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A GENDER PERSPECTIVE OF POVERTY- SHAME- SOCIAL
EXCLUSION NEXUS: A CASE STUDY OF UGANDA.

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Abstract

Contemporary studies on poverty have suggested a relationship between poverty, shame and social exclusion. This is increasingly becoming a focal point for contemporary scholars, policy makers and analysts in a bid to fully understand the dynamics of this phenomenon. The ongoing 'Poverty and Shame' project, a collaborative research project in the countries of Uganda, India, China, Norway, and United Kingdom (UK) is one of the studies oriented towards this phenomenon. This thesis, which is a micro component of this broader 'Poverty and Shame' research project attempts to trace a gender perspective of the poverty-shame-social exclusion nexus from two sources particularly official government documents and media reports- newspapers with a focus on women, using the National Agricultural Advisory Services (NAADS) programme's design / formulation and implementation.

The study is premised in feminist theories particularly Third World Women feminism which opposes the gender systems that are oppressive to women, and advocates for a change of social order from unequal gender relations that are socio-culturally enforced to improved and /or equal gender relations through emancipating and empowering the women socially, economically, ideologically, and politically.

This thesis affirms that the relationship between poverty, shame and social exclusion exists in Uganda and it has got a gender characteristic. This is illustrated by the unequal gender relations exemplified by the marginalized social status / position of women in society which increases their propensity to be poor. Poverty also begets shame, and is also associated with social exclusion.

Key words: Poverty, Shame, Social exclusion, Gender, Third World Women feminism, Uganda.

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Acronyms / Abbreviations

CSD	Centre for Social Studies
CPRC (U)	Chronic Poverty Research Centre (Uganda)
GAD	Gender and Development
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IFAD	International Food and Agricultural Development
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
MAAIF	Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries
MFPEd	Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development
MGLSD	Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development
NAADS	National Agricultural Advisory Services
PEAP	Poverty Eradication Action Plan
PMA	Plan for Modernization of Agriculture
PWD	People with Disability
SWEP	Strengthening Women Entrepreneurs Project
UBOS	Uganda Bureau of Statistics
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UPPA 1/2	Uganda Participatory Poverty Assessment phases ½
UNSRID	United Nations Research Institute for Social Development
UWEAL	Uganda Women Entrepreneurs Association
WDR	World Development Report of the World Bank
WID	Women in Development

CHAPTER ONE

1.1 Introduction / background

Some contemporary studies on poverty suggest a relationship between poverty, shame, and social exclusion (Amartya Sen 2006; 2000; 1990; Zavaleta, 2009). There are also claims that social exclusion and shame are social phenomena associated with poverty. The various works of Amartya Sen (2006; 2000; 1990) have consistently maintained the claim that shame is associated with poverty and it is experienced by those people living in poverty in all societies. The central argument is that people are ashamed because they are poor and feel ashamed because of the consequences of being poor. This implies the notion of public / social shaming (shame from external sources) and internal shame (one's own feeling of shame as a result of situation of shaming) (Fontaine et al. 2004; Zavaleta 2009, 4; Snow and Anderson 2003, 143-145). These forms of shame stemming from the poverty situation may subject the poor to social exclusion.

According to Akhter *et al.* (2007, ix) social exclusion is both a cause and an effect of poverty. The poor thus lack as Adam Smith (1776) put it, the ability of “being able to appear in public without shame and being able to take part in the life of the community” (cited by Sen in Grusky and Kanbur, 2006, 35). In Smith's view, poverty denotes lack of opportunities for participation in community life, and or suffering damage to human dignity or being socially excluded (*ibid*). Expanding on Smith's assertion, Sen argues that “absolute deprivation while including hunger also includes ‘being ashamed to appear in public’ and not being able to participate in the life of the community” (Zavaleta 2009, 1; Narayan *et al.* 2000). This is because shame and / or the stigma of poverty undermines the capabilities and functionalities of the poor with regard to their appearance in public and participation in community life (Grusky and Kanbur, 2006, 35).

Most literature about poverty in Uganda (Chronic poverty research centre- Uganda (MFPED 2006; CPRC- U) 2009; 2005; Amanda *et al.* 2005; Kabeer 2003; Narayan *et al.* 2000) suggest that poverty is ‘gendered’ which implies that the nature, causes, and impacts of poverty are different for men and for women. Men and women experience poverty differently and unequally and both are subject to different but related impoverishment processes. The same authors also note that women tend to be the most vulnerable thus the assertion that poverty is

‘feminized’: “If poverty had a human face, it would belong to a woman” (CPRC-U, 2005, 5). This is most especially in societies with institutionalized patriarchal systems in which men occupy the higher status / position in socio-cultural, economic and political spheres of life as opposed to women.

In Uganda, gender inequality and poverty are the result of distinct though interlocking, social relations and processes. Women’s experience of poverty is mediated by social relations of gender. On the other hand, gender affects critical factors contributing to poverty risks: income, opportunity, security, and empowerment (MFPED 2006, 1). Gender inequality persists in access to and control of a range of productive, human, and social capital assets, consequently, the core components of poverty- capability, opportunity, security, and empowerment differ along gender lines (*ibid*).

The notion of ‘gendered poverty’ with women as the most vulnerable social group is compounded by the increasing number of female-headed households (MFPED 2006; 2002; 2000; CPRC-U 2009; 2005; Oxfam (Uganda) & Forum for Women in Democracy (FOWODE) 2004). The Chronic poverty research centre (Uganda) (2005, 5) mentions the categories of women who are most susceptible to chronic poverty - widows, divorcees, and single mothers. It emphasizes that there is a high likelihood of chronically poor households being female-headed (*ibid*, vii). Even among the ‘normal’ households (which have the presence of both man and woman), the woman is typically worse-off than the man due to gender inequities with regard to ownership, control, and use of household assets / resources most especially land resource (CPRC 2005, 5; MFPED 2006, 1 & 19).

This study¹ seeks to contribute to the existing body of knowledge through an empirical investigation into the poverty-shame-social exclusion nexus in Uganda from a gender perspective mainly focusing on women. It attempts to trace the poverty-shame-social exclusion nexus from two sources of data - official government documents and media reports - newspapers, using the National Agricultural Advisory Services (NAADS) programme design / formulation and implementation as a focal point. The National Agricultural Advisory Services

¹ It is worth noting that this study is a micro component of a broader collaborative comparative research project code named ‘Shame, Social exclusion and the effectiveness of anti-poverty programmes which is on- going in the countries of Uganda, India, Norway, China, and United Kingdom. The study is thus hoped to supplement the general findings of this broader research project especially by ushering in the gender dimension with a particular reference to Uganda

(NAADS)² is a programme of the government of Uganda which was introduced with the objective of increasing the efficiency and effectiveness of agricultural extension services. It was formed under the NAADS Act of June 2001 and it is implemented through the Ministry of Agriculture Animal Industry and Fisheries (MAAIF). The programme implementation started in July 2001 to-date. It is a country-wide programme which is mandated to develop a demand-driven, farmer-led agricultural service delivery system targeting poor subsistence farmers, with emphasis on women, youth and people with disabilities (PWDs). Its development goal is to enhance rural livelihoods by increasing agricultural productivity and profitability in a sustainable manner (MAAIF 2000, 10-11).

Official government documents and national newspapers are selected as the main sources of data for this thesis because they are regarded as dominant sources of public discourses in Uganda which cover a variety of issues. Official government documents are often reliable sources of information on social, economic and political conditions or developments in the country in a given period of time obtained through a rigorous scientific process involving triangulated research methodology. On the other hand, national newspapers usually cover a wider range of social, economic, political and developmental issues / problems affecting different sections of the public. They are also sources of expressed views, opinions and attitudes towards a certain phenomenon in the country from various sections of the public.

Objectives of the study and research questions.

1. To examine the challenges faced by Ugandan women using the poverty- shame-social exclusion nexus as a focal point.
2. To critically analyze the gender dimension of the National Agriculture Advisory Services (NAADS) programme using a Third world feminist lens.

Essentially, the study attempts to answer the following research questions;

1. What are the challenges faced by Ugandan women living in poverty and how do these fit within a poverty-shame-social exclusion nexus?
2. How does the NAADS programme address these challenges?

² NAADS is one of the seven components under the Plan for Modernization of Agriculture (PMA), the planning framework of the government of Uganda for the transformation from subsistence agriculture to market - oriented commercial production. NAADS is working in line with the national development framework of Poverty Eradication agenda, which is guided by the Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP) - recently transformed into the National Development Plan 2010-2015.

1.3. Conceptualizing the key terms

This section provides a conceptual framework within which various key terms / concepts are used in this thesis. These concepts have been defined differently by different scholars. They are frequently used in this thesis and are linked to each other. Thus it is necessary to provide their operational definitions and meanings in the context of this thesis.

1.3. 1. Poverty

There is general agreement in most literature that poverty is a complex and multi-dimensional concept (Allen and Thomas, 2000; Akhter, 2007; Asselin, 2009; CPRC, 2005; 2006; 2009; Fitzpatrick *et al*, 2006; White *et al* 2001). The concept has no universally accepted definition. It has been defined differently, its meanings perceived differently, and used in different contexts by various scholars, researchers, and policy makers depending on their standing points. Besides, the perceptions, meanings, and definitions of poverty change over time and across space (Fitzpatrick *et al*. 2009, 1037-1038).

Poverty is commonly defined in terms of absolute, relative, and capability and functioning.

In absolute terms, poverty means lack of resources (income) to secure an absolute minimum of existence which is guaranteed by meeting the basic human needs- food, shelter, clothes, medical care, safe water for drinking and cooking among other needs. It is expressed in terms of total deprivation where a person is unable to obtain the very basic necessities of life (Fitzpatrick *et al*. 2006, 1039). On the other hand, relative poverty is defined in comparison between individuals, societies or nations. Relative poverty is thus poverty in comparison with others, with some necessities taken care of, but others not. For example food needs can be taken care of, but not to have the need to have access to transportation, permanent and nice looking house, posh car, among other ostentatious goods (needs) (Fitzpatrick *et al*. 2006, 1042). Some people are deemed to be in the state of poverty relative to the level of material and social resources enjoyed by the majority of the population in a given society.

In a somewhat parenthesis, drawing from the work of Adam Smith (1776), Amartya Sen argues that poverty is not only lack of material resources but also what it requires to enable one participate in society life. He refers to this as ‘capabilities and functionings’ or simply “capability to function” (Grusky and Kanbur, 2006, 34; Allen and Thomas 2000, 14; Fitzpatrick, 2009, 1037, Kabeer 2003, 6). According to Sen, ‘functionings’ are people’s ‘beings’ and ‘doings’ (what they are and what they can do) for example being healthy, being able to live long, being part of social network, being able to read and write, among other

things. Thus, ‘functionings’ go beyond material aspects of well-being to include capabilities to function and gaining various social achievements in life.

In this thesis, emphasis is largely put on poverty in terms of absolute, and capability and functioning because they both fit within my focus of poverty-shame-social exclusion nexus. In other words, shame and social exclusion are synonymous with these forms of conceptualizations of poverty in Uganda’s context. This is evidenced by the common definitions of poverty in Uganda’s official government documents and national newspapers, as this will be explained in the subsequent chapter (two). There have been generic and incremental perceptions / conceptions of poverty among different sections of public in Uganda over time. The overarching national policy document –the Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP) defines poverty in absolute terms as ‘lack of access to basic necessities of life including food, shelter, clothing and other needs like education and health’ (Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development (MFPED) 1997, 9; 1998, 7). The Uganda Participatory Poverty Assessment report -Phase one (UPPA1 -2000) ushers in a new dimension of poverty. In addition to lack of basic needs and services (as mentioned above), the report emphasizes that poverty means powerlessness in relation to lack of ability to express one’s views both at home (in case of women), and to government (for both men and women) (MFPED, 2000). The Uganda Participatory Poverty Assessment report -Phase 2 (UPPA2 -2002)³ deepens the understanding of poverty. In addition to lack of basic needs and powerlessness, the report ushers in more new dimensions of poverty including issues of social exclusion, ignorance and lack of knowledge and awareness (MFPED 2002, 10).

The CPRC-U (2005 and 2009) confirmed earlier definitions and conceptualization of poverty among the local people from different communities in different regions of the country. There is commonality from multiple responses in the definition of poverty which hinges on the access to basic needs (food, shelter, clothes, medical care, and education), material deprivation (property dispossession), social exclusion, and inability to participate in community life (CPRC 2005, 3-9; 2009, 13- 40, 50- 72, and 113- 123).

³ The PEAP and UPPA I&2) are based on generated responses from the local populations in various parts of the country.

1.3.2 Gender and poverty; Gender a social construction

There is consensus in various literatures on the meaning of gender, and the same is upheld in this thesis. In this thesis, gender is used to refer to socio-culturally constructed differences between two biological sexes- men and women. This definition is in conformity with vast volume of literature about gender in Uganda and beyond. According to MFPED (2006, vii), gender refers to socially and culturally defined roles, attributes, and privileges of females and males. Kabeer (2003, 2) asserts that the social construction of the concept of gender is based on the rules, norms, customs, practices which are shared among the members of a society. The socially constructed differences between genders create a difference of how different genders are viewed, assigned roles and status as well as access to opportunities and life chances. This results into gender inequality in society and reinforced through formal laws and statutes as well as through unwritten socio-cultural norms (ibid). Mikkola and Miles (2007, 6) point out that gender inequality reflects hierarchical gender relations in society which place men above women. This is also evidenced in regard to family relations, customs, decision making in society, at home, work place, religious and other cultural institutions, and also in terms of access to opportunities- employment, education, among others (MFPED 2006, 18; Amanda *et al.* 2005, 36; Klassen and Lamana, 2008, 4-8).

Uganda is traditionally a patriarchal / patrilineal society which has socio-cultural gender systems with somewhat distinct role differentiation between men and women enforced through formal laws, statutes, and through unwritten norms and shared understandings. The gender systems reflect unequal power relations between the genders which accord to men a higher social status /position than women. This is evident in the decision making process at family and community level, inheritance rights, access, control and utilization of family assets/properties. There are common phrases that depict women as weaker sex, part of the property at family level, and generally inferior to men (MFPED 2006, 18-19; Amanda *et al.* 2005, 20-21, Kabeer 2003, 2).

Investigations on people's assets' base, access and control, and livelihoods in Uganda reveal that limited access and lack of control over productive resources by women is one of the root causes of poverty in women (Amanda *et al.* 2005, 20-21, Kabeer, 2003, 2; MFPED 2002, xiii-9; Oxfam (Uganda) & FOWODE 2004, 7-8). Women lack control over land, crops that their labour produces, livestock and other productive resources. Yet women are responsible for

reproductive and home care provision as some of their husbands spend most of the times in bars drinking alcohol (MFPED 2002, xiii, and 9; Oxfam (U) & FOWODE 2004, 7). As mentioned earlier above, the situation is worse with the female-headed households especially the widows, following the death of their husbands. The in-laws grab the land and other assets due to lack of inheritance rights granted by the women (*ibid*). The blame is still put on the failure of Uganda's 1998 Land Act to address the domestic issues with regard to land ownership, use and inheritance (Oxfam (U) & FOWODE 2004, 8; MFPED 2006, 19). The Chronic poverty research centre (Uganda) describes these unequal gender relations as the underlying cause / 'driver' and 'maintainer' of chronic poverty in Ugandan women (CPRC 2009, 44; 2005, 20- 25).

1.3.3 Social exclusion, shame and poverty

Social exclusion is yet another concept which is widely defined by various scholars. Bhalla and Lapeyre (2004, 5) define social exclusion as a process of social disqualification or social disaffiliation leading to a break down of the relationship between society and individual. The notion emphasizes risk associated with breakdown of the social fabric and ensuing loss of collective values (*ibid*). According to Fitzpatrick *et al.* (2006, 1250), social exclusion refers to the process by which certain people are kept out of the mainstream society which they belong to. The same authors further note that social exclusion is defined in reference to different socio-economic institutions and sectors whereby some people are unable to participate in activities carried out in those institutions or are unable to access services offered by those institutions such as labour markets, housing markets, schools, health care systems, formal or informal local social networks (*ibid*, 1252). This discloses a link between shame, social exclusion and poverty in terms of capabilities / functioning. The poor usually less or not educated, unable to read and write, ill-healthy, not part of a social network can hardly participate in the labour market, school or health care systems, thus they become inevitably socially excluded from mainstream societal activities. The stigma of poverty also subjects them to a feeling of shame that erodes their confidence to appear in public.

Both Akhter *et al.* (2007) and Fitzpatrick *et al.* (2006) assert that social exclusion can both be a cause and an effect of poverty. "The systematic exclusion of certain groups from access to resources and markets increases their propensity to be poor" (Akhter *et al.* 2007, xiv). "Sometimes, the poor are also socially excluded and sometimes the socially excluded are also

poor” (Fitzpatrick *et al.* (2006, 1254). The categories of the people usually socially excluded include ethnic / tribal minorities, the ill, and disabled. Exclusion of these categories of individuals mostly the women from institutions that would allow them to improve their welfare subjects them to chronic poverty (CPRC 2009, 44; 2005, 20- 25).

In this thesis, the concept of social exclusion is used generally to refer to the process through which some individuals are effectively detached from the social life of the community which they belong to. I regard social exclusion as a negative aspect of social life which is socially enforced and that it is not the own choice of those being excluded. In other words, I am concerned with the ‘enforced’ and not ‘voluntary’ forms of social exclusion⁴. I concur with the above mentioned claims by Akhter *et al.* (2007); CPRC (2009; 2006) , and Fitzpatrick *et al.* (2006) that poverty and social exclusion are closely linked, and that social exclusion is undesirable because it threatens the social fabric of society, the social bond that exists among the citizens, and it is an expression of lack of solidarity.

1.3.4 Shame

The concept of shame is also multifaceted according to various literatures. In this thesis, I take a broader sense of the concept of shame as derived from different sets of literature to include a feeling of embarrassment, humiliation, unworthiness, powerlessness, disrespect, inferiority complex, ‘shying away’, ‘feeling ‘small’, ‘hiding face’ among others. Different scholars define the concept of shame in a descriptive manner and in different contexts- social, psychological, emotional among others. Pettersen (2009, 108) cites the Encarta Dictionary online 2007 and describes the concept of shame as a negative emotion that combines feelings of dishonour, unworthiness, and embarrassment and offers the following synonyms: disgrace, embarrassment, dishonour, humiliation, indignity, infamy. Pride is often mentioned as an antonym of shame. Its antonyms include being shameless on the one hand and as honesty and goodness on the other. Pettersen further cites Softestad (2008) and points out that the concept of shame is very often used synonymously with the feeling of guilt (*ibid*, 157).

⁴ Fitzpatrick *et al.* (2006) make a distinction between voluntary and enforced forms of social exclusion. The former takes place when the affluent isolate themselves from the life of the common people while the latter takes place when the indigent people are no longer able to provide for themselves and are placed or kept in an isolated place, hence a matter of enforcement (*ibid*, 1250).

Zavaleta (2009, 4) quotes Tagney's definition of shame as "a global, painful, and devastating experience in which the self, not just behavior, is painfully scrutinized and negatively evaluated.... this negative affect is often accompanied by a sense of shrinking and being small, and by a sense of worthlessness and powerlessness... it is likely to be accompanied by a desire to hide or escape from the interpersonal situation in question". It is both a moral emotion (in the sense that it acts as an evaluator of self) and has relational aspects (as actions by others, or one's perception of their judgement, may affect one's sense of shame) (*ibid*, 4). Zavaleta further points out that shame and humiliation are intertwined and both exert multiple effects on psychological wellbeing. He argues that shame, for example, is associated with low self-esteem and poor interpersonal relations while humiliation has been associated with numerous psychosocial maladies including low self-esteem, social phobia, discrimination, and numerous forms of oppression (*ibid*).

In the perspective of public and shaming, social psychologists suggest that shame can be both internally felt and externally imposed (Fontaine *et al.* 2004; Zavaleta 2009, 4). Thus, in addition to self- admittance of shame, the public also plays a part in shaming and this is expressed through public attitudes and behaviour towards the ashamed. Snow and Anderson (2003, 143-145) describe this act as 'social identity' and 'personal / self identity'. The former implies that shaming is attributed or imputed by others (external attribution /imposition of shame) while in the latter, shame is felt by the actor / victim him/herself (self attribution) (*ibid*). Pettersen (2009, 110) also cites Scheff (2003) who refers to social identity of shame as 'social shame'. Snow and Anderson (2003) further mention that self identity is associated with the feelings of doubts about self –worth and the meaning of existence. On the other hand, social identity through public discourse regards the ashamed as 'objects of negative attention' and / or who suffer 'attention deprivation' in society (*ibid*). In some extreme cases, the ashamed are regarded as 'objects' of contamination thus are denied contact and social interaction hence enforced social exclusion (*ibid*, 139- 140).

Narayan et al. (2000) link poverty and shame by pointing out that among other dimensional aspects of poverty, the psychological dimension includes such aspects as powerlessness, voicelessness, dependency, shame and humiliation. This is exemplified by the quotes: 'Poverty is pain, it feels like a disease, it attacks a person not only materially but also morally; it eats away one's dignity and drives one into total despair.'" Said a poor woman from Moldova (*ibid*,

2). “Poor people are like garbage everyone wants to get rid of.” Said another poor woman from Moldova. “When one is poor, she has no say in public and feels inferior”, said a poor woman from Uganda (*ibid*, 38).

This study intends to explore both cases of social shame (externally attributed / imposed) and personal /self attributed (internally felt) shame as contained in the official government documents and media reports (newspaper articles). While focusing mainly on women, the study attempts to capture the ways the public portrays shame on the part of the poor, as well as the ways the poor themselves express the feeling of shame resulting from the poverty situation. There are also arguments by some scholars that there are some positive aspects of shame, but in this thesis, I concur with majority of scholars notably Pattison (2000), Pettersen (2009), Snow and Anderson (2003), and Zavaleta (2009) who stress that shame is a negative aspect of human life, a condition of unpleasant self-judgement in which one feels bad or uncomfortable with his/her current status, behaviour or action.

1.5 Poverty - shame - social exclusion nexus in the context of Uganda.

In Uganda, the assertion by Akhter *et al.* (2007) that social exclusion is both a cause and an effect of poverty is evident. Cases of institutionalized and self-created social exclusion are also apparent. Some groups of individuals such as the ethnic minorities (indigenous people such as the Batwa in South-western region), the absolutely poor, the chronically sick, the disabled, the ‘little people’⁵, and in gender perspective, women are mostly systematically, and institutionally excluded from the community social life (CPRC- U 2009). Social exclusion and limited participation in community life amongst the poor is manifested in different ways. On the one hand, it is in form of denied access to developmental and social welfare programmes (institutionalized social exclusion), while on the other, it is in form of inability by some groups of people to join community self-help projects (informal social security / insurance against social risks) such as informal and formal savings and credit associations, farmers’ cooperative organizations, burial groups, among others. This is due to not only lack of information but also lack of necessary minimum requirements for membership usually in form of membership and annual or monthly subscription fees. The poor also lack collateral securities to allow them access credit facilities (CPRC-U 2009, 123). Besides, the stigma of shame – the fear or the

⁵ In Uganda, ‘Little people’ is the name given to those who have suffered from the condition called ‘dwarfism’. Their height is not proportional to their ages. They are very short and physically deformed.

inability to appear in public without shame increases the propensity for isolation, and social exclusion as mentioned earlier above.

CHAPTER TWO

2. Methodology of the study

This chapter presents the methodology of the study. It includes the theoretical framework, research design, data collection methods, and sources of data. It ends with the assumptions and limitations of the study.

2.1 The theoretical framework

This thesis is written within the theoretical framework of 'Third World' [women] feminism. Third world women feminism is a relatively new strand of feminism that has emerged in the 'Third World' and it is an antithesis of the hegemonic western feminism. I regard this strand of feminism as the most appropriate in explaining the fate of women in developing countries, Uganda inclusive. I particularly find it most relevant in explaining the gender perspective of poverty-shame-social exclusion nexus in reference to Uganda.

Third world women feminism attempts to address the social injustice characterizing the gender systems enforced by socio-cultural setting in patriarchal societies like Uganda embedded in social norms, customs, values and other features of traditional societies which all act as barriers to women's social, economic and political progress. It suggests remedies to these forms of injustices which include the need for social change and reverse of social order in a bid to emancipate and empower women (Mulumba 2005, 13).

Third world women feminism presents a critical stand point of the social construction of gender and power relations in society. The central argument is that power embedded in socio-cultural, economic and political processes influence gender relations. This is because these processes tend to place the position of men higher than that of women thus making men dominant in decision making and leadership positions, not only at the house hold level but also at the community or national level (Kabeer 2003, 6-10). According to Mulumba (2005) power relations is a reflection of gender inequalities and various forms of women oppression, subjugation and domination that characterize traditional and mostly the patriarchal societies (*ibid*, 13). Third world women feminists assert that despite biological commonalities in

women and a shared view of marginalization in various spheres of life, it is erroneous to homogenize the feminist movements that are oriented towards addressing this concern (*ibid*).

The fundamental difference between Third World women feminism and Western feminism is found in their conceptualization of women as the subject of struggles. While western feminists make equality between men and women the centre of their struggles, third world women feminism stress satisfaction of basic material needs as a pressing issue in the context of disadvantageous economic order. The situation of women is perceived not only as a result of unequal gender relations but also as the consequence of a wide range of oppressive situations that transcend gender categories and are also related to race, class, and citizenship cleavages (Mulumba 2005, 21; Saunders 2002, 6; Sen and Grown, 1987).

Generally, the central argument in the literature about the Third World women feminism is that there exists differences in the level of marginalization, and the root cause of oppression, subjugation, and injustice against women in developing countries in contrast to developed countries, thus the homogenized hegemonic western –dominant strands of feminism may not adequately address these issues (Cutrufelli 1983; Mohanty, 1991; Nakanyike, 1991; Tamale (1999; Mulumba, 2005; Saunders 2002). The argument rests on the fact that, as mentioned earlier above, the majority of women in developing countries are economically marginalized and poor due to socio-culturally constructed social structures (Akhter et al 2007; Narayan *et al* 2000; CPRC (U) 2009; 2005; Kabeer 2003). Mulumba (2005, 20) notes that women in ‘Third World’ countries are subject to the triple burden of reproductive role- nurturing and productivity, as well as the struggle against both poverty and subordination for survival and respect.

Like what most literature about poverty and gender have shown above, Third World women feminists argue that the socio-cultural arrangements that characterize most patriarchal Third World societies increase the propensity of women to be poor. Mulumba points out that the work pattern of the Third World women have common features which include among others, the following; They are mostly engaged in subsistence food production, and/or work in the informal sector; their activities entail little or no capital investment; and, women more than men lack access to and control over productive resources such as land and capital, both of which might increase the economic returns on their labour and their productivity. In addition,

women fall more in the vicious circle of poverty because they cannot access technology and credit which resources they would need for improving their productivity, which would improve their income and would make them in turn eligible for credit. Women become powerless when they cannot address these aspects (*ibid*, 20).

The focus of the Third World feminists is thus not merely a struggle against oppression and achieving equal treatment between men and women, but it is rather a struggle that aims at attaining improved gender relations in its entirety. Drawing from the works of Johnson-Odim (1991, 320) and Tamale (1999; 31), Mulumba (2005, 20) argues that ‘gender oppression cannot be the single leg on which Third World feminism rests and attention must therefore be paid to the nuances of gender relations, which manifest variable factors in different societies and may in turn inform gender discourses in different contexts’ (*ibid*).

Conclusively, for purposes of this study, I regard Third world women feminism as having relevant and strong theoretical explanatory power on the position, condition and situation of women particularly in Uganda within an analytical framework of a gender perspective of poverty-shame-social exclusion nexus as the subsequent sections of this thesis illustrate. The arguments and suggestions put forward by Third World women feminism against the oppressive gender relations seem to be in line with the philosophy behind the formulation of policies and programmes in Uganda that put emphasis on gender dimension as cross-cutting issues or major components of the programme with particular focus on women. Examples of such policies and programmes include anti-poverty programmes like the NAADS programme, Poverty Eradication Action Plan, the gender policy, among others. The relevance of the Third world women feminism to the gender perspective of poverty-shame-social exclusion nexus will be detailed further in chapter three of this thesis.

2.2. Research design

This study employs an exploratory research design. This design seeks to find out the way people get along in the socio-cultural setting, the meanings they give to their actions, and the issues that concern them (Chambliss and Schutt 2010, 10). In this thesis, emphasis is placed on the way the concepts of poverty, shame and social exclusion as linked to gender are conceived, and the meanings people attach to this nexus in official government documents and media reports in Uganda.

Exploratory research usually uses qualitative methods- words rather than numbers. Qualitative approach is used in this thesis to explore opinions, expressions, views, thoughts, beliefs, and assumptions of individuals as expressed through official government documents and media reports- newspapers about women's life situations, or everyday behavior with regard to poverty- shame- social exclusion nexus. Particular emphasis is put on ascertaining how these discourses reflect, describe and / or aggravate this nexus. These are extracted with a focus on a selected national programme for alleviating poverty in Uganda - the National Agricultural Advisory Services (NAADS).

The rationale for employing an exploratory research design is that it is more appropriate where little is known about the phenomenon under study and in this particular study, a gender perspective of poverty-shame-social exclusion nexus in Uganda. I therefore regard this study as first step in what may turn out to be a detailed and far reaching research process. This research design will generate insights into potentially significant ideas in more details in future studies. Besides, the qualitative research design is appropriate for an epistemologically rich and in-depth understanding of the social phenomenon in a holistic view from the actor's point of view (Chambliss and Schutt 2010, 222, 251).

2.3 Sources of data and data collection methods

Data collection involved downloading the online newspaper articles from the newspaper websites particularly (www.monitor.co.ug/ and www.newvision.co.ug). Daily New Vision, Saturday Vision, Sunday Vision; Daily Monitor, Saturday Monitor, and Sunday Monitor newspapers were selected for analysis. These are the most common national newspapers in Uganda with a bigger readership, and coverage of a spectrum of social, economic, political and developmental issues from all the regions of the country. Besides, most people prefer expressing their views, opinions and attitudes about a given phenomenon in these very newspapers. The search for relevant titles of the newspaper articles was guided by a pre-arranged set of topics or themes obtained from the subject of study - particularly the gender dimension of the NAADS programme, aspects of poverty-shame-social exclusion nexus, as people's expressed views, opinions and attitudes.

In addition to newspaper articles, official government documents such as NAADS Programme documents- Master design document, annual and evaluation reports, parliamentary reports,

and other gender –related documents have been selected for analysis⁶. The time scope ranged from 2001 to 2011. The scope provides the timeframe within which the NAADS programme was introduced and being implemented in Uganda. The NAADS programme was selected for analysis because it is one of the poverty alleviation programmes in Uganda that has a broader gender dimension, particularly targeting women as prime beneficiaries. The analysis of the NAADS programme followed a pre-arranged checklist of themes derived from the gender component of this programme with particularly focus on women. The checklist contained the rationale for NAADS programme’s focus on women- (a response to women’s vulnerability), the level of women’s participation (inclusion or exclusion), and the level of programme benefits to women, among others. The checklist helped me to organize data more systematically for the analytic process; looking for variations in the data to establish the associations and or contrasts with in the texts.

Data for the conceptual and theoretical parts of the thesis was obtained by means of reading text books in the library at Oslo University College, downloading of electronic journal articles, government of Uganda’s policy and programme documents while using such search engines as Google Scholar, E-brary, Ebsco, Informaworld and Jstor. The key search words used included poverty, shame, social exclusion, gender, Third world feminism, NAADS, and Uganda.

2.4. Limitations of the study

2.4.1. Sources of data

The study relies mostly on media reports (newspapers) as a dominant source of data. However, the limitation of this source of data is that sometimes the media reports are not scientific enough, that is to say – they are not based on empirical research but rather are personal /public views, opinions, and expressions about a given phenomenon. In most cases, they lack validity and have a tendency to exaggerate an issue or a situation. Besides, choosing only national newspapers from Monitor and New vision publications using particular search terms could have biased and shaped my analysis in a certain direction, which would have been

⁶ The choice of analyzing these public discourses (newspapers and official government programmes – particularly about NAADS) also fits within the methodological framework of the on-going broader –‘poverty and shame’ research project. The project also has a component of assessing the effectiveness of anti-poverty programmes /policies in the collaborating / participating countries.

probably different if my study had covered all the newspapers in Uganda both national and local.

2.4.2. Time and space constraint

This study was entirely done by using “desktop analysis” within a limited time period, and with a specific word-limit. This limited the scope of study in many ways, as it was not possible to use the primary data by employing the methods like in-depth interviews. Time was not available for me to conduct interviews in my home country (Uganda) so as to get everyday experiences and first-hand sources (primary data) from the respondents. Thus I had to rely entirely on secondary data as the alternative sources and this limited scope might have also limited my analysis of the subject matter.

CHAPTER THREE

3. This chapter presents findings of the study. It provides the ways in which the concepts of poverty, shame, and social exclusion as linked to gender are conceived in public discourses of Uganda. It also highlights on the way poverty-shame-social exclusion nexus is shaped through public discourse more specifically that associated with design / formulation and implementation of the NAADS programme. The analysis of the formulation and implementation process of the NAADS programme focuses mainly on its gender dimension specifically the way the position of women is addressed; the rationale behind the programme’s focus on women by way of linking women and poverty, shame and social exclusion, and the way the media reports articulate the position of the poor women in the programme.

3.1 The National Agricultural Advisory Services (NAADS) programme and the gender dimension

The NAADS programme as an anti-poverty programme covers different components; gender dimension is one of them. The gender dimension of the NAADS programme is regarded as a way of engendering poverty alleviation in Uganda, and it attempts to side-step gender systems that oppress and impoverish women. The NAADS as the names suggests, is an agriculture-focused poverty alleviation programme aimed at transforming agriculture from the predominantly subsistence farming to commercial agriculture or market-oriented farming by promoting farming as a business.

To alleviate poverty in Uganda, the agricultural sector has to be tackled and transformed. This is based on the fact that Agriculture has been predominantly subsistence despite the fact that the sector has been the mainstay of Uganda's economy contributing over 20 percent of the country's gross domestic product (GDP) over the years (Uganda Bureau of Statistics –UBOS, 2006). The agricultural sector also employs more than 70% of Uganda's population mainly in the rural areas (MAAIF 2010, 16). Various sets of literature show that agricultural sector employs a higher proportion of women (over 83 percent) than men (less than 70 percent) since men are a substantially higher majority of the labour force in the industry and service sector. Women generally have a much larger dependence on farm agricultural self employment and less diversification to non-agricultural wage employment and the formal sector (MAAIF 2010, 16 and 46; MFPED 2006, 12-14; UBOS 2002; 2005; Oxfam GB (Uganda)& FOWODE, 2004, 1-7).

The 2002 Uganda's population and housing census also showed that over 88% of the population is concentrated in the rural areas compared to 12% in the urban areas (UBOS, 2002, Viii; Oxfam &FOWODE, 1). Agricultural activities form the common livelihood of the majority of this rural population. Investment in Agriculture is thus regarded as the key determinant in the country's efforts to reduce poverty (MAAIF 2010, 16). In particular, investment in improving small-holder agriculture is hoped to help women more than it would do in most other areas of investments. If the investment is carefully targeted, the gender benefit can be considerable. The study by the Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development (MFPED, 2008) on the contribution of reduced gender inequality to GDP growth prospects in Uganda concluded that that one percent improvement in productivity in agriculture in Uganda would not only disproportionately benefit women but also contribute an extra 0.4 percent growth to GDP (MAAIF 2010, 47). Thus, the NAADS programme was conceived to be the right approach to poverty alleviation that would help vast majority of the rural population jump out of income poverty.

Byamugisha, in Sunday monitor (June, 12, 2011)⁷ also notes that according to recent studies of rural development in Uganda, about four out of five households in the country are engaged in agricultural-related activities, and at the household level, women dominate the agricultural activities. Thus, the agriculture sector provides a base for the improvement of the livelihood of

⁷ Due to the fact that it was impossible to access online the whole electronic newspaper ('E-paper'), but rather only individual articles could be accessed, all the newspaper articles in this thesis do not have page numbers. However, day, date, month and year of publication are captured).

rural population mainly the women. This could be achieved by enhancing productivity through agricultural advisory services.

The NAADS programme's gender dimension is in line with the gender mainstreaming programme the government of Uganda emphasizes. Gender mainstreaming is a conscious approach of an organisation to take into account gender equality concerns in all policy, programme, administrative and financial activities as well as organizational structures and procedures (MGLSD 2007, 35). It is a strategy for making the concerns and experiences of men and women an integral dimension of the national, institutional or organizational functioning so that women and men can benefit equally, thus ensuring that inequality is not perpetuated. In Uganda, gender mainstreaming is currently a core cross-cutting issue in the policy / programme design, formulation and implementation at both national and local level including institutional / organizational policy making processes. In the recent past, the concept has attracted a lot more attention than ever before. This follows rigorous campaigns from the civil society mainly the women-focused / based non-government organizations which have advocated for women emancipation, gender equality and equity. The result was the formulation of the national gender policy in 1997 and the National Action Plan for women in 1999 in Uganda. These were fundamental in emphasizing the need for equal opportunity for males and females, equal rights and affirmative action to close gender gaps in all sectors including the agriculture sector. It should however, be noted that, other external forces have contributed to the phenomenon of increased gender mainstreaming in Uganda. Notable among these is the World Bank's multi-dimensional definitions of the concepts of poverty and development – articulating the role of gender equality and equity as one of the prerequisites for development, and their lack, as both 'drivers' and 'maintainers' of poverty (CPRC-U 2005, 19). In addition, the gender concerns have been focal area of a series of the United Nations Global conferences whose ideas and recommendations have been widely implemented by most UN member countries Uganda inclusive. Notable among these conferences include the United Nations conference on environment and development (1992), the world conference on human rights (1993), World summit on social development (1995), and the Fourth world conference on women (1995) (Gita 1999, 3).

3.2 NAADS programme as linked to a gender perspective of poverty-shame-social exclusion nexus.

The MAAIF (2000) - Uganda's NAADS programme master document acknowledges the multi-dimensional aspect of the phenomenon of poverty. Its definition of poverty is derived from the poverty studies in the country in which poverty is defined by the poor themselves as not only 'a situation of perpetual need for the daily necessities of life...' but also a feeling of powerlessness to influence the things around you' (*ibid*, 9). The implication is that poverty is determined by a set of inter-locking and interdependent factors which include but not limited to access to natural resources, human factors, financial assets, social capital and physical infrastructure. The multidimensionality of poverty is also viewed with regard to vulnerability, income poverty, powerlessness, social isolation and physical weakness (NAADS Secretariat 2003, 2).

According to NAADS Secretariat (2003, 6), NAADS programme targets its services on more vulnerable community members, that is to say, community members with a poor social, economic and physical asset base. With an increased asset base, the poor and particularly the rural women are more able to recover from shocks to their livelihoods when crop prices fall, disease results in harvest losses or crops are refused by buyers because of quality deficiencies. The aim is increasing their asset base thereby decreasing their vulnerability and increasing their opportunity for economic growth. Special efforts or activities are concerned with first identifying and then convincing this category of farmers and especially vulnerable women to join farmer institutions since poorer farmers are, by definition, often socially and physically isolated. The NAADS programme encourages female farmers to form or join farmers groups that propose or are engaged in agricultural enterprises that suits their preferences. Goat rearing, cattle rearing, poultry, bee keeping, mushroom growing, fruit growing, banana growing or banana plantation improvement, are farmers' enterprises supported by the NAADS programme (MAAIF 2006). Once poorer farmers are members of farmer institutions, they can be empowered to influence decisions about the type of activities in which they would like to engage, have the information needed to assess the viability of these proposed activities and determine the type, relevance and quality of services they need in order to gain from their chosen activity (NAADS Secretariat 2003, 6).

According to MAAIF (2000) and NAADS (2003) poverty is gendered and women are most affected than men. The documents state that Ugandan women lag behind men in most aspects of social economic and political spheres of life. Women especially in rural areas are more illiterate, poor, socially excluded, and generally vulnerable than men. They have limited economic opportunities due to their societal roles and responsibilities, their low social status, unequal power relations with men, lack of ownership and access to productive assets, low participation in decision-making, and high domestic workload (MAAIF 2000, 10; NAADS 2003, 6). Consequently, women and especially the widows and female-headed households have the highest vulnerability to poverty. The NAADS programme aims at changing the conditions for the rural poor, and especially the women, at all levels of society at which it is operating. In so doing, the programme can be an effective engine of social change, empowering the poor and creating equity (NAADS Secretariat 2003, 1).

The MAAIF (2000) recognizes the fact that women play a vital role in agriculture providing most of the labour force despite the fact that very few own / control productive resources including land. This coupled with women's long standing low socio-economic status render most women generally unable to take key decisions over use of such resources, production patterns and decisions over use of benefits accruing from farm production (MAAIF 2000, 11). All these circumstances increase the propensity of women to be poor. Consequently, the majority of women have remained limited to strictly 'users' of assets and productive resources at household level, and they are still excluded from decision making for many agricultural activities.

There are also differentiated roles in agricultural activities at household level both in animal and crop husbandries. Women grow food crops- for subsistence (family consumption) and also do poultry farming and indoor farming of pigs. This implies limited access, ownership control of resources for income generation. Men on the other hand tend to grow cash crops and practice livestock on a larger scale (commercial farmers). But still in both distinct agricultural activities, women's labour force remains dominant (*ibid*).

3.3. Gender and the poverty-shame-social exclusion nexus

3.3.1 Poverty and women

Nalwanga (2011) in Saturday Monitor reports that women have been the face of poverty in Uganda due to gender-based biases deeply entrenched in the society. The report quotes

Rosemary Mutyabule, the Director of Business Advisory Services and Team leader of Strengthening Women Entrepreneurs Project (SWEP). According to Mutyabule, SWEP, a three-year programme initiated by Enterprise Uganda in partnership with DFCU Bank and UNDP supported by the government of Norway, is aimed at improving the quality of life of over 800 rural and urban women in Uganda, as a supplement to the government supported anti-poverty programmes in the country. She says that many women entrepreneurs in Uganda operate at a very small scale because of challenges like low income, lack of access to credit, financial ignorance and limited access to markets. These prompted the establishment of the SWEP that was designed to enable women compete with men in business. However, despite efforts by Enterprise Uganda to uplift women out of poverty, there are still challenges that affect the progress of women entrepreneurs in Uganda. There is among other things, unfair competition in male dominated fields with competitors that deliberately frustrate the small and medium scale enterprises in which the majority women are engaged.

Adong (2011) in Daily Monitor cites IFAD (2003) study in Uganda under the Gender Strengthening Programme for Eastern and Southern Africa which showed that nationwide 72 per cent of all employed women and 90 per cent of all rural women work in agriculture. Unfortunately, this has not attracted enough attention from the experts of the analysis of economic growth and development in the country. There are two important issues of gender imbalances in agricultural activities. First, in the division of labour in agriculture, women and children tend to be delegated the farm tasks that are tedious and time-consuming. For example planting, weeding and harvesting while men mainly participate in marketing / selling the produce produce. When produce is head-loaded to market, women and children can do the work by walking long distances to access the market centres but when bicycles are available for transport, men use them to transport produce. Unfortunately, men tend to use the sale proceeds for their own needs leaving the women (producers) without gains from their labour. If women were to have equal access to markets with men, it would greatly improve their chances of escaping poverty. If women were able to spend less time and energy commuting, they would also have more time and energy to devote to other productive work, families and community.

The above data is also supported by the recent Bill Clinton's pronouncement at Clinton Global Initiative that "Women do 66 per cent of world's work, produce 50 per cent of world's food, earn 10 per cent of world's income and own 1 per cent of the world's property" (Masake

(2011b, Daily monitor, April 28). Masake additionally cites a study by the UN World food programme which further reveals that more than 2/3 of the world's unpaid work is done by women.

Adong (2011) in Daily Monitor compares the findings of IFAD study (1998) in Ghana to Uganda's present situation. The study found out that domestic responsibilities of rural women are time-consuming largely because of child care, walking to water sources, fields, stores, schools and health posts. Where women do marketing, they also often walk several miles to and from the marketplace. This is true for the situation of Uganda's women as well. Time taken up by these activities make it impossible for women to participate in other community activities. Besides, walking can have a direct and indirect effect on productivity, the environment and sometimes women's safety and health (*ibid*).

Nalunkuuma (2011) in Saturday Monitor also reports about the plight of women in Northern Uganda. She reports that the problem with women in Northern Uganda was and is still more than double folded. Many who lost all they had including their spouses to 20 year Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) insurgency still do not understand the boundaries of their spouse's property. The men were forced to join the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) rebel group leaving their families with no means of survival. Women are now facing conflicts with their in-laws over ownership of property. And although many are out of the internally displaced camps, such women are living poorly with nothing to provide for their families. Nalunkuuma's report re-affirms the multi-dimensionality of the concept of poverty " living in poverty is not just the lack of income but it is also the inability to satisfy or provide the basic social needs like taking children to school, providing a family with sufficient meals of the day, being able to go to the nearest health centre for health care" This is consistent with the earlier mentioned multi-faceted conceptions of poverty in CPRC (2009; 2005); MFPED (2002; 2000); Grusky, and Kanbur (2006), Fitzpatrick et al. (2006). For the women, the feeling of powerlessness and not being able not only to participate in any decision making process but also in community activities is challenging. Despite women emancipation efforts in Uganda, women still lag behind in terms of education and meager income. They still face barriers in participation in community development activities, lack time to engage in such activities and they still lack sufficient mobilization.

The irony is that increased women impoverishment, social exclusion and gender imbalances in property rights and agricultural-related activities have persisted in Uganda despite established legal framework to prevent them. Uganda is hailed for having some of the best policy, constitutional and general legal framework relating to gender, and particularly to women's rights. However, despite having ratified several international human rights instruments on gender equality and protection of women's land rights, the implementation and enforcement mechanisms are still lacking. Although some of the traditions, customs and practices which discriminate women in matters of access, use and ownership of land have been outlawed by both the Constitution (1995) and the Land Act (1998), the practice does not acknowledge these changes. It is acknowledged that culture and custom for example, continue to support inheritance of land rights to men while women's rights continue to be weak, as they are usually only enjoyed at the mercy of their male relatives (Editorial, Saturday Monitor December 2009). For quite long time, women activists have been lobbying unsuccessfully since the debate on the Land Bill in 1998 for a clause in the land law for spousal co-ownership of land. The fate of this clause has unfortunately remained uncertain because the Domestic Relations Bill (2007) which was supposed to incorporate it has since bounced back to the Executive, and some sections of the Bill became very controversial and contentious when it was presented to Parliament. Hitherto, the bill has never been passed into a law.

Masake (2011a) in Daily Monitor, equally reports that apart from the constitution, there are varied human rights instruments that are universal and act as legal guarantees for protecting individuals and groups against actions that interfere with fundamental freedoms and human dignity; notably the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, which is the only human rights treaty that affirms the reproductive rights of women, which Uganda ratified on July 22, 1985 and if only these legislations were adhered to, the situation of women would be a lot better. However, irrespective of all these legislation, women in Uganda continue to be victims of discrimination and harmful practices such as female genital mutilation, a low literacy level, which impedes their access to socio-economic activities, existence of traditional and cultural practices that discriminate against women and the girl-child, high poverty levels among women, slow pace of law reform processes, and poor access to justice. These challenges are often compounded by ignorance of their respective rights. With poverty and unawareness as driving factors, women in Uganda often fail to access

justice whenever their rights are violated. Moreover, most commercial lawyers charge exorbitant fees which most indigent women cannot afford.

3.3.2 Poverty and feminine-related ill-health

Some media reports suggest a close relationship between poverty and maternal as well as general ill-health. There are diseases that affect women especially in rural areas which are directly related to their poor status, ranging from difficulties to access health centres due to transportation problems, lack of money to buy medicine and drugs to domestic decision-making difficulties with regard to access to and utilization of maternal health care services which are usually influenced by men. Ssali (2010) in Daily Monitor reports about the distressing and shameful disease called Fistula, which is reportedly on increase among the rural women in Uganda. The article revealed that Uganda has an estimated 250,000 cases of unrepaired fistula. Medical professionals describe fistula as an injury that occurs during child birth when a woman is in labour for too long or when the delivery is obstructed in some way. The injury involves the destruction of the tissues in the woman's sexual organ, which results into uncontrolled passing of urine or feces or both (*ibid*). The affected woman develops a permanent foul smell and becomes very difficult to live with. Such women normally lose their employment and get abandoned by their spouses and relatives. This situation can be attributed to lack of access to antenatal care and emergency obstetric care. In many cases it is due to failure to get to hospital in good time because of transport difficulties since they lack enough resources to even facilitate their transport. The victims tend to live in solitude far away in rural areas, too poor to seek medical help and also too unclean to travel by public means to where they could get help. Obviously, the victims of such a disease will not appear in public because of feeling ashamed as well as fear that their daunting smell will make other people uncomfortable.

In addition to maternal ill-health, other media reports (The Editorial, Sunday Monitor (2010); Kalinaki (2010); Tacca (2011); Bareebe (2011) report about a shameful disease which is associated with poverty in Uganda. It is a plague of jiggers- a disease that is caused by the parasitic tiny itchy fleas that hide in and feed on human body parts (mainly hands and feet – fingers and toes and in extreme cases buttocks). They multiply in numbers quickly if not removed. They cause discomfort and difficulties in walking and can also result in death of the

victims. The media reports mention Busoga region in Eastern Uganda as the most jigger-infested region and describe the situation as a sign of 'biting' rural household poverty.

The Editorial, Sunday Monitor, (October 3, 2010) reported that jigger infestation is related to abject poverty in which several households in Busoga region are trapped in. Similarly, Kalinaki (2010), and Tacca (2011) state that jiggers infestation in Busoga is associated with poverty, ignorance, poor housing, poor sanitation and personal hygiene. People who share accommodation with animals which carry fleas are most vulnerable. Kalinaki (2010) describes people in rural Busoga region as 'too poor to care'.

Although jiggers affect men and women, women more than men are vulnerable. Due to their socio-culturally ascribed production and reproduction roles – farming, fetching water and firewood, cooking, caring for children, once affected by jigger disease, women become unable to fulfill these roles resulting into family's food insecurity and starvation. The situation is even worse in the female-headed households which lack additional financial support from the male partners. Also, as mentioned earlier above, the fact that female-headed households in Uganda are more susceptible to poverty, it is most likely that in Busoga region, it is the female-headed households (mostly the widows) who have poor housing conditions- staying in leaking mud and rickety grass-thatched houses or purely grass huts that attract jiggers. Besides, it is more likely that these female-headed households lack money to buy items for personal hygiene such as soap for washing and bathing, adequate clothes and beddings, among other essential things. For example, Tacca (2011) in Sunday Monitor, reports about one Kibebbere, a woman in Busoga who has become the famous host of a thousand jiggers in her toes and buttocks, making it difficult for her to walk and do household activities. The victims of jiggers can hardly participate actively in the household or community activities. Besides, their physical appearance (smelly and tattered feet, difficulty in walking) subjects them to the feeling of shame which deters them from appearing in public confidently, as Editorial, Sunday Monitor, (October 3, 2010) describes those affected by jigger disease as 'usually a laughing stock in public', hence their inevitable social exclusion.

3.3.3. Poverty and women's alternative (nasty and hazardous) means of survival

Household income poverty forces women and teenage girls into shameful and hazardous income generating activities such as prostitution. The Editorial, Saturday monitor, (July 23, 2011), reports about the prostitution business in Uganda's major towns whose trend is taking

greater heights. A chain of social problems such as household income poverty- lack of family basic needs, domestic violence, child neglect, death of parents, and parents' alcoholism are the major 'push' factors for most women and teenage girls into prostitution as 'sex workers'. The same article reports about Polar Nagayi, a 22 year-old young woman who was lured into this 'business' in 2005 at the age of 16. Naggayi was a victim of parental neglect following the loss of job in Uganda Electricity Board (UEB) by her father due to alcoholism. Her father being the sole breadwinner of the family, lack of income subjected the entire family to absolute poverty. Naggayi and her siblings dropped out of school due to lack of fees, worn torn clothes, and feeding was also becoming difficult. In a bid to look for her means of survival, Naggayi was lured by her peers into prostitution as a sexual worker in Jinja town to earn a living. In Uganda, prostitution is condemned and it is regarded as one of the anti-social behaviours, a sign of moral degeneration, and those who are indulged in it, are looked at as damned. This is evidenced by the quote from Nagayi, now a reformed sex worker under the auspices of a Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) in Uganda (Acting for Life) " ... no one respects you in this work, the 'customers' abuse you and even slap you, they expect you to be an expert in bed... You feel dirty and very low about yourself, and in public... It is a shameful and dirty business that earns dirty money" (The Editorial, Saturday monitor, July 23, 2011).

Womakuyu (2010) in the New vision also reported about a group of about 50 women at Kimbinze village on the periphery of Lomungang Mountain in Moroto district, Karamoja region- North-Eastern Uganda, who are engaged in stone quarrying 'business'. According to the report, these women brave the cold morning breeze and hot sun to harvest stones. They work for long hours of the day on dusty, snake and scorpion-infested rocks to earn a living. The money they earn is used to buy food and scholastic materials for their children.⁸

These women spend all the day looking for the rocks to excavate and crack using rudimentary tools like hand hoes. Some of them have been bitten by snakes in the rocks while others have been buried in a quarry by rocks that collapse on them. These women do not have other alternative sources of earning a living apart from this labourious, dangerous and nasty stone quarrying activity. Despite the precarious conditions in which they work, these women express determination to continue with this activity unless the government provides them alternative sources of income. "We would rather die trying to earn an income to buy food than

⁸ Although the government of Uganda introduced free universal primary education in 1997, parents are required to buy uniforms and other scholastic materials.

starve.... the government has tried to introduce modern farming in the region, but the crops die as a result of drought, so we still do not have an alternative source of income.” Ratha, a member of the women stone quarrying group said (Womakuyu (2010). The husbands of these women are jobless but they do not assist their wives in this activity. According to the Karimojong culture, men are supposed to take care of cows, while women build huts and look for food. But due to disarmament programme of the government of Uganda in Karamoja region⁹, the enemies mostly the armed bandits from Turkana and West Pokot in neighbouring Kenya have taken this advantage to rustle (steal) Karimojong’s cattle. Consequently, men have lost the animals as well as their occupation, yet many have not been trained in other alternative income-generating skills, thus they depend on their wives’ sale proceeds from the stone quarrying business which is also not enough to meet family’s basic needs.

3.4 NAADS programme a response to a gendered ‘vulnerability hypothesis’

Vulnerability is used here to refer to the likelihood of being harmed by unforeseen events or to exogenous shocks/ risks. A gendered ‘vulnerability hypothesis’ implies that women more than men are vulnerable to social risks. According to Uganda’s ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development (MGLSD, 2003, 6), vulnerability relates to lack of social security, susceptibility to risk and / or exploitation. In the context of poverty, vulnerability is a measure of resilience of individuals, households and communities to withstand any shocks or risks that might result in poverty or increased impoverishment (*ibid*). At individual level, the poor and particularly women are vulnerable because they are typically more exposed to the whole range of social risks and their adverse effects (sickness, unemployment, disability, injury, widowhood, old age, among others) and at the same time they lack risk management capacities due to the fact that they have the least access to appropriate instruments to manage social risks such as access to government provided income support, and market-based instruments like insurance, capital and factor markets (Holzmann and Jorgensen (2001, 535-537; MGLSD 2003, 6).

The special focus to women under NAADS Programme is looked at as a response to their vulnerability to poverty and poverty-attributed activities and life conditions. As mentioned above, NAADS programme aims at boosting household incomes through commercial farming.

⁹ The government of Uganda has since 2007 effected a disarmament programme, an operation to remove guns from the Karimojongs who had become a security threat in the region by using the guns to steal (rustle) cattle from the neighbouring areas.

It is also recognized that persistent gender disparities hamper agricultural productivity, economic efficiency and growth. Thus it is acknowledged that in NAADS programme, all interventions are gender-responsive and gender-focused such that both men and women benefit equally (NAADS 2000). These interventions are more articulated in the NAADS poverty and gender strategy for the delivery of improved agricultural advisory services (NAADS Secretariat 2003). The NAADS poverty and gender strategy for the delivery of improved agricultural advisory services aims at achieving gender empowerment in NAADS programme implementation process. Through its activities, NAADS attempts to enable those previously denied the ability to make strategic life choices, acquire such an ability. This means that the rural poor, and especially poor rural women and youth will increase the levels of control they have over their own lives; make their own decisions about livelihood options; and translate their chosen livelihood options into improvements in their well being.

One of the poverty and gender issues relevant to NAADS programme activities include addressing social inequalities and social exclusion- exclusion of poorer women farmers from farmer groups and farmer fora by rules about literacy and numeracy skills, or physical (house or land) and social (group membership) conditions (NAADS Secretariat 2003, 3). Other issues concern failure to support transformative change whereby local views about appropriate roles for men and women that result in overburdening of either sex and the use of these views by programme implementers to limit the opportunities made available to different categories of people. Inequity within groups whereby farmer group membership 'rules' or even 'norms' of good membership that place pressure on poorer members to conform even though they might be left more vulnerable (*ibid*). Through its activities, the NAADS programme ensures that those previously denied the ability to make strategic life choices acquire such ability. This means that the rural poor, and especially poor rural women and youth are targeted to increase the levels of control they have over their own lives; make their own decisions about livelihood options; and translate their chosen livelihood options into improvements in their well being. The NAADS programme is thus using farmer institutions as an entry point for increasing incomes by reducing the social isolation and vulnerability of poor women beneficiaries. In so doing, NAADS programme activities seem to rhyme with the Third World Women feminists who agitate for change of social order that is socio-culturally enforced and oriented towards women's marginalization in society. The campaign is focused on uplifting the status and

position of women socially, economically, and politically and increasing their well being (Mulumba 2005, 17-20).

The State Minister for Agriculture, Henry Bagire urges the government to give support to the rural women in terms of service as well as economic support since they are the ones who contribute the biggest input to the Uganda's economy in terms of agriculture (Editorial Daily Monitor (Wednesday, June 30 2010). The minister said that his ministry usually encourages the NAADS programme officials to consider women groups when distributing the farm inputs and in the health sector, pressure is put on government to construct health centres with maternity facilities in every sub county so that pregnant women do not walk more than five kilometres to access maternity service. This is done to ensure that female productivity in agriculture is maintained.

The NAADS programme also has a strong commitment to allocate sufficient funds to help women develop their farmer groups' selected enterprises. Womakuyu (2010) in the New vision for example quoted Michael Lokiru, the Moroto district NAADS programme coordinator who in response to the demands of a group of Karimojong women engaged in stone quarrying, said that the government of Uganda had released sh900m (approx. USD 300,000) for the development of modern farming in Karamoja region and women are target beneficiaries most especially those who are engaged in risky jobs to earn a living and also those without source of income at all to participate in the NAADS programme. However, it remains doubtful whether this money reaches the target beneficiaries, as most times, it is not the case in Uganda. For example Mugambe (2011) in the New vision reported about the study which was conducted by Uganda Women Entrepreneurs Association (UWEAL) which showed that although women constitute over 80% of Ugandans involved in agriculture, only about 40% benefit from money channeled through the (NAADS) because of several crippling factors. The study shows that lack of control over resources like land, lack of transparency, ignorance and untimely delivery of inputs are some of the reasons explaining the poor access to NAADS cash by women (*ibid*). Mugambe (2011) further quotes Ofong Paula, a board member at UWEAL who said that character weaknesses such as shyness and lack of confidence are also responsible for poor women's failure to articulate their issues and demand accountability from the NAADS officials and community leaders.

Recent surveys show that despite NAADS programme's effort to address gender imbalances and social exclusion in agricultural activities, the vices still exist. Editorial Daily Monitor (Wednesday, June 30 2010) reports about the findings of a research project that aimed at investing various issues facing rural farmers with emphasis on women. The study found out that in most districts there is still some imbalance in relation to gender issues because access to various services provided by government is still being dominated by men. As earlier noted above, the activities of producing the farm products are done by women but the marketing aspect is dominated by the men. Although female extension services are likely to provide advisory services to female farmers, only 12 per cent of extension workers were women, a significant constraint because more than half the country's farmers are women (*ibid*). In addition, although women out-number men in most NAADS farmer groups which is in line with the NAADS master document which emphasizes women's active participation in the NAADS programme (NAADS, 2000, 1), men occupy majority leadership positions in the farmers' forums at different NAADS Programme administrative / management levels (Mukundane 2011, 37, Oxfam (U) & FOWODE 2004, 14).

In order for women to gain from the NAADS programme amidst socio-culturally enforced limited access to and control of land resource, they have devised coping mechanisms to deal with this situation. Most women farmer groups engage in NAADS supported enterprises which do not require large pieces of land. For example Dakabera women group in Soroti district is engaged in piggery and apiary (bee keeping) (Parliament of Uganda 2007, 13). Elunya (2009) in Daily Monitor also reports about Mbale district NAADS women group which is engaged in mushroom growing. Mushroom growing was introduced by NAADS programme as one of the female farmers' enterprises in Mbale district. In Bunghoko-Mutoto, a group of thirty women is engaged in commercial mushroom growing. Several women who in the past had to rely on the meager earnings of their husbands to survive, have taken up mushroom farming and are now reaping big from the commercial mushroom farming and are making a reasonable living (*ibid*). Ayo, the women group leader said women do not need to have large acres of land to grow mushrooms. 'It is cost effective because the business can be conducted in the confines of someone's home. She said (*ibid*).

3.5 The locus of the Third world women feminism in gender and poverty-shame-social exclusion nexus

The above mentioned sets of literature that mention about women's disadvantaged position, gender imbalances in agricultural activities and other denied opportunities for women's economic breakthrough are consistent with the arguments put forward by the Third world women feminism. The proponents of this strand of feminism assert that that power embedded in socio-cultural, economic and political processes influence gender relations whereby power relations is a reflection of gender inequalities and various forms of women oppression, subjugation and domination that characterize traditional and mostly the patriarchal societies (Mulumba 2005, 20; Kabeer 2003, 6).

According to Third world women feminism, gender systems are oppressive to women in two ways. First, through unequal division of, and access to resources (including labour), and the associated ideologies, and behaviour norms; Second, through non- recognition of the 'care economy' which shapes the resources, labour and ideologies that go into the reproduction of human beings on both daily and generational basis (UNSRID, 1999, 4). It is this social injustice that characterizes the gender relations which the proponents of Third world women feminism clamour to address and usher in a new social order that considers the aspirations and status of women. This makes the arguments put forward by the Third world women feminism relevant to gender and the poverty-shame-social exclusion nexus.

It can also be said that the Third world women feminism has influenced the increase of women's agenda on political, social and economic scenes in Uganda like in many other 'Third world' or developing countries. This has been through world conferences that focus on women whose ideas and recommendations have been integrated in most Uganda's public policies / programmes. Besides, the coining of the 'twin' concepts of Gender and Development (GAD), and Women in Development (WID) which are 'brain-children' of the Third World women feminism has been vital (Mulumba 2005, 17-19). The two concepts have been widely applied and integrated to most government programme / public policy documents as well as academic programmes in the higher institutions of learning in Uganda. Women in Development (WID) is a concept which denotes an approach that advocates for women targeted interventions within the mainstream of development so as to improve their condition. On the other hand,

Gender and Development (GAD) is an approach that affirms and supports women's equal role in development. It also questions the direction of development, advocates for structural transformation, and insists on the transformation of gender relations. GAD does not mean a de-emphasis on women rather its goal is women's empowerment and equality of women and men in the reproductive as well as productive spheres (MGLSD 2007, 35; Mulumba 2005, 17-19). It is no wonder therefore that most contemporary government programmes and policies include the gender dimension as a major component of the programme / policy formulation, development and implementation as a vital cross-cutting issue. The NAADS programme is one example in which women are one of the key target beneficiaries (NAADS 2000, 1).

CHAPTER FOUR

4. The above chapters 1, 2 and 3 have presented the conceptual, theoretical, methodology and the findings of the study respectively. This chapter (four) discusses the above presentations, makes conclusions from the findings and recommendations for policy actions.

4.1 Discussion

The multi-dimensionality of poverty is prevalent in the findings of this study. In Uganda, poverty takes various forms ranging from lacking basic needs to incapability to function. Despite the fact that absolute poverty affects all the people regardless of age and gender, the findings of this study shows conformity with most literature that poverty is gendered whereby women are the most affected (NAADS 2000; NAADS Secretariat 2003; Kabeer 2003; Amanda 2005; CPRC 2005; 2009). The socio-cultural settings in the country are greatly responsible for making women vulnerable to poverty. This is engrained in social systems and structures with norms, customs, beliefs which buttress male dominance while on the other hand downplay the condition, position and the situation of women. Consequently women have got limited rights of access to and ownership of productive assets such as land, and other household properties, as well as lower decision making power. In Uganda, where land is a very productive resource for majority women whose livelihood is dependent on through agricultural activities, any denial or limited rights to access and own it makes them vulnerable to poverty and starvation.

The findings of this study attest the existence of the relationship between poverty, shame and social exclusion. Poverty is associated with shame as well as social exclusion. Shame in its multi-faceted forms- feeling low, unworthiness, dishonour, 'shying away', powerlessness,

humiliation, among other things, is also vivid in this study. The poor in Uganda express a feeling of shame with regard to the poverty situation they live in. This is mostly expressed in the physical appearance, the clothes they wear, the houses they sleep in, income generating activities they engage in, and the diseases they suffer from, all of which have a woman feature. Data about Jiggers- infested poor rural Busoga region, the plight of prostitutes and sex workers, the precarious situation of the Karimojong women in stone quarrying business, the Fistula disease among the women as mentioned in chapter three (Editorial, Saturday Monitor 2011; Kalinaki, 2010; Bareebe 2011; Tacca 2011), all illustrate the above assertion. The lower decision making power on the affairs that affect women, is a significant avenue for the feeling of powerlessness, and social exclusion. There are also incidences of both self-acknowledgement / judgement of shame among the poor and also public shaming which is also expressed on how the public describe the condition of the poor. This is mostly captured in government documents and newspaper articles. In these sources of data, poverty is condemned and the situation of the poor is negatively regarded as shameful.

My critical analysis of poverty-shame - social exclusion nexus basing on the findings from the newspaper articles reveals that shame seems to go beyond poverty. In some newspaper articles, the concept of shame is also associated with different other social aspects other than poverty alone. Some newspaper articles report many shaming incidences such as one being caught in such anti-social behaviors as fornication or adultery, theft, among others. However, an attempt was made in this study to focus on poverty-related shaming incidences as mentioned above.

In this study, social exclusion seems to be more associated with poverty than the way shame does. There is systematic exclusion of the poor based on social systems and structures mentioned above. The lower status accorded to women in Uganda due to socio-cultural setting increases their propensity to be poor. As Akhter *et al.* (2007) argue, social exclusion of women in aspects of socio-cultural, socio-economic and political life spheres based on traditional belief systems deprives them of opportunities that would be important to uplift their status in society. Moreover, the imbalance of gender roles at the household level in which women are confined to reproductive and care roles in addition to household chores can also be regarded as a form of structurally determined social exclusion that impoverishes them.

The anti-poverty programmes in Uganda particularly the NAADS which puts major focus on women as beneficiaries acknowledges the lower status of women and the social exclusion they have been subjected to for many decades. The programme aims at addressing the issues of gender imbalance in socio-economic setting; increasing gender equality and equity, and emancipating women from various forms of subjugation and marginalization. The NAADS programme acknowledges the fact that despite great roles in welfare and economic growth women play at the household and national level, their potential has not been fully tapped. Thus, the goal of the programme is oriented towards women's economic empowerment as an attempt to change the existing unfair socio-cultural and socio-economic order in Ugandan societies.

The NAADS programme whose aim is alleviating poverty through transforming agriculture from subsistence to commercial business, focuses on women because agriculture is the mainstay of the majority households and women do the bigger portion of agriculture work. However, as mentioned above, despite this great role, their efforts have continued to be stifled by the existing social systems and structures in the society which only provide usufruct (limited use but not ownership) rights to land- the main productive asset and factor of production in agricultural sector. The NAADS Programme's gender component thus aims at promoting gender equity and equality in agriculture sector under the umbrella of gender mainstreaming. It attempts to ensure that the aspirations of both women and men in agriculture sector are considered and harmonized. In this regard, various enterprises by the women's farmer groups have been supported the same way men's farmer groups are treated. Although farmer groups are composed of both men and women, the single sex mostly women groups' enterprises are also encouraged and supported under the NAADS programme. These include goat rearing, bee keeping, mushroom growing, art and craft industry, among others. It should however be noted that some of these enterprises such as bee keeping and mushroom growing are regarded as alternative enterprises in circumstances where women's efforts to fully access and own land resource are still futile in most societies in Uganda. Consequently, the NAADS programme supports these women groups' enterprises which do not require large pieces of land.

The NAADS programme also attempts to attract women who are engaged in hazardous income generating activities outside agricultural sector such as stone quarrying, and

prostitution / commercial sex work. The reason is that with increased funding and attempts to address imbalances in land resource use, ownership and management that push women out of agricultural sector and make them prey of these precarious ventures, the affected are attracted back to farming and do it as a business while those intending to join those risky ventures are prevented.

The NAADS programme as an anti-poverty programme seems to be in line with the Third World Women feminism. Both target the women, and aim at addressing the social injustices that trap women into poverty, shame and social exclusion. NAADS programme is also implemented in line with national programmes for gender mainstreaming, and women emancipation. My critical analysis of the NAADS programme's gender dimension shows that the programme is inspired, influenced and guided by the Third World women feminism which advocates for gender equality and equity, women emancipation and empowerment. These tenets also form focal areas in women feminist ideologies of gender and development (GAD) and women in development (WID) as they were presented in chapter three above.

4.2 Conclusions and recommendations

From the above presentations, the following conclusions can be derived. The suggested relationship between poverty, shame and social exclusion in some contemporary poverty studies seems to be prevalent in Uganda's case study. Poverty in its multi-dimensionality, more particularly in terms of absolute, and capability and functioning is associated with shame and social exclusion. The poverty-shame-social exclusion nexus has got a feminine feature. The existing socio-cultural settings on the basis of norms and customary belief systems in Uganda seem to accentuate the propensity of women to be poor. Women in different categories and mostly female-headed households are most vulnerable. Absolute income poverty conditions determine the kind of houses the poor live in, the clothes they wear, the income generating activities they engage in, and the kind of diseases they suffer from, which all form the source of shame in its multi-faceted forms- humiliation, embarrassment, 'shying away', 'hiding face', among others. These conditions and feelings are also responsible for enforced social exclusion.

In this study, it has been found out social exclusion is more associated to poverty than the way shame does. Besides, shame is not only confined to poverty conditions but it is also associated

to culprits or victims of anti-social behaviour. Rape, defilement, fornication, adultery, theft, among other things, are mentioned in the newspapers as other sources of shame in the event the culprit is caught in the act, or when the victim is publicly exposed. However, cases of poverty-related shame were the focus of the study.

The NAADS, an anti-poverty programme in Uganda is a response to gendered poverty-shame-social exclusion nexus. The programme with a broader gender dimension targeting women as key beneficiaries is oriented towards economic empowerment of women through active involvement in market-led / commercial agricultural activities that would boost their incomes and improve their well being.

The gender systems, structures, biases and forms of oppression and subordination work at many levels and are resistant to change. The unequal gender systems can impinge on the formulation, implementation, and impact of anti-poverty strategies in many ways. These aspects are key to deciphering how effective development programmes / policies and institutions are engendering their anti-poverty strategies at whichever level the institutions operate national or local. The NAADS programme has attempted to side-step the gender systems though without sufficient success. When a programme challenges gender power relations, gender concerns may have to be addressed head-on to be effective. With its emphasis on gender equity and equality, NAADS programme seems to be in line with the advocacy campaign of the Third World Women feminism which advocates for elimination of socio-cultural barriers to women's social, economic, and political progress.

There is always a discrepancy between programme / policy design, formulation and implementation. Sometimes programme plans remain merely on paper and are not fully implemented on the ground. Some anti-poverty programmes still lack elaborate gender dimension while those which have it such as the NAADS, their gender strategy still faces challenges of institutional, financial and human resources in nature, thus majority women, the key target beneficiaries may not fully benefit from these programmes. On the other hand, there seems to be anti-poverty programmes that are designed to have a wide spectrum of beneficiaries but due to the above mentioned challenges, they end up accelerating the poverty situation as well as increasing chances for social exclusion of some individuals.

In particular, the NAADS programme has not adequately addressed socio-cultural aspects that continue to keep women trapped into absolute poverty, shame and social exclusion. For example, issues of family property / assets ownership and inheritance rights mostly the land resources are still inadequately addressed. However, some of these issues go beyond the realm of the NAADS programme per se, but rather are a matter of general weakness in the legal framework in Uganda with particular regard to the National land policy and the Domestic Relations Bill.

In this thesis, I recommend that the design of the anti-poverty programmes in Uganda need to be holistic and aim to offset the conditions that intensify the poverty-shame-social exclusion nexus. In particular, the NAADS programme gender component needs to be strengthened to counteract the ‘drivers’ and ‘maintainers’ of gendered poverty. The programme needs to be strengthened to side-step the gender systems that continue to oppress and marginalize women resulting into persistent gender imbalances.

Integrated approach for multi-sectoral programme / policy design that ensures synergies between different sectoral plans, policies is very crucial. For example the NAADS programme implementation process needs to integrate the provisions of the Domestic Relations Bill and the National Land Policy that addresses resource / asset / property ownership, use and inheritance rights, among others. In so doing the socio-cultural barriers to women’s access, use, own and inherit land resources can be eliminated. The NAADS implementing authority concerned with the gender component needs to join women activists in Uganda to lobby the Parliament to expedite deliberation and passing of the Domestic Relations Bill into law (Act of Parliament). This would resolve issues to do with family asset / resource / property use, ownership and inheritance rights. In so doing, the socio-cultural barriers to women’s access, use, own and inherit land resources can be eliminated.

The NAADS programme implementing authorities at both national and local levels need to ensure that financial support ear-marked for female farmers’ enterprises reach the target beneficiaries. This would empower the women economically. Regular monitoring and evaluation of the NAADS programme’s gender strategy needs to be done to ensure the programme achieves its aims and objectives.

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