street children are under the age of 18, mostly live on the street and have no care and protection. The NGO forum for street youth estimates a total of 10,000 street youths living on and off the streets in Uganda (NV April 6 1994) In Kampala the number is estimated at 500. There are many street children in Mbale and Lira who have come from Kumi, Soroti and Karamoja. There are a number of reasons why children go on the street. Some are orphans, others come from families where the woman has divorced and wants to remarry but the new husband does not want the children. If they can afford it women will put their children in a boarding school or send to relative but often they are left to fend for themselves. Children may also be sent on streets to earn a living (Growing Out Of Poverty, p18); a small survey of the children found that only 37% were completely on their own and slept on the streets.

UNICEF believes that the problems experienced by women and children have been persistent despite economic recovery trends, increased social sector funding, rehabilitation of services and the return of peace.

Old people, alone or with dependants, are disproportionately at the bottom of the socioeconomic ladder. The AIDS pandemic means that many old have no middleaged children to care for them and they have to care for orphaned grandchildren.
Widows: Some widows are more vulnerable than others; some were the driving force in the household before the husband’s death and cope well. Some widows are well provided-for by their husbands either before they die or with a will. They are at risk from opportunistic men. Normally the husband represents the family in the community and his death exposes his widow to problems she has little experience of dealing with. Typically she has played no role in marketing cash crops and is not familiar with coping with buyers, prices, and marketing, making her vulnerable to exploitation. Very few wives know the extent of the family’s fortune, indebtedness, or major sources of income. This is not the legitimate concern of a wife. A rural widow’s future life usually lies in the hands of the husband’s relatives or sons. If the husband died intestate the relatives decide what she will get and whether she can stay in the matrimonial home. This will depend on the generosity and sense of fairness of relatives. She usually gets the home and some land the amount depending on how many children she has to bring up. She is often too poor to pay school fees.

AIDS widows are the most psychologically vulnerable as she too may be terminally infected. In the early days of the pandemic AIDS widows were so stigmatised as to be almost outcast; people’s attitudes are now more sympathetic and understanding. Some, mostly those without children, leave their home areas to escape the stigma. If they have children one or more may be AIDS-infected. Community support in the areas most heavily infected is strong at an emotional and moral level but the ability to offer material support is weak. NGOs usually try to strengthen the community rather than target AIDS widows.

Orphans: It is taken almost for granted in Uganda that a father is not only the main provider for the family but also the motor of parental guidance and family stability; a child may not be called an “orphan” if the father is still alive. Loss of the father leads to physical deprivation, decrease in income, often an end to education especially for girls, vulnerability to social and legal exploitation which might include child labour, denial of access to the dead parent’s assets, sexual abuse, and an emotional vacuum.

The 1991 census found 784,000 orphans; 10% of children below the age of 15. The number of orphans due to AIDS is expected to increase 5-fold in next 5 years (GOOP 17). There are 115,000 estimated AIDS orphans and in 5 years time as many as 1 million children will have lost their parents due to AIDS. AIDS orphans place a large burden on the extended family and community as they tend to be related, and occur in communities where there are others in the same situation. They (and widows) are vulnerable to neglect, exploitation, and lack of resources for food, education, health services. Although the traditional extended family system is coping with the current burden of orphans there are emerging signs of failure.

Those who are fostered more likely to be neglected; for example they are less likely to be immunised (UNICEF, 1994 p27) They may also suffer discrimination involving lower access and attainment in schools. They may be used as a source of cheap labour (GOOP p38). The participants in UNICEF’s study of districts officials said that selective denial of food to orphans and foster children existed (UNICEF, 1994 p48). “In my village people are selfish. You find a family of many kids and uncles who are rich. After the death of the parents, the uncles don’t care for the children. The kids stop wherever they are in education.” (Rukungiri)

In April 1994 New Vision claimed that Uganda is operating an archaic Adoption of Children Act dating from 1943. Many people want to adopt children in Uganda but the laws stand as impediments in their way. 1992 probation office research indicated there are about 75 children’s homes most of whom were undertaking long-term care.

People with AIDS: AIDS is causing enormous suffering and becoming a significant contributory factor to poverty; badly affected areas like Rakai and Masaka place a high demand on health services while the depleted labour force has reduced agricultural production. AIDS in Uganda was first described in Rakai district in 1982. By June 1993 Uganda had 2,314 AIDS cases per 1 million of population. HIV/AIDS is now the leading cause of death for adults in Uganda and ranks 6th among