



**Dissertation By**  
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**(UGANDA)**

**GENDER DIVISION OF LABOUR AND  
DIFFERENCES IN INCOME GENERATING  
ACTIVITIES OF RURAL PEOPLE IN KALUNGU  
COUNTY IN MASAKA DISTRICT**

**(1993)**

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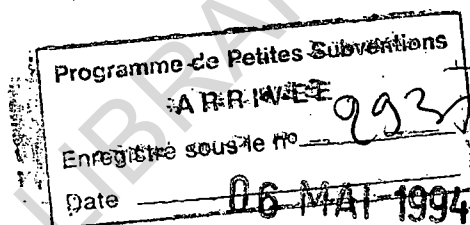
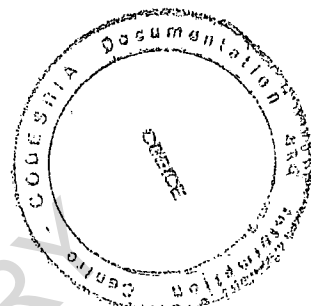
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GENDER DIVISION OF LABOUR AND DIFFERENCES IN  
INCOME GENERATING ACTIVITIES OF RURAL PEOPLE  
IN KALUNGU COUNTY IN MASAKA DISTRICT

BY MONNIE LUBEGA



DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN  
PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF REQUIREMENTS  
FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN WOMEN STUDIES

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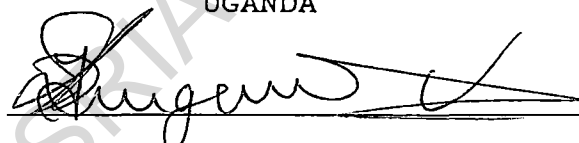
DECLARATION

I, MONNIE LUBEGA, DECLARE THAT THIS DISSERTATION HAS NOT BEEN SUBMITTED TO ANY UNIVERSITY OTHER THAN MAKERERE UNIVERSITY FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTERS OF ARTS IN WOMEN STUDIES.

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## DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my dear parents, Mr. Felix Matovu Lubega and my mother, Anyense Nassaka Matovu, without their early efforts to educate me, I would not have been in position to do this work. I dedicate it also to my two children James, G. Kiyimba, and Lillian, S. Nangonzi and my late sister, Teresa Lubega may God rest her soul in peace.

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**ABSTRACT**

This study set out to establish the reasons as to why gender division of labour has affected women's participation in income generating activities and their decision making powers over major economic issues in the household.

Existing literature, revealed that gender division of labour is very old, that although women participate in income generating activities, there are very few of them who have control over the income that comes from these activities and that the decision making powers of women are often circumscribed by customs and state laws which give men an effective control of productive assets, and reproductive relations.

However most of the Literature focuses on Urban area. There is need therefore to focus on a predominantly rural area. Marxist theory of materialism, Socialist feminist theory of women's oppression and Hirst's ideology of cultural representation were used in the analysis of the findings. Masaka District was purposively selected for the study.

The study revealed that there is gender division of labour, gender cooperation and gender conflict in the allocation of activities in the rural area. Clear demarcation of division of labour between genders is mostly observed in non-agricultural activities. Rural people use culture and marital status to enforce or deny

women participation in certain off-farm activities. It further revealed that while men spend more hours in agriculture women spend most of their time in food related provision activities. The study also found that material ownership by men is used as a factor to influence gender division of labour, that economically powerful women are ideologically believed not to make successful marriages. Thus, men maintain their marriages by limiting their wives economic progress and finally that women's power to make decisions is influenced by the type of control they have over their incomes, and by the perceived stability of their marriage.

The study made a number of recommendations, that labour saving technology and services in food processing and preparation together with improved agricultural technology be availed. Secondly that free interest loans should be made available to rural people as means of helping them to buy farm implements. Thirdly that sensitising seminars/workshops organised to enlighten rural women and men about gender issues, women's role in economic development, and also to dilute the influence of culture on women should be organised in the rural areas.

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Background:

Gender division of labour is as old as history itself. In early history of human society, we learn about men as hunters and women as gatherers. Beattie (1964) argues that in all known societies, there were and still are tasks regarded as appropriate for men and those thought suitable for women. Some of these tasks that most societies in the developing countries think are suitable for women are suckling and caring for children, and domestic responsibilities, such as cooking and house maintenance. Among those tasks that are expected to be performed by men are hunting and providing heavy manual labour. These tasks are associated with physical differences between the two sexes. However, there are others which are not physiologically determined, but are instead determined by culture. In some pastoralist cultures of East Africa, women may milk cows, while in others, they are forbidden to do so. Before the establishment of modern cash economies, most of the men and women activities were clearly defined and they were complimentary to each other. For instance, married Bahima women in Ankole (Mbarara, Bushenyi and Ntungamo Districts in Uganda) do not milk cows. They instead churn milk and care for the calves. Yet, the Masai women of Kenya and Tanzania milk cows. In other instances, men

would do heavy manual labour, like hunting and opening up of land for cultivation, while women would gather fruits and plant seeds. With the introduction of cash economies, men became predominant in the cash crop production and control, while women became more important in food production. This created sharp differentiations between cash and food production by genders. Women's role in food production continued to grow in importance. Contemporary writers Shivji (1987) and The Hunger Project (1990), stress women's role in food production and point out most activities which are subsistence in nature done by women. Shivji adds that in Bukoba District in Tanzania, most activities concerned with coffee are done by men, while those concerned with food, like the gardening of sweet potatoes, groundnuts and sorghum are done by women.

In Masaka District, the area of study, there are similar situations which pertain to gender production roles in agricultural activity. Most rural women in Masaka participant in both food and cash crop production and other domestic activities, while men mainly engaged in cash crop production. Many of the women, however, are denied control of the cash that comes from the cash crop. Instead, these financial resources are controlled by the men (Andama 1988 and UNICEF 1989). Husbands make all the economic decisions that affect the household, while the women make the decisions that concerns child care and maintaining of the home cleanliness.

In the past, men in Masaka found no problems in supporting their dependants, because of the enormous wealth they earned from coffee. From 1962-1963 for example, Robusta Coffee produced in Masaka accounted for 36.9 percent of the total county's export (Kyesimira 1969). With the fluctuating prices of primary export crops in the world market since the 1970s onwards, coffee became a less reliable and less dependable as a source of income for men in Masaka. The incomes earned were very low. Coupling this with the political instabilities of the 1970s and the 1980s, the AIDS epidemic which had claimed a number of people in their productive age, together with World Bank structural adjustment policies (i.e., the removal of subsidies from social services), life had become difficult for those people living in the rural area of the Masaka District. Hence, pressure was exerted on the existing gender division of labour and women found it necessary to take on additional activities to generate income to fill the widening gap in families' income.

### **1.3 Statement of the Problem, and Research Questions**

Gender division of labour in the household has made women over concentrate on domestic activities rather than getting involved in remunerative monetary activities outside the home.

This problem, to a greater extent has limited rural



women's chances to participate in income generating activities and economic decision making powers in the household.

In order to explore this problem fully the following research questions have been formulated.

1. Why has gender division of labour affected women's participation in both income generating activities and decision making powers over major economic issues in the household ?

2. To what extent does their marital status a hinderance to their participation in income generating activities and decision making powers over major economic issues in the household ?

3. Does being overworked affect women's participation in income generating activities ?

4. To what extent does income affect their level of investment in big ventures for purposes of generating income ?

### **1.3. Objectives:**

The following were used as objectives of the study.

1. To document the current gender division of labour and its causes.

2. To examine the extent to which rural women participate in income generating activities and assess the factors which affect their participation.

3. To establish the extent to which women's

#### **1.4 Justification of the Study:**

This current study is mainly concerned with both productive and reproductive roles of women and men in the rural areas of the Masaka District and Kalungu County in particular. It is aimed at establishing the impact of gender division of labour on women's participation in income generating activities and on their decision making powers over major economic issues in the household. A critical analysis of the circumstances under which they produce can lead to an understanding of gender specific problems, which can be of interest to both academicians and policy makers.

#### **1.5 Study Area:**

Masaka District is in Central Uganda south of Kampala as shown on the enclosed map 1.0. It is in the coffee-banana zone that skirts Lake Victoria. It has five counties which consist of Bukomansimbi, Bukoto, Kalungu, Lwemiyaga and Mawogola, plus Masaka Municipality. The study was carried out in Nende/ Kikaya R.C. 1 of Kalungu Parish and Bbaala R.C. 1 of Villa Maria Parish in Kalungu Sub-county of Kalungu County, (See Maps 2.0 and 3.0). The Nende/Kikaya R.C. 1 is approximately 4 km. from Kalungu town and about 36 km. from Masaka. Bbaala is 9.6 km. from Kalungu town and 24 km from Masaka. Nyendo and Masaka are the main urban centres that serve the hinterland of Kalungu.

Kalungu is inhabited by Baganda who are producers of coffee, bananas, cassava, sweet potatoes, maize, groundnuts, beans, sorghum, cabbages, tomatoes, onions, irish potatoes and sugar cane. Some of the households have cows, pigs and chicken. There were 76,667 men and 77,664 women in Kalungu County in 1991 (Uganda Population and Housing Census 1991). The culture that is dominant in the area is that of Baganda.

Kalungu County has red clay loams or loams-schists and a mean annual rainfall of 875 to 1250 millimetres. The mean maximum temperatures are between 25<sup>0</sup>C and 27.5<sup>0</sup>C while the mean annual minimum temperatures are 15<sup>0</sup>C.

With all that has been said, the mean farm sizes are small and equal to about 3.9 hectares (MISR 1989). The farms are usually divided into three parts. One of the plots is allocated to coffee production which is their main cash crop. The second part is planted with matooke which are their staple food and the third portion is used to produce seasonal crops. The mean crop plot sizes are small and crop yield and total production are low.

The study area is dominated by Catholics. Out of 102 informants 48 males and 56 women were Catholics and three males and one female were Protestants. The family households size can be enormous. The number of children per household varied between one and seventeen while the average number was six. This may be due to lack of family planning knowledge or strict adherence to

religious morals that do not encourage modern family planning methods.

By the time of this study, the people of the area were depending on maize flour from Eastern Uganda for food because of the general food scarcity which was prevailing following the 1992 drought of Southern Uganda.

Kalungu County has one small township called Kalungu which is an administrative centre. It has a police station, Uganda Commercial Bank, a government aided dispensary, two secondary schools, several primary schools in the nearby villages, a coffee factory, the headquarters of both the county and sub-county of Kalungu, a government prison and a post office. It offers a limited market for the locally produced food because most of the people in the area produce their own food for their domestic consumption.

The population of Kalungu town is small. According to the Census Report of 1991, the population of Kalungu town was 1381 people, of whom 607 were males and 774 were females. It therefore, offers limited market for locally produced food. Increased trade in food in Kalungu in 1992 was prompted by the general scarcity of food caused by the drought.

## 1.6 Research Organisation:

This study consists of six chapters.

Chapter One presents the background statement of the problem, objectives, the study area and research organisation.

Chapter Two reviews the literature related to the study. The literature is threefold, displaying section one on gender division of labour, section two on income generation in rural areas, and section three on decision making powers of women.

Chapter Three is the theoretical framework for this study.

Chapter Four gives the methodology used in this study. It presents the variables, methods used in sample selection, data collection and data analysis.

Chapter Five presents the results of the study in five sections. The first section gives the demographic characteristics of the informants in Kalungu. The second one analyses the gender division of labour in Kalungu county. The third part deals with the patterns of income generation. The fourth one is devoted to intra-household decision making and income control. The final part deals with cultural ideology.

Chapter Six gives the Emerging issues, conclusions and recommendations of the study. The last part of the text is the Bibliography, the Glossary, and Appendices.

## CHAPTER TWO

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### 2.1 Introduction:

The literature cited in this chapter is threefold. The first part provides information on gender division of labour, the second part deals with issues on income generation in a rural area, while the third part is concerned with decision making powers in the household. It is however, not comprehensive since there are few gender studies carried out in Uganda - and rural areas in particular.

#### 2.2 Gender Division of Labour:

As noted earlier, a number of studies have been carried out about gender division of labour in different societies (Moore, 1738; Beattie, 1964; Boserup, 1970; Cleave and Jones, 1970; Parson, 1970; Rogers, 1980; Himmerlstrand, 1985; Shivji, 1987; Tadria, 1987; and The Hunger Project, 1990). All these writers document both women and men activities in different societies, with all of them in agreement that among the major tasks performed by women in many different societies is the food provision in the home.

As early as 1738, Moore, one of the earlier travellers in Africa, writing about Gambian women states:

The crops are the properties of those who have tilled the ground, (a right which also belongs to the women)...and the women busy

cultivating the rice which I must remark is their own property; after they have set by a sufficient quantity for family use, they sell the remainder and husbands not interfering. The same custom they observe too in regard to fowl which they breed in great quantities when they can get market for them, (Moore 1738:139-4).

Moore's observation about Gambian women contribute to the knowledge that in fact division of labour is very old and that for a long time women have been responsible for food affairs in the household. However, a lot of changes do take place in the social, economic, political and educational institutions of societies, and they do affect the gender division of labour. It is now over two centuries since Moore made an observation about the Gambian women. It cannot therefore, be assumed that gender division of labour is still as it were. Division of labour between the genders is dynamic and it alters with social changes. It changed from men as hunters and women as gatherers - to both genders becoming cultivators, teachers, doctors, engineers, etc.

Among some societies where crops are grown together with animal keeping, it has been observed that women specialise in crop growing and men confine themselves to animal keeping. Himmerlstrand and Bickman (1987) observed that among the Tswana of Southern Africa, women and men strictly adhere to their gender roles. Women specialise in food production and its preparation, while the men rear cattle.

Among the Acholi and the Iteso of Northern Uganda

men used to clear land on communal basis. Lutara (1959), wrote that among the Acholi of Northern Uganda cultivation was done on communal basis by members of different villages. They would come together under what was commonly known as "Wang Kweri" headed by one man. Members would clear a big piece of open land which, in most cases, would be quite a distance away from their homes. In appreciation of their labour, members would be given food and beers. When the desired piece of land was cultivated, pieces of it were allocated to women of different households for purpose of food production. The men would also plant their own crop for famine reserve or for future supply of beer. Among the Iteso, a different pattern of gender division of labour was used. Men would open up the land individually and hand it over to the women for food cultivation, but during peak periods, like weeding and harvesting, women would call on communal labour of fellow women (Parson 1959).

Among the Baganda of Central Uganda, women are expected to collect staple carbohydrate food from their fields as needed and men are expected to earn cash necessary for purchasing of protein rich food and luxury items like sugar (Tadria 1987).

Tadria's study is very informative about the division of labour between the genders in the central region of Uganda, but her study focuses on peri-urban area of Kampala, the Capital city of Uganda. There seem



to be a different pattern of gender division of labour which exists in a predominantly rural area where people are mostly farmers and have received less influence from modernisation.

It is however, important to note that women have not always been accepting all the tasks designated to them without some reservations. Especially where they felt that there were some injustice in the allocation. Obbo (1980) asserts that women have set their own pattern of emancipation, leaving villages and settle in towns, where they can engage in market activities.

Dey (1981) observed that Gambian women decided to charge their husbands for wages for pieces of work they would do in the husbands rice fields. Payment would either be in cash, presents or in loans of irrigated pieces of land on which women can grow a crop of their own. This observation of Dey indicates how modernisation can influence allocation of tasks.

Now in earlier observations made by Moore (1738), men and women were cultivating their own separate fields. With time, men wanted to use women's labour free, but women resisted and demanded payment for their work. Similar changes had taken place in other societies, even those of Uganda. Gender division of labour seems heaviest on the side of females, because in some instances men sit and wait to be served by women. Whitehead (1991) observed that African women combine farming independently

for themselves, with work done as unpaid labourers on other people's farms. This provide two different kinds of social environment for their economic effort.

The literature presented above implies that the major causes of gender division of labour are:

1. The women's reproductive role of child bearing and upbringing. (As mothers, women would have to provide food for their children. As a result, this makes food provision to be one of the major tasks of the women. Providing food for the family takes most of the women's time, hence, limiting their chances to participate in income generating activities. Secondly, reproductive roles of child care limit women's participation in activities - those activities which take them away from their children and out of the home.)
2. Male's patriarchal power over women. (This leads to gender division of labour and heavy workload for women. It is only because women, as wives and daughters, are required to give unpaid labour where needed.)
3. Limited time is a factor. (Women have no quality time to spend on these outside activities because their household chores take up most of it.)

There is, therefore, need to document the current gender division of labour in a rural household of Uganda in order to assess the impact of reproductive roles and

the influence of patriarchy on women's participation in income generating activities/and decision making powers over economic issues in the household. Isolating factors that limit women's full participation in market production can lead to clear understanding of the problems facing the female gender. When such problems are critically examined and appropriately addressed, even economic development between the genders can be achieved.

### **2.3 Sources of Income for Men and Women in a Rural Area:**

Colonial penetration and the process of agrarian change set the beginning of cash economy in Uganda. The literature about income generation is given here in the form of a historical account - showing how different commodities at different times came to be sources of rural people's income.

Agrarian change in many African countries did not originate from the production process itself, instead, it was imposed by the state - the colonial state. Comparing the agrarian change in Turkey and Sudan, Aricanali (1990) argues that the state emerges as a central actor in the transformation of the agricultural sector of the two countries, shaping the society and agriculture much more than the indigenous process itself. In Tanzania, Fimbo (1987) asserts that the colonial state as the ultimate representative of colonial capital played a central role

in controlling, regulating and developing small production in the interest of imperialism. In Uganda, the state played a central role in the privatisation of land and making it a property and a commodity for exchange.

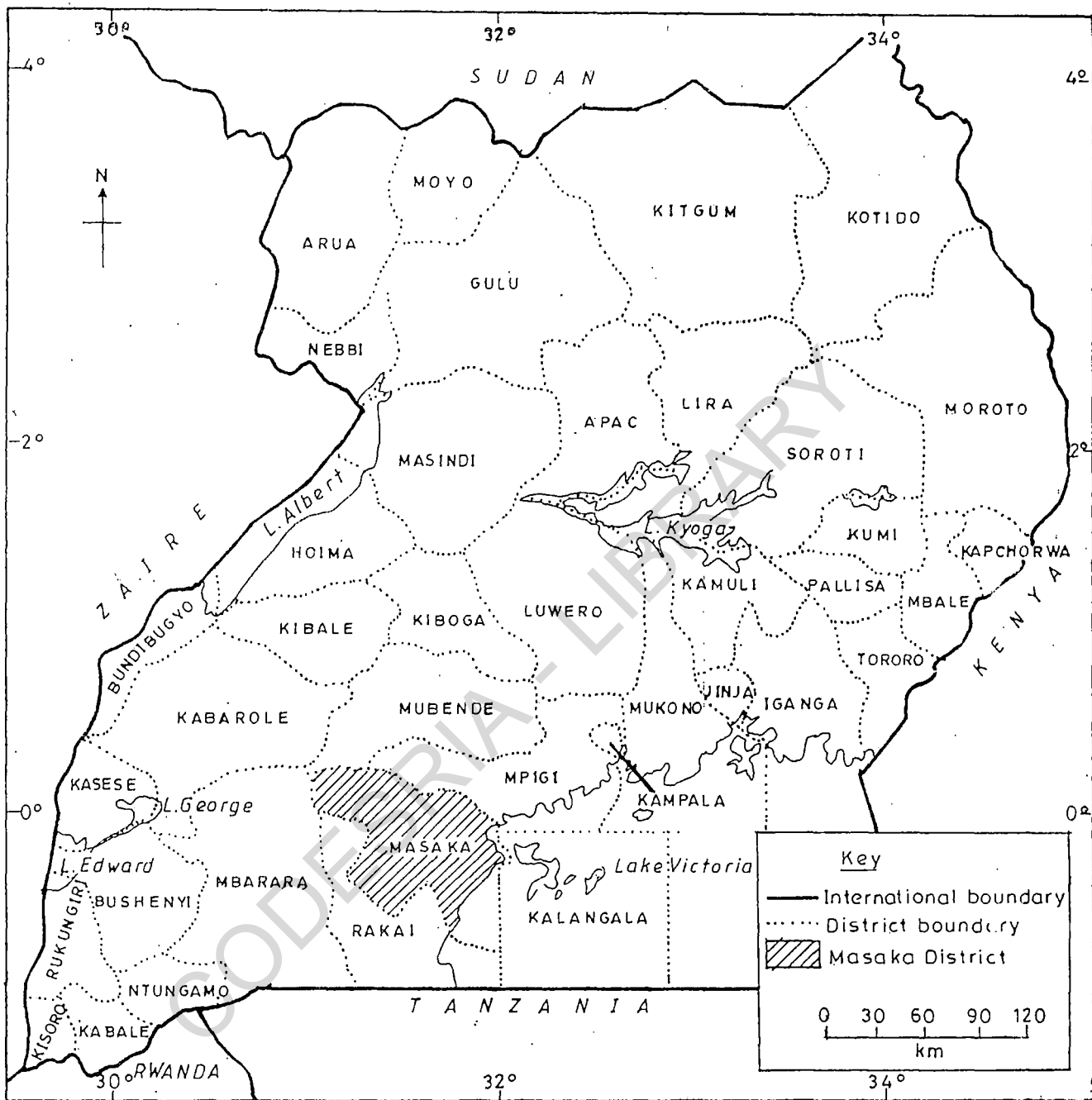
In 1900, the British made a land agreement with the Kabaka of Buganda and his council. Through this land agreement 8000 sq. miles were allocated to the Kabaka, his men and regents later came to be known as the "Mailo" land. In the same agreement, 6800 sq. miles were allocated as "Crown" land or public land. Later on, 104 sq. miles were transferred from the Crown's (public) land to churches (Mafeje, 1971). The remaining majority of the population had no land of their own, instead, they had to rent land from the landlords.

#### **2.3.1 Land as a Source of Income:**

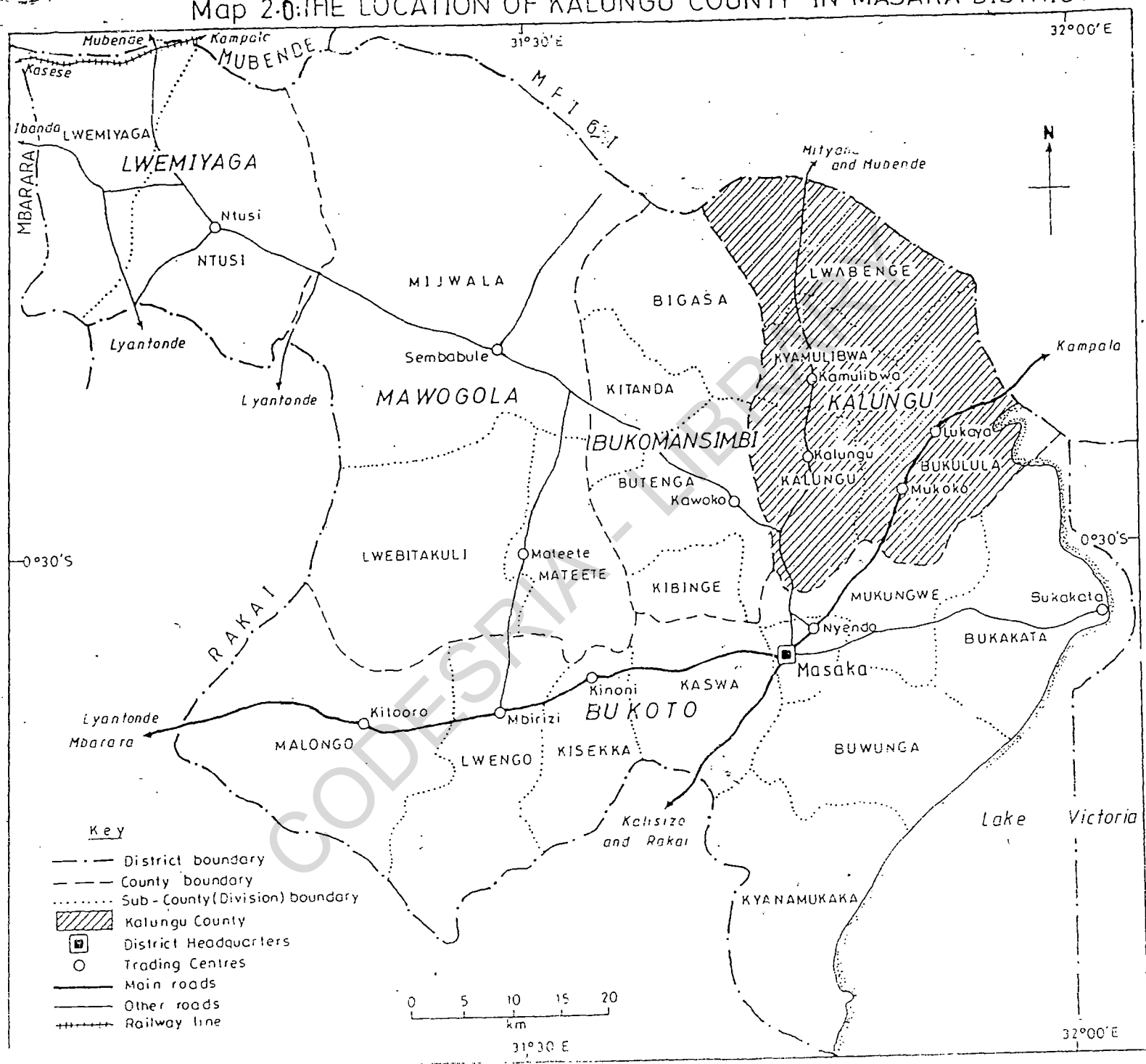
In order to rent land, the tenants had to pay a certain fee to their landlords. This fee was not fixed - it depended on the mercy of the landlords. Tenants not only had to pay a fee for the piece of land they held, but for the crops they produced on it. Landlords grew into a renter class. Incomes from their land was enough to sustain certain landlords even when they never worked.

In 1927 another type of landholding was introduced. The colonial government passed a "Busuulu and Nvujo law," which set a standard for the fees charged by the

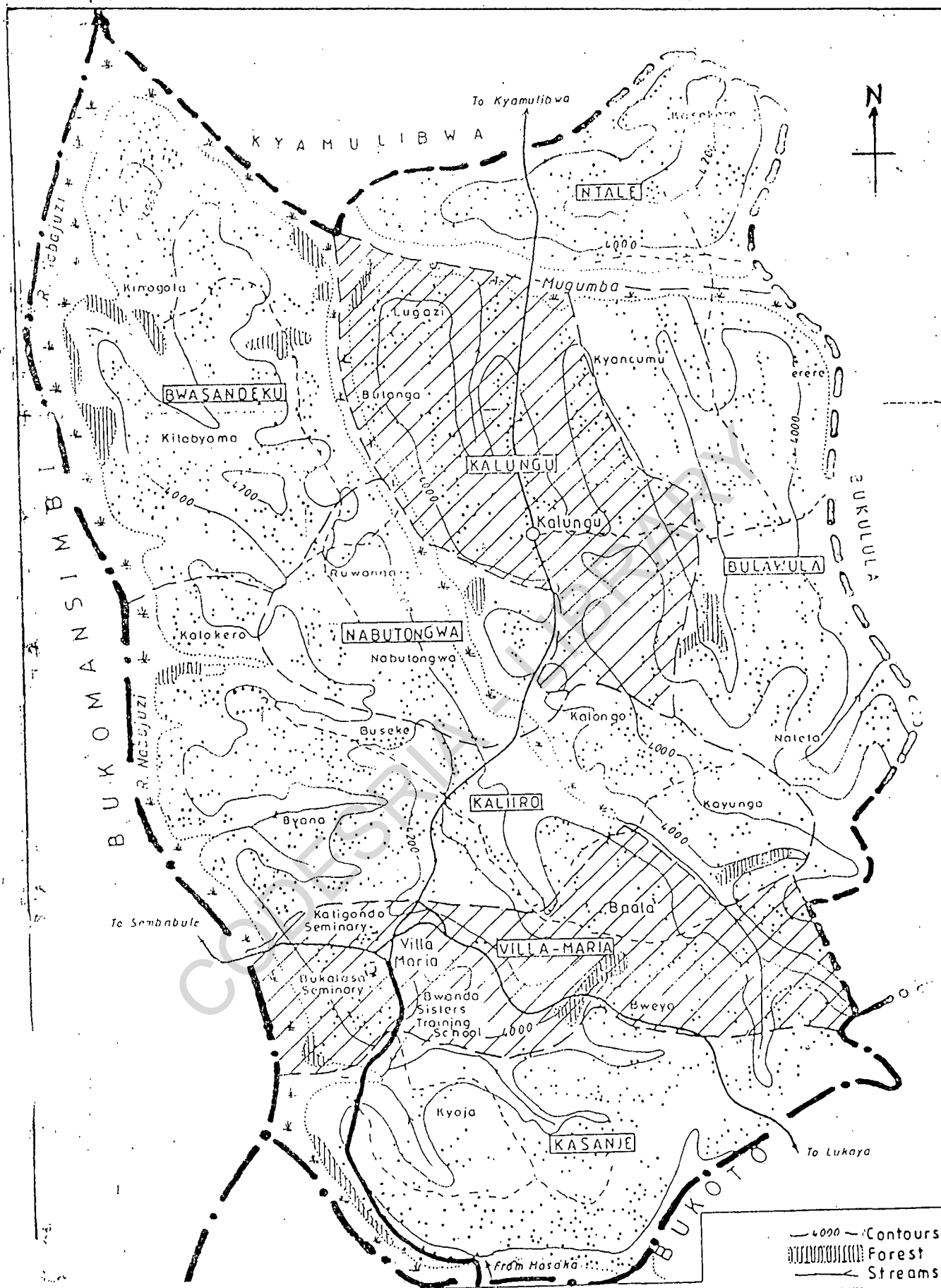
Map 1.0: THE LOCATION OF MASAKA DISTRICT IN UGANDA.



Map 2.0: THE LOCATION OF KALUNGU COUNTY IN MASAKA DISTRICT

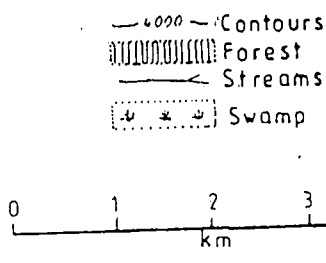


# Map 3.0: THE STUDY AREAS IN KALUNGU SUB-COUNTY.



### KEY

- County boundary
- Sub-County boundary
- Parish boundary
- Study Areas (Parishes)
- Settlements
- Tarmac road
- Murram roads
- Tracks
- Trading Centre



landlords to be fixed in both respects. The fee charged for the landholding (Busuulu) was fixed at Shs.10/=, irrespective of the size of the land, and the fee for the produce (Nvujo) was fixed at Shs.4/= per acre of cash crops - up to three acres under cultivation. Landlords were prohibited by the law to charge anything more, and if one did, he was charged in the court of law. At this time, tenants had more security of tenure and had more rights to their crops. Hence, they could derive good incomes from their produce (Mafeje, 1971). By 1951, landlords' estates were collapsing and individual farmers were the agents of agricultural progress (Fallers, 1964).

In 1966, Obote, the President of Uganda then, abolished the Busuulu and Nvujo law and Mailo land became public. But this affected only four percent of the Mailo land (Mafeje, 1971). In 1975, a decree on land reform was passed and this withdrew security of tenure from every peasant in the name of development. This made landlords become speculative. Mamdani (1988) observed that since the coming of the NRM Government to power and since security was brought to the southern region of Uganda, (which is the leading region in both food and cash crop production), many landlords were selling off their land despite the fact that the same land was being occupied by tenants.

The above literature about land as a commodity for exchange, reveals that the wealthy people in Buganda were



the only ones who benefitted from their land during the early years of colonisation. But with the passing of different laws, tenants also started benefiting and deriving incomes from their crops.

Although informative, this literature does not indicate whether there were women among the landlords who used to earn from their land. However, it was generally believed that most of the landlords were men.

Land as a source of income, either through exchanging it as a commodity, or by producing marketable crops on it, was a major productive resource. There was a need, therefore, to establish the difference in land ownership by genders in order to assess the material base, control of land resources as well as making decisions about these resources by genders.

### **2.3.2 Cash Crops:**

With a desire to raise regular flow of revenue to administer Uganda, which had become a protectorate in 1894, the British introduced cotton and coffee in 1903 after the great wars (Jameson, 1970). By 1907, farming kingdoms of the Southern and Western Uganda were producing and deriving incomes from cotton. In the same year cotton contributed 35 percent of the protectorate's export. Between 1908-1913, cotton trials were made in Teso and the government introduced a plough school at Kumi. By 1914, cotton from Teso counted for 1/3 of the total protectorate crop (Laurence, 1951).

To ensure wide scale production of cotton and other cash crops, the colonialists introduced taxes whereby Africans were either forcedly or quietly induced to produce agricultural raw material for European industries (Prah, 1985). By 1914, poll tax obligation of male adults in Uganda was raised from Shs.3/= to 5/= and chiefs were given powers to arrest any man who failed to plant 1/4 of an acre of cotton. By 1922, almost the entire household had assimilated cotton into their farming regimes (Vail, 1972 and Prah, 1985). Before 1970, Northern Uganda was producing 60 percent of the cotton, while the southern part was producing the rest as well as 90 percent coffee (Jamal, 1988). Between 1962-1963, Robusta Coffee from Masaka District alone counted for 36.9 percent of the total country's export (Kyesimira, 1969).

The above data on cash crop production, namely cotton and coffee, does not indicate who participated in the production. It is difficult to know whether women were also deriving incomes from cash crop production. However, Andama (1988) and UNICEF (1989) point out that although majority of the women in Uganda participate in cash crop production, they do not control the income that comes from it. There is, therefore, need to find out why women have no say in the money they earn or how this affects their decision making powers in the household.

Secondly, it is indicated in the history of agriculture development in Uganda that men, rather than women, were coerced in the production of cotton and coffee and this made men more confined to cash crop production during the colonial era. Now, it has been over thirty years since Uganda received its independence. There is need to find out whether the same ideology of men and women concerning control over cash crops as well as food crops still prevail.

Jamal (1988) observed that, in the 1970s, there had been a general shift of interest of the people from being predominantly traditional cash crop to mainly food crops producers. This was mainly caused by the fluctuating prices of primary exports in the world market. The three districts of Buganda, West Mengo, East Mengo and Masaka, relied on domestic trade of their food supply. Belshaw (1991), adds that urban families also took to backyard farming to ensure survival. With the increase in inflation, food crops came to rival export crops. People started to think in terms of short term profitability. They started to engage in alternative employment opportunities. Besides food crop production, they engaged in "Magendo" trading and this had driven up real wages in the rural areas.

The departure of Asians and prominent elite men in 1972 created opportunities in the modern sector. Many rural people moved to urban centres to grab the chances in the modern sector. Subsistence agriculture grew

sharply to account for 32.2 percent of the economic activity in 1977 (Belshaw, 1991) and 36 percent of the total Gross Domestic Product in 1991 (Background to the Budget 1992-1993).

### **2.3.3 Trade as a Source of Income for Women:**

Tadria (1987) observed in her study of the suburbs of Kampala, that while men transport their produce (i.e., banana leaves, jack-fruits) to markets far away from the villages to get money, women sold their produce from home. The women would sell mainly to school children, neighbours, and relatives who most of the time buy on credit. In another observation, Obbo (1991) describes how women in the city try to search for a living wage by engaging in petty trading. It was observed that these women would do several activities in order to earn a living wage. They would engage in selling food stuffs in the market during the early hours of the day. Then in the evening, they would move their stock to the roadside and sell them at cheaper prices so as to get more money to go home with by the end of the day. Other women had established saloons as a strategy of earning a living wage.

Both Tadria's and Obbo's study, though informative, they focus on peri-urban and the city itself. There is need to focus on the rural women to see what strategies they have set for income generation. Tadria, Jamal,

Belshaw, and Obbo give a good account of how people both in rural areas and towns look for alternative sources of income other than depending wholly on traditional cash crops production, which were becoming less profitable. However, from their account, it cannot be known how rural women coped with the social change in terms of income generation or the circumstances surrounding their production relations. A critical analysis of the problems they experience in the production process can lead to appropriate strategies for effective rural development benefiting both genders.

#### **2.4 Decision Making Powers and Resource Control of Women:**

Decision making powers of women are often circumscribed by customs and state laws which give men an effective control of productive assets and reproductive relations (Havnevik, K.J. et al., 1988). For example, in Swaziland like many other African countries, customary law operate side by side with modern law. Under customary law in Swaziland all meaningful property is owned by men, women are often, if not reduced to propertyless dependants who have to submit to the will of their husbands in order to survive (Women and Law in Southern Africa (article from class lecture)). Where women are dependents, their power of decision making is curtailed.

In Uganda, a similar experience is observed. Writing about Alur women of Northern Uganda, Obbo (1980) states that although women have access to the land of their husbands at marriage for purposes of food provision, they have no control over it. They cannot even sue a person for trying to take away the land they use to produce food. They, instead, look for a man to sue on their behalf.

The power of men in decision making is internalised in their cultural ideology. Tadria (1987) notes that men in Central Uganda are always the decision makers. When asked why this is the case, they would always answer "ezenkanankana ne bisiki tezaaka," meaning "two equal pieces of wood cannot start fire." In other words, it means "when husband and wife are equal partners - they cannot make a successful marriage. They believe men and women are different entities, with different perceptions, tasks, responsibilities, privileges and attributes, and these differences are by nature, God given. In addition, women believe that they are inferior and cannot be compared to men. This, therefore, explains Andama's and UNICEF's findings that women have less power over the incomes earned from cash crops, irrespective of the fact that they participate fully in its production.

From the literature given above, it can be concluded that limited decision making powers of women and their control of resources is mainly caused by customs,

traditions and cultural ideologies in general. It is the culture of the people that defines roles and positions according to the genders. With social change it is necessary to examine women's decision making powers in the household.

#### 2.5 Summary:

In summary, the literature given above indicates that gender division of labour has been existing for a long time. Men and women had specific activities, (see Himmerlstrand and Bickman 1987). It also indicates that women have been predominant in production of food for purpose of home consumption. They could sell small quantities of food when they happened to get surplus (Moore, 1738; Cleave and Jones, 1970; Shivji, 1987; Tadria, 1987). It is also indicated that men have been the major cash earners in the households, (Laurence, 1951; Vail, 1972; Tadria, 1987). However, with changes in the societal institutions in the 1970s onwards, pressure was exerted on the existing gender division of labour. Men and women started to look for alternative sources of income in order to meet their economical needs (Jamal, 1988; Obbo, 1991; Belshaw, 1991). Now men are increasingly becoming important in food production, while women are also trying to increase their market production. This has affected the traditional concept of division of labour between the genders.

Though informative, the above literature does not indicate to what extent has social changes influenced gender division of labour and to what degree women have been drawn into market production for purposes of income generation. Literature further indicates that women are marginalised by customs and traditions when it comes to decision making. It is, therefore, in the interest of this study to establish whether the women's participation in income generating activities affect their decision making powers in the household. Since most of the literature focus on urban areas, this study found it necessary to focus on predominantly rural areas where majority of the women live.



**CHAPTER THREE**  
**THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

The gender division of labour is conceived to be a product of the economics (material base) and the politics (sexual politics) of any society - at any one time in history. It is perceived to be influenced by the process of social transformation. Changes in the socio-economic, educational and political institutions can bring about changes in the gender division of labour. The past is reflected in the present through cultural ideologies by means of representation. Hirst (1981) argues that, the means of representation determine what is represented and the representation does bear a relation to something previously existed.

Marx's theory of materialism is used in this framework to explain how the material base of a society can determine productive relations. Marx asserts that, economics is the basic factor behind all significant social change and that the material base of any society's economy determines all other cultural phenomena. The premise is that social systems are based on the economics of scarcity rather than the economics of abundance. Ownership of means of production (property) by one class is the basis for exploitation of the other. The less privileged will bear all the burden of society without any of the advantages enjoyed by the others. The exploited class is excluded from the main stream of society. Consequently, prestige will be unequally

distributed and this inevitably leads to class struggle (Hobbs and Blank 1982).

Marx's theory is found significant in this present study, in the sense that it explains the relationship between the male resource owners and the female "havenots," and how this affect the division of labour between the genders. Secondly, the process of economic differentiation between the rural producers has ramification for the gender division of labour within producing households and in the wider society. For example, at one end, there is increasing land pressure, food insecurity, and loss of assets which may place greater imperatives on both men and women to break traditional roles and enter into income generation. At the other end, there is increasing land concentration, hiring of labour, ownership of valuable assets, and etc. The questions that arose for this study were:

- (i) What effect does material ownership have on the gender division of labour for a rural producer?
- (ii) What effect does it have on participation in income generation and decision making by the genders?

Although Marxist's materialism framework of analysis can accommodate gender, it, however, overlooks other factors like age, race, political power, geographical accessibility, etc. It looks at class as the principal

source of differentiations between producers, including women. The solutions which are advocated for women's liberation attracted attention of the socialist feminists. Engels, one of the advocates of Marxism, argues that class differences/exploitation is the same as women's oppression and that entry by women into the work place (labour market) would release them from the drudgery of reproductive/domestic work. They view women's integration into market economy and public sphere as a form of liberation (Gimenez, 1987). But socialist feminists do not agree with Marxists at this point. They do not believe that the entry of women in the market economy/public sphere would eliminate all forms of oppression women experience, hence, the "Socialist Feminist Theory" of women's oppression became known. The Socialist Feminist Theory of women's oppression asserts that in addition to class oppression, women are also oppressed by patriarchy. They believe gender plays a big role in women's oppression. Women, like men, can both be oppressed by class, but within class are gender relations which cannot be reduced to class terms. Men oppress women as wives and as daughters.

This Socialists Feminist Theory is also found vital in analyzing findings in this study. When we look at patriarchal influence, it is one of the main reasons why women are overburdened, fail to participate in income generating activities and fail to make decisions about

major economic issues in the household. In many instances, it is usually seen as a male prerogative to be personally served by women in the home. This increase the women's burden (workload) because men may not offer a helping hand, but will sit and wait to be served by women. Secondly, through their desire to have exclusive control over women's sexuality, men may use cultural ideology (which is ingrained into the consciousness of both men and women) to prohibit women from participating in certain activities that are thought to expose women to a wider male society or thought to give women more independence. Thus, making it difficult for the men to control them. Thirdly, married women are limited by patriarchy to make independent decisions. In most cases, they have to consult and discuss with their spouses before they could implement any decision.

From the above analysis therefore, Socialist feminists do not agree with the Marxists that women's entry into the market oriented production can improve women's status. They argue that entry into market oriented production is no guarantee of improved status or decision making powers of women, because of the interaction of class and gender oppression. Women who enter market production have to do so in the majority of cases by accepting double burden of domestic work, plus income earning work. Whilst they maybe more active in the public/market sphere, gender relations within the

domestic/private sphere still restrict/limit their decision making powers. From this analysis, there arises the following questions:

- (i) Is there any positive relationship between women's income earning and decision making powers in the household?
- (ii) What is the size of rural women's workload?

Socialists Feminist Theory helps in the analysis of the production and reproduction relations. It sees interactions between relations surrounding both the process of production and reproduction, thus linking analytically the division of labour within the domestic and the sphere of commodity exchange.

Gender division of labour, therefore, goes beyond the act of allocation of tasks/activities according to biological sex. It embodies and conveys meaning, relating to the values of particular tasks assigned to women and men on the basis of biological sex. It determines the basis for bargaining and decision making, it symbolises relations of dependence, power and etc. Thus, there is a need to go beyond materialist (objective) analysis of the gender division of labour to assess its ideological, subjective symbolic meaning for women and men. Hence, the constraints (opportunities) it places on the genders in terms of seizing market/income opportunities making them break traditional roles.

Marxist's version of materialism and its implication for the production relations between the genders, together with the socialists feminist theory of women's oppression and its version of patriarchal oppression are found to fit the analysis of this study. The gender division of labour as earlier noted, is influenced by materialism and cultural ideology. The cultural ideology gives the male gender power over the female gender in all aspects of family life. Materialism and cultural ideology goes further to influence the production relations between the genders and the decision making powers in the household.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### METHODOLOGY

#### 4.1 Introduction:

Chapter One of this study points out that gender division of labour has affected rural women's participation in income generating activities as well as their decision making powers over major economic issues in the household. This is largely because they lack time to participate in activities that can generate income and with no money, their power to make economic decisions is limited. The possible causes of this problem, as pointed out in the conceptual framework, are cultural ideology which allocate tasks according to gender, material base in terms of land, money, skills (i.e., labour), and lack of accessibility to the influence of modernisation. This study, therefore, set out to get data which could explain critically the rural women's economic position and probably be useful in the formulation of appropriate policies for women in Uganda.

#### 4.2 Variables:

Variables include, socio-demographic characteristics such as: age, marital status, number of children, levels of education and income. The other variables were concerned with gender division of labour, time allocation, participation in income generating activities, decision making powers, ownership of factors of production and cultural ideology.

These variables were chosen on the basis of their relevance to the rural people's way of life, their ability to describe the socio-cultural and socio-economic structures which affect man/woman relationship in the production process, and their effectiveness in identification of the specific problems of rural women's participation in income generating activities, decision making powers and gender division of labour. They were necessary to help in collecting data about the factors influencing division of labour, participation in income generating activities and decision making powers of the rural people over major economic issues in the household, as indicated in various sections in the text.

#### **4.3 Selection of the Study Area:**

Masaka District, which is in Lake Victoria crescent in Central Uganda, was purposively chosen for the study. Masaka is one of the major producers of both cash and food crops in Uganda, therefore, it gives a good representation of a community which is producing for both subsistence and market purposes. Secondly, because the researcher comes from this area, and is therefore, familiar with the culture and production patterns of the people in the district. Given limited time and financial resources, the researcher found it easier to overcome the problem of commuting long distances and waste of time during the data collection process.



There are five counties in Masaka District namely: Kalungu, Bukomansimbi, Mawogola, Lwemiyaga and Bukoto. Kalungu was randomly selected by use of simple random method for the study from the list of these counties. The purpose of random selection was to reduce selection biases. All the sub-counties in Kalungu county were also listed accordingly and Kalungu sub-county was randomly selected for the study.

Kalungu sub-county has eight parishes. The parishes were listed on different papers and two parishes were randomly picked, Kalungu and Villa Maria parishes. The villages which constitute the resistance council (R.C. 1) villages in the two parishes were also listed according to their alphabetic order to avoid omission. Nende/Kikaya R.C. 1 from Kalungu Parish and Bbaala R.C. 1 from Villa Maria Parish were selected randomly.

With the help of R.C. 1 chairman of each village council, the researcher compiled the list of households in each of the R.C. 1 villages. Nende/Kikaya R.C. 1 had 113 households of which 34 of them were female headed households. Bbaala R.C. 1, on the other hand, had 85 households of which 22 of them were headed by females. The reason for this classification between male and female headed households was because it was assumed that marital status of men and women was likely to influence, division of labour, decision-making powers and their participation in income generating activities.

#### 4.4 Sample Selection:

With the different categories of households in the two villages, the researcher made sampling frames. For each R.C. 1, there were three sampling frames. The sampling frame for male heads of households; sampling frame for female heads of households; and the sampling frame for females who were wives. With the use of systematic sampling with a random start, 26 male heads of households and 16 married females were selected from Kalungu parish. Because Kalungu parish had more households, it was decided by the researcher to get more informants from it. It was also decided that 25 male heads of households and 15 married females be sampled from Villa Maria. In order to have a number big enough for analysis, the researcher arbitrarily decided to chose 10 female heads of households from each of the parishes.

In the final analysis a stratified sample of 102 informants was compiled, of these, 51 were male heads of households, 31 married females and 20 were female heads of households. Given the method of data collection (in-depth interviews), this number could adequately be handled by the researcher in the given limited time. Equal numbers of men and women were selected in order to avoid gender bias in the selection. So the final unit of study was individual men and women. From this stratified sample, the researcher was able to collect views from women of different marital status. The whole sample of 102 informants was interviewed in Luganda language.

#### 4.5 Methods of Data Collection:

Given the dynamic nature of the gender division of labour in society, it was thought necessary to use in-depth interviews and focus group discussions instead of a static research instrument (i.e., questionnaire), which cannot establish the changing production relations. Secondary sources, mainly documents and observation were also used to supplement data where necessary.

**In-depth Interview:** The researcher used an interview guide (see Appendix B) to illicit information from the informants. The interview guide shows all the possible questions used although all of them were not asked exactly in the same way. These questions acted as a guide to give a researcher an opportunity to probe deeply and to uncover clues and dimensions of the problem. The informants were given a chance to narrate their experiences according to their own pace and direction. The researcher would ask questions for clarification where needed. The interviews focused on the following areas:

- Division of labour in the home;
- Participation in on-farm activities;
- Sources of income;
- Control of incomes and resources ownership; and
- Decision making powers in the home.

The informant would narrate her/his past experiences and plans. The interviews were like conversations which lasted for at least one and half hours. These interviews were tape recorded and later transcribed onto papers. A tape recorder was used for purposes of being more inclusive, but it was done only after having got permission from the informant. In the whole sample, there was not a single informant who objected the use of a tape recorder.

**Focus Group Discussions:** These were used to collect data concerning very sensitive areas and commonly held values and beliefs, concerning gender division of labour. Discussions were along the following areas:

- a) the commonly believed suitable and unsuitable activities for both men and women;
- b) control of own incomes by men and women;
- c) the gender division of labour;
- d) current market activities; and
- e) commonly experienced problems in production and marketing.

Small groups of six or seven members were organised for discussions purposes. This number is small enough to allow full participation of each member and also big enough to give a wide range of ideas and experiences. These groups were organised according to sex and age. Those above and below 45 years of age were organised in

different groups. Separation by sexes could allow free expression without fear of opposite sex. In addition, separation by age would facilitate the process of getting information and experiences at the different age levels. Focus group discussions were found very important in eliciting information on sensitive issues, like control of incomes and decision making powers in the household, since questions were not personalised, (see Appendix C for Focus Group Discussion guide).

**Secondary Sources:** For example "The Uganda Household Budget Survey of (1989-1990)," which was carried out by the Ministry of Planning and Economic Development (M.P.E.D), Background to the Budget (M.E.P.D) 1980-1983 and 1990-1992, Population Census Report (1991) and other relevant reports were used to supplement data in this study.

#### **4.6 Data Analysis:**

Data from this study has been manually analyzed by the researcher using both qualitative and quantitative methods. After data collection, the researcher transcribed all the data onto papers. In the process of doing so she developed themes and categories for purposes of analysis. Data in this study was therefore analysed categorically and thematically. General impressions from different interviews and brief extracts from

individual interviews were used in the analysis and interpretation of data. Data from focus group discussions was also organised according to themes and categories. It was used together with that from secondary sources to supplement the findings.

Qualitative analysis was mainly used on the aspect of income generation. Because of the nature of data collected under this section, it was imperative that it is analysed both qualitatively and quantitatively. Simple statistics i.e numbers, percentages and frequencies were used in this section.

In order to do this from the qualitative data collected, data was correlated according to themes and categories. In so doing, certain sections of categories developed, could easily be looked at in terms of the study variables, thus making it possible to translate them into statistical units that could therefore be applied to quantitative analysis. In other words categories can be looked at in terms of numbers and one can compare the strongly felt categories with the weak ones.

**Socio-economic Characteristics:** Informants were asked to give personal data which was thought to influence the gender division of labour, participation in income generating activities and decision making powers in the household. Thus simple statistics were compiled and

analysed qualitatively and summarised in numbers, tables and percentages and were used for further illustrations in the text.

**Gender Division of Labour:** Both men and women in the sample were asked to narrate the tasks they usually carry out from morning to bed time, plus the average time each tasks takes. A list of all activities they narrated was compiled according to their gender differences and gender cooperation. The tasks and the average time it takes to carry out each were then recorded according to their ranks, consequently, women's workload was assessed. Time spent working for each person was recorded, as well as time for leisure. The results of this study were used to spell out the gender division of labour and women's work burden.

**Patterns of Income Generation:** Selected men and women were asked to talk about their farm and off-farm sources of income. The given account was tape recorded. From their stories, the researcher was able to compile a list of their income and sources of income. The data was ranked according to the numbers of informants participating in them. The percentage or the number of responses was analysed quantitatively and data was presented in table form.

**Intra- Household Decision Making Powers:** Married men and women were asked to indicate whether they have control of own income and to show how they usually spend their money. From their answers, the type of control and decision which they could make with regards to their money was assessed. The items on which they usually spend their money were listed according to the sex of the informants and the person who makes major decisions is identified and spelt out. Factors affecting decision making were also grouped accordingly. Conclusions based on general impressions were made.

**Cultural Ideology:** In order to understand the cultural ideology, the material base of the informants and the value they attach to it was explored. Men and women were asked to indicate whether they owned land, buildings and other assets. From their responses, men and women who own resources were counted, numbers given and percentage calculated. In addition, they were asked to indicate how ownership of materials, like houses and land, affect their participation in different activities. Extracts from personal interviews and focus group discussions were used to explain the influence of cultural ideology on the gender division of labour.



#### **4.7 Problems Experienced During the Study:**

The study was carried out during the rainy season, when everybody was busy in the field. It was difficult to find the informants at home in the mornings and/or afternoons. The best time was between 11.00 am and 3.00 pm. This made the researcher spend more time in the field than expected. It was more difficult to group people together for focus group discussions than individual interviews, because many people felt that it was time consuming to move to an organised place for a discussion. The researcher had to organise focus group discussions on Sunday afternoons since majority of the people do not go to fields on that day.

The second problem experienced by the researcher was lack of transport facilities. In the villages studied, there were no public transport and even bicycle hire services were not available. The researcher had to walk long distances from her place of residence to the informants' homes. For example, the researcher resided in Kalungu town which is approximately 3-4 km to Nende/Kikaya, the village of study. Sometimes it would be drizzling or raining and she would be forced to move on foot. If she waited for the rain to stop, she would find the informants gone off to the fields.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### FINDINGS, INTERPRETATION AND DISCUSSION

#### 5.1 Socio-Economic Characteristics:

As pointed out in Chapter Three, gender division of labour goes beyond the allocation of tasks according to biological sex to meanings and values attached to these tasks. The meanings attached to these tasks can themselves be influenced by the individual characteristics. For this reason, the study set out to document the demographic characteristics of the respondents, which could influence the division of labour, participation in income generating activities and decision making powers by the genders. As indicated in Chapter Four, the total sample on which the analysis is based is 102 respondents of whom 51 are males and 51 are females.

**Ethnicity:** Ethnicity of a person can influence the cultural ideology, which in turn affect the gender division of labour, and the production relations between the genders. The ethnicity of the respondents was therefore explored and the information is summarised in Table 5.1 below.

**TABLE 5.1 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF ETHNIC GROUPS IN THE AREA OF STUDY BY SEX OF RESPONDENTS**

Ethnicity	NO.	%	Male		Female	
			NO.	%	NO.	%
Baganda	79	77.5	38	74	41	80.4
Bakiga/Banyankole	5	4.9	5	9.8	-	-
Banyarwanda	18	17.6	8	15.7	10	19.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>102</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>100</b>

Table 5.1 shows the distribution of different ethnic groups in the sample. The biggest group is that of the Baganda. It accounts for 77.5 percent of the total number of the people in the sample, 74 percent of the total number of the male and 80.4 percent of the female respondents. This is mainly because Kalungu County is one of the counties predominantly inhabited by the Baganda. The second biggest group is that of the Banyarwanda. It is 17.6 percent of the total study sample, 19.6 percent of the female and 15.7 percent of the male respondents. Banyarwanda originally come either as refugees during the early 1950s or as migrant workers from Rwanda, but with time they managed to settle. The smallest group is that of Bakiga/Banyankole. It accounts for only 9.8 percent of the total sample. It is however, worth noting that there is an absence of women in this group. This is so, because among the Bakiga and Banyankole (who are found to comprise this group) women

never came to Buganda as migrant workers. They instead remained home and waited for remittance from their husbands who occasionally came to Buganda to work for wage employment. However, some men decided to remain and settled among the Baganda. Both the Banyankole/Bakiga and Banyarwanda have assimilated the Kiganda culture. Their internalization of Kiganda culture is reflected in ways of dressing, food, funeral rights, marriage ceremonies, etc. Currently, the three different groups of people live harmoniously in the villages. For this reason therefore, Kiganda culture will be used in the analysis in this study.

**Age:** The age of the person can influence the social status in the society, the roles one plays, and the decisions one can make. Young people may or may not do certain tasks, in other words, cultural expectations and meanings attached to the tasks allocated according to biological sex may change with age. For this reason, the study documented the age of the respondents. It was found that the age of the respondents was widely distributed in the sample. It ranged from 18 to 70 years. The average age was 38 years. (See Table 5.2)

**TABLE 5.2 AGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY SEX**

Age Category	Male No.	Female No.	Total No.
15 - 19	1	1	2
20 - 24	2	2	4
25 - 29	3	5	8
30 - 34	5	7	12
35 - 39	5	5	10
40 - 44	9	9	18
45 - 49	5	5	10
50 - 54	8	4	12
55 - 59	5	1	6
60 - 64	4	7	11
65+	4	5	9
<b>Total</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>102</b>

Table 5.2 shows that the majority of the respondents are above 39 years of age. Age category 40 - 44 has the biggest number of respondents, while age category 15 - 19 has the least. This, therefore, reflects that the majority of the people in the study are adults and perhaps those whose age entitles them to make decisions on various aspects.

**Marital Status:** Marital status is thought to be one of the major variables that influence the division of labour and participation in income generating activities in the rural household.

Table 5.3 shows the marital status of the respondents in the study.

**TABLE 5.3 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MARITAL STATUS BY SEX**

Marital Status	Male		Female		Total No.	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Never Married	5	9.8	4	7.8	9	8.8
Married	41	80.4	31	60.8	72	70.6
Separated/ divorced	4	7.8	6	11.8	10	9.8
Widowed	1	2.0	10	19.6	11	10.8
Total	51	100	51	100	102	100

In this study, a person was considered married as long as she/he was living in union with a person of an opposite sex and this union had been sanctioned either traditionally or through the Church or Mosque. In addition, the two persons concerned must consider themselves as husband and wife. From the table, it is observed that 70.6 percent of the total number of the respondents were married. There were more married men than women, as it can be observed from the table above.

It was found that 80.4 percent of the male respondents as compared to 60.8 percent of the female respondents were married. The table displayed 7.8 percent of the males and 11.9 of the females in the study sample were either separated or divorced, while 2.0 percent of the males and 19.6 percent of the females were widowed.

**Education:** Education is one of the factors that influence social change. Social change can influence cultural ideology, the gender division of labour, participation in income generation, as well as decision making powers. Table 5.4 shows the levels of education among the respondents.

**TABLE 5.4 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF EDUCATION LEVELS BY SEX OF THE STUDY SUBJECT**

Education Levels	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No Education	7	13.8	14	27.5	21	20.6
Primary	30	58.8	29	55.9	59	57.8
Secondary	10	19.6	6	11.8	16	5.7
Course	4	7.8	2	3.9	6	5.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>99.9</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>102</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source:** Field Study by the Researcher.

From Table 5.4, it can be observed that 20.6 percent of the total number of the respondents received no education at all. There are twice as many illiterate women as men. In other words, it is 27.5 percent of illiterate women as compared to 13.8 percent of illiterate men. Since education is one of the factors that reduce the influence of culture, it allows people to have mobilisable skills, and a wider knowledge necessary for decision making. More women than men are likely to be tied down by lack of education. Secondly, more women than men are likely to have less skills for rural agriculture as well as less negotiating powers in the situation where tasks are allocated according to skills. Hence, they cannot bargain their terms of division of labour.

A good number of men and women got primary education, i.e. 58.8 percent and 56.9 percent respectively. In Uganda, primary education is a seven years study, and leads only to limited qualifications. Besides learning how to read and write, a person cannot get a certificate that can access her/him to employment. However, one can only be promoted to secondary school education if one has successfully completed the seven years of primary education.



"Course" in this text refers to any additional education, a person can receive after completing secondary education (ordinary level) which takes four years after primary education. A course can be in teaching, clerical or carpentry, etc. There are four men and two women trained in skills, in different courses, mainly teaching, clerical, carpentry and building. But the number is still insignificant when compared to the total sample size.

There is only 5.9 percent of the people in the study who attained secondary education. Probably, many of those who get good passes in secondary education, leave the rural area for further education and employment and those few who remain are those who fail to continue for other careers due to different reasons.

The most significant difference that can be observed from the table is by sex. Over 60 percent of the illiterates, 37.7 percent of those with secondary education and 30 percent of those with additional education are women. Women are the minority in these given instances.

**Main Occupation:** For purposes of this study, occupation was considered a good indicator of income. For this reason therefore, respondents were asked to mention what they consider to be their main occupation. Since rural

people do a number of activities to make ends meet, the main occupation is that one on which the respondent spends most of her/his time. Time factor therefore, was a good indicator and also, if the respondent derived a greater part of her/his income from that job activity, even when she/he spends less time on it, that activity was also considered to be a main occupation. Table 5.5 below summarises what the respondents considered to be their main occupation.

**TABLE 5.5** PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MAIN OCCUPATION BY SEX OF RESPONDENTS

(Column Percentage)

Occupation	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Farmer	35	68.6	48	94.3	83	94.3
Teacher/Nurse/ Clerk	5	9.8	1	2.2	6	5.9
Builder/ Carpenter/ Mechanic	4	7.8	-	-	4	3.9
Trader	2	2.0	-	-	2	1.96
Bark-cloth Making	1	5.9	-	-	1	0.98
Tailoring	3	5.9	-	-	3	2.94
Labourer	2	3.9	1	-	2	1.96
No Job	-		1	2.0	1	0.98
<b>Total</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>102</b>	<b>100</b>

From Table 5.5 the main occupation of majority of the people in the study area is observed to be farming activity, that is 68.6 percent of the rural men and 94.3 percent of the rural women are farmers.

Activities in farming range from crop farming to animal keeping. The people grow both food and cash crops. The food crops grown include mainly bananas (the staple food of the people in the area), potatoes, cassava, beans, groundnut and maize. Cash crops include coffee, sorghum, banana for local brewing, sugar cane and other crops. It should, however, be noted that some of the food crops have become major sources of income since the traditional cash crops have continued to lose value, as noted in Chapter Two of this text. Table 5.6 below shows the chief sources of income of the people in Kalungu derived from the major economic activities.

**TABLE 5.6 AVERAGE INCOMES EARNED FROM FARMING  
ACTIVITIES IN 1991**

Source of income	Minimum Income Ug Shs.	Maximum Income Ug.Shs.
Coffee	6,300	360,000
Beans/groundnut/ sorghum/maize	10,000	90,000
Bananas (matooke)	15,000	300,000
Cassava/potatoes	5,000	5,000
Local brewing bananas	7,000	42,000
Pigs	8,000	20,000

**Source:** Field Study by the Researcher.

Table 5.6 shows that the people of Kalungu still earn more from coffee than from any other crops, irrespective of the fact that coffee selling is not as profitable as it used to be before the 1970s. The highest income from coffee earned by any one person in the study sample in the year 1991, was Ug.Shs.360,000 and the minimum was Ug.Shs.6,300 as shown in Table 5.6. Banana(matooke) is also ranking high in fetching incomes for the rural people of Kalungu County. The highest income earned from Banana (matooke) by any of the respondents was Ug.Shs.300,000 and the lowest was Ug.Shs.15,000. Other people earn from selling of cereals like beans, groundnut, maize, sorghum and soya beans. Incomes earned

from selling cereals ranged from Ug.Shs.10,000 to 42,000. A minority of the people earn from local brewing bananas, cassava and potatoes, although cassava and potatoes are mostly grown for home consumption.

Besides farming, few other people have different occupations as indicated in Table 5.5. These include doing activities like carpentry, building, bark-cloth making, tailoring, selling manual labour on other people's farms, etc. (see Table 5.5 for more details). Although the number of people participating in these jobs that require skills is small, it reflects the gender bias in the division of labour in the rural area. Skilled labour is dominated by the male gender.

**Number of Children:** The number of children and their age has a lot of implication on the gender division of labour. Many respondents who had young children under their care indicated that they had no chance of selling food for money, because most of the food produced was being consumed at household level. Yet, some of those who had older children who were away and probably working, indicated getting remittance from their children, which assisted them in either buying household needs or hiring labour to assist on the farm. For example, one woman, retired school teacher, who had two of her sons working in South Africa indicated that, the

money they use to hire labour on the farm and to buy household things and care for the sick is always sent by their sons. So having elder working children is like having invested in a business which brings in returns after a certain period of time.

**TABLE 5.7 NUMBER OF CHILDREN EVER HAD BY RESPONDENTS**

No. Of Children	Respondents	
	Male (N=51)	Female (N=51)
1 - 2	14	11
4 - 6	15	15
7 - 12	10	16
10 - 12	9	9
13 - 15	1	-
16 - 18	2	-
Total	531	203

Table 5.7 shows the number of children ever born by respondents. A total of 531 children are ever born by 102 respondents and these include only living children. The total average number of children was five and the minimum was one, while the maximum was 17 children. When this is looked at from the perspective of the sex of the respondent, the smallest number of children ever had by male respondents was one, average six and maximum 17

while the female respondents had one as the smallest number, four as their average and 10 as their maximum.

## 5.2 Gender Division of Labour

**Introduction:** As pointed out in Chapter Three, gender division of labour in this study is conceived to be a product of both the material base (economics) and gender politics of any social group or society. The relationship between men and women with their material base, interacting with the relationship between men and women in a production process result in a relationship known as gender division of labour. The resultant relationship is often observed to favour one gender while oppressing the other. Favouritism and oppression are reflected in things such as beliefs, overworking, low levels of education, and unequal partnership in marital relations, all of which affect women. The same things are often assimilated into cultural ideology and reproduced in our daily life and they influence the allocation of tasks. Cultural ideology therefore, overrules other factors in determining gender division of labour. For example in Table 5.4, it was observed that there is almost the same number of men and women with primary education. But as indicated in the following section this does not mean the same division of labour between the genders.

**Division of Labour and Levels of Education:** As already indicated in Table 5.4, the majority of men and women, that is, 57.8 percent in the study area fall in the category of primary education. Of these, 49.2 percent are women. However, the almost equal percentage of women and men with primary education does not mean equal negotiating powers in the allocation of tasks by genders. The men have, in addition, their assumed natural supremacy over women and therefore tasks are allocated in their favour. In the households, women are observed to take the biggest and additional share of all tasks under the cover of natural and normal tasks for the female gender. For instance, Table 5.8 shows the extent to which married men participate in domestic activities as observed in the study area.

**TABLE 5.8** FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF DIVISION OF LABOUR AMONG MARRIED MEN PARTICIPATING IN DOMESTIC ACTIVITIES

Activity	Participants No.	Non Participants No.
Caring for children	-	-
Cutting firewood	2	39
Cleaning house/compound	3	38
At times cook	1	40
Fetching water	3	38
Make tea	1	40



It is shown in the table that few men participate in domestic responsibilities like cooking, fetching water, bathing children, collecting firewood, etc. (see the above Table 5.8). It is assumed that these activities are natural and normal for the women. Women can perform these activities on top of other productive roles like cultivating food for both home consumption and market.

When it comes to the family farm, it has been observed that while some men with higher education could perform manual labour on their farms, they spend less hours in the field than the women. This is done in pretext that they have to give more time to other duties outside the home such as teaching, carpentry, and tailoring. To cite one example, one married woman who had primary education and married to a primary school teacher, was dissatisfied by the way gender division of labour was carried out in her household. She raised a complaint that:

My husbands digs only for one hour in the morning before he goes to school. It is me who does the rest of the digging, including planting seeds, weeding, harvesting it and picking coffee and drying it. But my husbands controls all the produce. What annoys me most is that he can neither allow me to sell banana nor beans for personal money.

This is an indication of unequal gender division of labour caused by low levels of education and magnified by

patriarchy. Where men have education they can concentrate on activities outside the home, leaving every other activities including digging to women. Yet women with education, perform duties outside a home on top of their domestic responsibilities. For example one female school teacher had to do all her domestic work, plus teaching. While men with jobs outside home can completely evade farm work by hiring labour to do their part on the farm. Gender in this case is more powerful than education in influencing task allocation.

The Table 5.9 below indicates the type of labour available on a family farm according to educational levels of the respondents.

**TABLE 5.9 TYPES OF LABOUR AVAILABLE ON THE FAMILY FARM BY SEX OF THE RESPONDENTS**

Type Of Labour	Education Levels							
	No Education		Primary		Secondary		Course	
	M N=7	F N=14	M N=30	F N=29	M N=10	F N=6	M N=4	F N=2
Work alone	4	9	4	6	1	2	-	-
Children/relatives assist	-	5	3	8	1	-	2	-
Spouse	-	1	20	12	8	1	2	1
Hired labour	1	3	5	-	3	3	-	1

Table 5.9 shows the type of labour at the disposal of each gender by education. Since majority of the rural people have primary education, it is very difficult to gauge the influence of education on the type of labour offered on the farm. The pattern through which people avail their labour on the farm seem to be similar cutting across all educational levels, although half of the women and three men with secondary education use hired labour. Probably their relatively higher level of education assists them to negotiate and bargain terms under which tasks are allocated to them. Secondly, the fact that women with secondary education are enlightened, their husbands may also be educated, thus of a higher class compared to the rest. Hence, they are probably able to hire labour because of their improved material base.

It should be noted that whereas education influences gender division of labour, gender itself plays a major part in determining male and female activities. This is mainly because with or without education, women carry out their culturally determined roles on top of other outside income generating activities. As majority of the people are of primary or no education, they have a particular concept of how tasks should be allocated and this in most cases conform to the cultural ideology which in turn advance male supremacy. This, then is in agreement with Havnevik .etal (1988) point of view that customs and

state laws give men an effective control of reproductive relations. If educated women who are usually the minority in the rural area try to advocate for an alternative division of labour in the pool of many illiterates, and with primary educated men and women, they are looked at as rebels. They are either ostracized or segregated by other members of the society. In order to be part and parcel of the society, educated or not educated women have to participate in the culturally gender defined roles.

The following section looks at areas of cooperation and conflict in the division of labour in rural areas.

### **5.3 Cooperation and Conflict in the Production Process**

#### **Marital Status and Gender Division of Labour:**

Marital status is one of the factors found to influencing division of labour between the genders. Notes of men and women of different marital status were compared and factors influencing their participation in different activities were assessed. The reasons as to why one is not participating in a particular activity were investigated and reviewed.

It was found that marital status of both men and women influence the type of tasks in which they

participate. While married men are not expected to participate in activities like cooking, the same activity is seen as normal for the unmarried ones. In the same way, there are activities seen as normal when performed by single women, yet the same activities are not expected to be performed by the married ones. For example, activities like beer selling, selling of manual labour on other people's farms and many others as may be indicated in coming sections, are normal when performed by single women, but not married ones. There are also activities which are performed on cooperative basis by both married men and women. These may include food production, caring of pigs, goats, and chicken. Herding cattle is purely a male activity.

It is regarded indecent and degrading for women to graze cattle. Through focus group discussions, where activities unsuitable for women were discussed, men strongly objected to the idea of women grazing cattle. The reasons given were that a Muganda woman should be graceful in her traditional attire, the Busuti, which women wear. It is considered indecent to see them folding their attire above their knees in order to chase cattle. Women's thighs should be covered or else other men will see them and get sexually aroused. Secondly, that women are weak, cattle can run away from them and spoil other people's crops. In Buganda, very few people

have paddocks in which they graze cattle. Many people who have cattle still follow the traditional way of driving cattle to wherever there is green pasture. Thirdly, women being a vulnerable sex, could easily be raped in the bush where they would be grazing the animals. What most Baganda men and women who own cattle do, is to hire a male person a "mulalo" who would take the cattle to graze and to drink water at the river.

Women have a different view as to why grazing cattle is unsuitable for them. They believe such activity is incompatible with their other reproductive roles like child care. They find it impossible to walk long distances, breast feeding babies on their backs and toddlers remaining at home without proper care. Both men and women look at the same problem from two different perspectives. While women see the grazing of cattle in terms of their reproductive roles, men see the same in terms of women's sexuality. Women should be graceful in order to attract men. They should not go away along distance unprotected, because other men would rape them. For this reason division of labour goes beyond the mere allocation of tasks to the meaning attached to these particular tasks. The sexual politics of any social group or society can result in what is considered the right tasks for women. The underlying value would be to

protect and control female sexuality. This supports the theoretical framework in the sense that the allocation of tasks goes beyond the observed to the meaning attached.

Men's desire to protect women's sexuality was further exhibited when men, in their focus group discussion recommended handicraft making, the activity which is mainly performed in the home as the only best activity which women should participate in. They suggested that women should do sewing, mat and basket making, the things which would make a home look good.

Traditionally among the Baganda, a woman is not expected to make bark-cloth, and also, not expected to enter the bark-cloth workshop. It is feared that if she steps over the 'Mukomago' the wooden bar on which the bark of a tree is beaten for purposes of softening it, it can bring bad omen in the household. Due to fear and superstitions women rarely enter the bark-cloth workshop. In this way therefore, culture deny equal participation of women in some activities which are considered male activities, despite the fact that women can manage these activities. In the same way, women cannot repair bicycles not because they do not know the techniques of the bicycle itself, but mainly because culturally they are not supposed to ride the bicycle. Gender division of labour therefore goes beyond the observed to the values and meanings attached to these tasks.

As indicated in Table 5.8, domestic responsibilities are mainly women's roles. Married men found participating in activities like cooking, collecting firewood or fetching water for cooking are usually despised, and in most cases, they are believed to have been bewitched by their wives. This is because a normal man who is not acting under the influence of witchcraft is not expected to do such activities which are believed to be for women.

Although married women in general are not expected to participate in activities like herding cattle, making bark-cloth, and riding bicycles, marital status further limit them from participating even in other activities, other than those mentioned above. On the other hand however, marital status enforces additional activities on women, for instance they have to serve their husband two meals a day, they have to make sure that husbands clothes are clean and many others.

Table 5.10 below shows some of the off farm activities and women's participation by the marital status.



**TABLE 5.10 PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN BY THEIR MARITAL STATUS IN OFF-FARM ACTIVITIES**

Activity	Never Married	Married	Separated/ Divorced	Widowed	Total	
	No. 4	No. 31	No. 6	No. 10	No. 51	% 100
Beer Selling	3	-	4	1	8	15.7
Selling Labour	1	-	2	1	4	7.8
Trade	-	3	4	-	7	13.7
Teacher/ Nurse	-	1	-	-	1	2.0
Handicrafts	-	1	2	-	3	5.9

**Source:** Field Study by the Researcher.

Table 5.10 indicates that 15 percent of the women participate in beer brewing and selling, but all of them are female heads of households. Married women are not expected to sell beer because it is considered degrading, and selling beer is associated with promiscuity. It is not good for married women to be associated with such behaviours. Secondly, beer in this part of the country is sold from homes. Husbands do not feel comfortable when other men frequent their homes as beer customers. When discussing activities unsuitable for women, many men in their focus group discussions said that it is not good to allow married women to sell beer because many of the

male customers may get interested in them, consequently seduce them sexually. Secondly, that women selling beer are likely to drink it, yet it is not good for women, especially married ones to drink beer.

In the same way, married women are not expected to work for other men. Many men indicated that selling agricultural labour is not good for married women, especially if they sell their labour on other men's fields. One man's views of why it is considered bad for married women to sell labour on other men's farms was:

If a woman sells labour on another man's farm or home, how sure will you be as a husband that the money she brings home is from her labour and not from her sexual favours with the other man who owns the farm ?

For this reason, all women who sold labour were female heads of households. Therefore, marxists and socialist feminists diverge at this point. While Engels, one of the advocates of marxism, argue that class differences/exploitation is the same as women's oppression, socialist feminist argue that within class differences are gender relations. Through sexualizing women's activities, husbands suppress their wives' economic progress by limiting them from selling labour on other men's farms.

As much as there is gender division of labour in the rural households, there is also gender cooperation in the tasks performed by men and women in the household. During the study, 75.6 percent of the men indicated that they participated together with their wives in food production, such as, banana plantation cultivation. During this activity, men and women work together on various tasks required in the banana plantation, such as, mulching, pruning, weeding, and uprooting of old banana stems. Where fertilizers and pesticides are used, men usually apply these chemicals either because they feel women are not qualified to do so, or because they are the ones who buy such chemicals and they feel that they can apply them better. One man talking about his time allocation said:

...Yes, I work with my wife during the rainy seasons like this. We can plant beans in the morning, but around mid-day when she is busy with other things, like food preparation, myself, I walk through the banana plantation to see what needs to be done there. Sometimes, I put in pesticides, sometimes fertilizers depending on what needs to be done.

There are different types of crops grown by the men and women of Kalungu County. See the Table below.

**TABLE 5.11 THE CROPS GROWN BY THE SAMPLED MEN AND WOMEN IN VILLA MARIA AND KALUNGU PARISH**

Crops	Villa Maria Parish		Kalungu Parish	
	Male N=25	Female N=25	Male N=26	Female N=26
Beans	18	25	25	21
Cooking bananas (matooke)	12	18	14	15
Coffee	10	3	14	5
Maize	10	15	5	6
Cassava	6	10	7	6
Groundnuts	5	15	6	15
Bananas for brewing	2	1	2	-
Peppers	-	-	1	-
Cabbages	-	-	1	-
Tomatoes	1	-	1	-
Sugar Canes	-	-	1	-
Soya beans	-	-	2	-
Irish potatoes	1	-	-	-
Onions	-	1	-	-

Table 5.11 shows the number of men and women who participate in the growing of different crops. These numbers are not mutually exclusive. They interact since men and women grow more than one type of crop.

From this table, it can be observed that there is a change from the originally known pattern of production in rural areas. Earlier writers, like Boserup (1970),

Shivji (1987) and The Hunger Project (1990), had pointed out that over 75 percent of the food and most of the agricultural activities (60 to 80 percent) which are subsistence in nature in Africa are done by women. Men and women in Kalungu Parish equally participate in big numbers in food production, although their motive of production may not be the same. When asked the reason why they grow particular crops, a total of 36 (83.7 percent) out of the 43 men and 10 or 21.7 percent of women indicated that they grow beans for both home consumption and for sale. Meaning that after they had set aside the quantities needed for home consumption they would sell the surplus. According to the study 78.3 percent of the women indicated that they grow beans mainly for home consumption. Having seen the different crops which men and women in Kalungu grow, it is high time we examined the division of labour in crop production.

**Gender Division in Crop Production:** As indicated in Table 5.11, bean growing is the activity which has attracted both male and female participation at a higher level in both parishes of study. This could be attributed to the easy work required to produce beans. Beans take a short time to grow, and they have a ready

market. It was observed during the study that production of various crops involves various activities in which men and women participate together. These crops include brewing bananas, beans, groundnuts and maize. The various activities include: clearing of land which is, in most cases, done by hired labour; planting of cereals is done by both men and women; weeding is shared between men and women, depending on the type of crop; and groundnuts are mostly weeded by women. Where crops are grown for domestic consumption, harvesting is done by women, while food crops for cash is done by both men and women.

Alternatively, men who cannot physically participate with their wives because they have other jobs/occupations outside the home, they bring money home to hire labour to assist in food production. Table 5.5 implied that about 31.4 percent of the male respondents have other occupations rather than farming, as compared to only 5.7 percent of women.

The study further established the type of labour accessible to rural women according to their marital status, as shown in Table 5.12 below.

**TABLE 5.12 TYPE OF LABOUR USED BY WOMEN BY THEIR MARITAL STATUS**

Type of Labour	Never Married (N=4)	Married (N=31)	Separated/ Divorced (N=6)	Widowed (N=10)
Alone	2	7	3	5
Relatives/ Children	-	7	2	3
Spouse	-	15	-	-
Hired Labour	2	9	-	1

**Types of Labour Accessible to Rural Women in Relation to their Marital Status:** It was found that women of different marital status have different access to labour on the farm. As shown on the above table, out of the four women who never married, two worked alone using their own hands, while the remaining two could afford to hire labour. Of the 31 married women, seven of them have access to only their own labour, while the majority have access either to the labour of their children, relatives, spouses, as well as hired labour. It was also found that nine women have access to hired labour, which could either be hired by their husbands or by the women themselves. Of the six separated women, three worked alone and two use relatives and children. Of the ten widows, five worked alone, three use relatives and children, while two are able to hire labour.

This, therefore, shows that married women seem to have a better access to the different types of labour,

and the widows and separated are in harder situation in terms of labour accessibility. In-depth interviews also revealed that women who at times are able to hire labour, irrespective of their marital status, pay in terms of food for this type of labour, while the men pay for the same using money. This observation reveals the economic gap existing among men and women, as rural women would rather exchange their food to pay for work done, instead of selling it for money to earn some income.

A critical analysis of this situation reveals the following observations: where men directly or indirectly provide labour either through physical participation or through hired labour, they control the produce. When men participate in food production, they limit the amount of a particular food crop to be consumed in the home, and they monitor the way their wives use the produce. One woman who works with her husband on a banana plantation gave the following account:

I have no money of my own and I cannot sell food, my husband would not allow. He knows what is happening in the banana plantation. He always walks through it and marks the big bunches of banana by tying a fibre around the stem. All the marked bunches are for sale. When I go in the same garden to harvest what we need for home consumption, I have to look for those small bunches which are not marked. I cannot make a mistake by cutting the marked one otherwise he would "kill" me. If there is nothing I can cut for the meal, then I either cook cassava or potatoes.



This woman's account explains why women may not be able to sell matooke for money to pay for labour, yet it may be easier for them to group more than one small bunches and negotiate for labour. As long as they have not gone to the market, they may not arouse their husbands' concern.

Alternatively, people who are willing to sell labour to women probably have no money to buy food and the only resource to rely on, is their physical labour. Thirdly, probably women have small areas where they need hired labour, hence, bunches of bananas become the easiest means of exchange. Another likely reason is that women usually have less to sell, hence looking for the market of one or two bunches of bananas becomes a problem and bartering it for labour becomes the easiest means of exchange. Another possible reason why women may not easily exchange their food for money lies in the ideology of dependence which is ingrained in their consciousness. Since ideologically, women in Kalungu believe that they should depend on their husbands for all their financial needs, probably they do not look at money as a means of solving their immediate problems. Instead, they may see the problem and think of how to solve it without money coming in their consciousness, hence barter seems to solve their problem.

It is worth noting that married women hire labour using food more than the unmarried/female heads of households. This is probably because with the use of spouse's labour more matooke is produced. As a matter of fact, small bunches of bananas are available for women to hire labour. Yet, female heads of household with their limited labour and probably limited land cannot produce enough for their home consumption and for hiring labour. The few female heads of household who hired labour indicated that at times they have to forego their own meals or have to substitute with inferior foods. In Masaka District, cassava, potatoes and yams are considered inferior food stuffs to matooke.

In general, there is a higher level of males' participation in food production in Kalungu as compared to earlier studies carried out by UNICEF (1989) in other districts. (see Table 2.0, Appendix A).

Out of the 41 married men in the sample, 75.6 percent indicated that they work together with their wives right from the time of land clearing, planting and weeding. The number of men participating falls when it comes to harvesting after having anticipated the likely surplus to come out. The crops in which high degree of males' participation observed are bananas, maize, beans, potatoes and cassava. It is, however, interesting to note that out of the 31 married women, 48.1 percent

indicated that they work physically together with their husbands while 29 percent indicated that their husbands hire labour to assist them because the husbands themselves are unable to participate physically. So directly and indirectly, a total of 77.4 percent of women are assisted by their husbands on the farm in food production. It was found that 25 percent of the married men and 22.6 percent of the married women work separately on individual farms. Although where food for home consumption is concerned, each ones garden can be a source of family food given the general level of food availability in the household. It was observed that, during food crisis like that of 1992, the role of food provision changes from women being the providers of food to men. Men were observed to run up and down looking for money and food to feed the families. It was common to hear women asking their husbands what to eat, yet in normal situation it is the vice-versa. However this did not reduce women's daily workload. They still had to run up and down looking for fire wood, water , cooking food when it was brought by their husbands and also did the rest of housework. At this juncture it is therefore necessary to examine women's workload and time allocation.

#### 5.4 Women's Workload and Time Allocation

**Time Allocation and Women's Work Load:** Both men and women in the sample were asked to narrate the activities in which they engage from the time they wake up until bed time, and the time they spend doing each activity. Although their memory for each of the activity and the time spent on each activity may not have been a hundred percent correct, it gives a general idea of how activities are carried out.

It has been revealed that more men than women spend more time in digging. Observation also supports this.

Walking through the villages, the researcher saw men working alone in the gardens late in the evening when women have gone back home to prepare evening meals. The Table 5.13 shows rural men and women's time allocation between digging and leisure.

**TABLE 5.13 TIME ALLOCATED TO DIGGING AND LEISURE FOR MEN AND WOMEN IN KALUNGU COUNTY**

Time In Hours	Digging		Leisure	
	Male No.	Female No.	Male No.	Female No.
1 - 2	2	4	2	11
3 - 4	9	22	1	3
5 - 6	14	9	19	-
7 - 8	8	3	1	-
9 -10	6	2	1	-
11-12	-	-	-	-
Total	39	40	23	14
Average Time Hrs.	6.6	5	5.6	2.4

Table 5.13 shows the different number of hours allocated by both men and women to both leisure and digging. Although recall data may not be a 100 percent correct it gives a general picture of what usually happens. A big number of women allocate four hours and below to digging, while majority of the men allocate five and above hours to digging. On average, women spend a total average time of five hours in digging, while the men spend 6.6 hours (approximately seven hours) in digging. Men, however, spent the extra hours in farming activities that could generate income. Some men were observed to be either cultivating their tomato gardens, coffee fields or digging in banana plantations where they usually get Matooke for sale.

A number of men and women have no leisure in their daily schedule. But more men 23 or 45.1 percent in the sample have an average of 5.6 (approximately six hours) daily for leisure as compared to only 14 or 27.5 percent of the women who have an average of 2.4 hours. And the women who indicated time for leisure in their daily schedule were mostly the elderly and the sick.

Majority of the married women spend an average of seven hours daily in food provision related activities. When the men go back in the field to dig for three to four hours more in the evening, majority of the women dig

for one hour and come back home to start their food provision related activities, i.e., gathering fire wood, fetching water, collecting food from the gardens and cooking, plus attending to children. No single woman in the sample indicated separated time for child care although, a number of women mentioned that in the evening they are so busy washing the children and trying to prepare and serve supper before they could go to bed. By evening, most of the women are very tired and have no time for self and self improvement activities. Narrating her daily experience, a young wife of 19 years old with a baby said:

From 7.00 am I dig with my husband up to 10.00 am. This time the baby is still sleeping. When I come back from the garden, I prepare breakfast, while my husband prepares himself to go to the market. He sells second hand clothes. I have to prepare packed lunch for him before he leaves, for he stays there a whole day. When he has left, I have to prepare lunch for myself and also I have to sell in our small shop. At times when the baby is asleep, I have to rush to the well and fetch water before she wakes up. By the time I come back, usually I find customers waiting for me. I have to attend to them. At around 2.00 pm or 3.00 pm I have to put my baby on my back and go to the garden to look for food for supper. When I come back I have to cook supper, meanwhile feeding the baby and attending to the customers. By evening I am extremely tired that I cannot even make my own garden for a separate income. Now I depend on my husband in all financial respects.

This woman account reveals that although women unlike men dig for fewer hours, they hardly have time for rest. All day long they are occupied with activities which keep them moving from one place to another, like fetching water, gathering firewood and the rest. Women who indicated leisure in their daily schedule, have shorter time about one or two hours. And this time what the women consider to be leisure in real sense is not leisure. Women instead would be doing less strenuous work like selling their beer, cooking, kindling fire or attending to children, while what men consider leisure is real leisure. They would either be resting on the bed or drinking in the bar or playing "mweso."

Leisure is influenced by both marital status and age of the person. Married men, elderly men and women and female heads of households were found to have a shorter working day than married women.

A number of elderly people indicated that they wake up late in the morning, they do not go to the garden before 8.30 am. or 9.00 am. They said, their joints ache and cold weather make them feel sick. They have to wait for the warm morning sun. Yet when it gets hot, they have to leave the garden. In the morning they mostly work for about three hours or less in the garden. In the evening they rarely go back to the gardens. They say

they feel too weak to dig in the evening. And they indicated that they usually go to bed early between 8.30 pm and 9.00 pm.

Unmarried men in the sample were mostly divorced/separated and never married. The separated men had children who could assist in food preparation, but majority of them had small ones who need supervision, while the "never" married men were staying alone. These two categories of men had to participate in both productive and reproductive activities, hence, they had less time for leisure. This was mainly because they had to fetch water, collect firewood, cook etc.

Unmarried women, unlike the married women, had less workload. In the sample, unmarried women were found to cook one big meal a day. For lunch they would be eating left over food of the previous supper with a cup of warm tea. In the morning they go to dig. When they come back at around 1.00 pm they take their tea with the left over food and rest up to 4.00 or 5.00 pm when they would go back to the garden for one hour and come back and prepare their supper. For married women, this is difficult because among the Baganda a husband is not supposed to be fed on cold meals. There is even a Kiganda saying that "eya nanyini mu teyasa ntamu," meaning that keeping the food of the head of the household warm all the time cannot break the pot.



Besides cooking two meals daily, married women have also to attend to additional demands from their husbands, like ironing for them, washing for them and at times demanding food to be served at a particular time. All these activities and demands keep a married woman on tension all the time.

Culture and patriarchy dictate terms according to which married women can allocate their time. This in the end increases women's work load. The value attached to the activity of married women providing warm meals for their husbands all the time goes beyond the physical provision of a warm meal to mean power - sexual political power. Some women in the sample indicated that some husbands absent themselves at meal times and come back late in the night. They expect their wives to wake up and watch over them while eating. This reduce the women's time for rest. The unequal gender relations that pervade the division of labour in the household are extended to the area of income generation, as it is indicated below.

### **5.5 Patterns of Income Generation**

**Sources of Income and Production Relations:** Women's economic dependence or independence, like gender division of labour, is in one way influenced by lack of decision

making powers and low levels of income which place women at the whim of the economically powerful men.

Given the level of social change in Uganda, this section sets out to establish the extent to which social change has drawn women to market production, with an aim of establishing gender difference in income generating activities. Men and women were asked to talk about indicate the activities in which they participate for purposes of generating income, the amount of money they derive from each activity per annum and the circumstances surrounding their production process.

Rural people's sources of income do not vary much between genders although the incomes themselves vary according to different sources by genders. The study found that majority of rural men and women derive their incomes from agricultural produce, like food crops and coffee. But the sale of these crops is mostly dominated and controlled by the male gender. This is probably because of the gender division of labour, which gives men power to control both productive resources like money and reproductive resources like women's labour and sexuality, in the pretext of being culturally recognised heads of household.

Although the majority of the people grow their food for subsistence purposes, after setting aside the amount

needed for domestic purposes, they sell the surplus. However, faced with a financial crisis, they can sell whatever is there even when it means missing a meal. The crops from which people at times derive incomes are the same crops indicated in Table 5.11 in this text.

The year 1992 was a year of drought and general food failure in Kalungu County and this led to a general scarcity of food in the area. Because of this, many people depended on imported foods from other districts in Uganda, thus, commercialization of food crops in this area was limited. In order to get a clear vision of peoples participation in market production by gender, 1991 was used as a year of reference. Although drought had started in Masaka District and Kalungu County in particular, some people could still sell some of their produce.

**Total Yields:** In order to get a clear picture of commercialisation of food crops, it was necessary to look at the total production. Unfortunately, it was difficult to establish the total amount of yield of particular crops from the respondents, mainly because the respondents do not keep records of either their consumption or sales, though at times they may know what is kept in the store. Since most of the crops like

bananas are harvested all year around, it was difficult to establish total annual yields given the time frame of the study. However, the Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries had carried out the National Agriculture and Livestock Census in 1990 - 1991. This data is used here to enlighten the study, (though caution was given not to use this data as hundred percent correct).

Table 1.0 in Appendix A, gives crop yields per hectare in Masaka District. Given the mean crop plot sizes indicated in the same table the expected yields from each crop are low, probably limited to that needed for home consumption.

The table below shows the expected amount of yields of different crops commonly grown per person in Kalungu County. The amount of produce indicated in the table are those expected when the crop is inter-cropped with other crops. Beans are usually inter-cropped with maize, groundnuts with maize, cassava with coffee or bananas, sweet potatoes with beans and so on.

Table 5.14 shows expected yields of different crops when planted together with others in the same garden.

**TABLE 5.14 EXPECTED YIELDS OF DIFFERENT CROPS FROM A MIXED GARDEN FOR MAJORITY OF HOUSEHOLDS IN KALUNGU**

Crops	Yields t/ha	
	First Season (t)	Second Season (t)
Maize	0.19	0.18
Sorghum	0.3	0.46
Beans	0.16	0.11
Groundnuts	0.17	0.11
Soya beans	-	0.05
Irish potatoes	0.42	0.21
Sweet potatoes	0.8	0.6
Cassava	3.02	13.10
Coffee	-	-
Bananas	6.7	-

**Source:** Calculated by the researcher using data from the National Agriculture and Livestock Census by Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries (1992).

From the above Table 5.14, it is evident that other things being equal the figures given in the table are the likely yields for farmers to get from their gardens. Since there are no clear demarcation between food crops grown for home use and for market use from the above yields, the farmers have to satisfy their dual purpose of existence. They have to set aside some quantities for subsistence and also leave some quantities for selling. (See Table 1.0 in Appendix A for expected consumption and surplus for households in Masaka District.) Comparing total production and annual expected surplus, it is evident that families have less to sell. Unfortunately, due to poor farm management and the inadequacy of labour,

few men and women can produce the expected yields. Most of the land is poor due to over cultivation and soil erosions. Yet, very few people use modern means of soil conservation due to low levels of incomes and education that prevail in rural areas. In their focus group discussions both men and women confessed that they have to cut all the trees near their gardens because monkeys which spoil their food crops hide in them. Yet they take no other precautions of soil conservation.

**TABLE 5.15 MAJOR ON-FARM SOURCES OF INCOME AND AVERAGE ANNUAL INCOME DERIVED FROM EACH BY MEN AND WOMEN IN KALUNGU IN 1991**

Source Of Income	Units	Average Amount Sold		Minimum Income Derived (sh)	Maximum Income (shs)	Total Annual Average Income (shs)
		Male N=25	Female N=5			
Coffee	(kg)	480.3 N=11	748 N=18	6,300/=	360,000/=	25,961/=
Beans/ Sorghum/ Groundnut	(debes)	1.0 N=9	5 N=1	10,000/=	90,000/=	70,589/=
Bananas	(bunches)	76.7 N=1	15 N=1	15,000/=	300,000/=	27,272/=
Cassava/ potatoes	(debes)	5 N=1	5 N=2	5,000/=	5,000/=	5,000/=
Bananas (brewing)	(bunches)	27 N=1	10 N=9	7,000/=	42,000/=	16,800/=
Pigs		2 N=1	1 N=9	8,000/=	20,000/=	14,558/=

Source: Calculated by the researcher using field data.

From Table 5.15, it is evident that very few people participated in the commercialization of different crops.

Incomes derived differ greatly from expected incomes indicated in Table 1.0 in Appendix A. This is due to many factors ranging from the drought which reduced the yield, poor farming methods and poor marketing facilities.

**Coffee:** As indicated in the table, coffee is still a major source of income for the majority of the men in the study area. Out of the 30 respondents who got incomes from coffee, 75 percent are men while 25 percent are women. This still reflects the traditional gender division of labour where the men control the cash crops and all the benefit that comes from it. A total of 32.4 percent of respondents sold and got incomes from coffee. Incomes from coffee earned by any one person varied from Ug.Shs.6,300 to 360,000 and the total annual average income was Ug.Shs.25,961. To arrive at these incomes, men and women were asked to indicate the type of produce they sold, the amount and the number of time they sold. They were also asked to indicate the particular prices at which they were selling. From their responses it was possible to calculate the average annual incomes.

Although the majority of men earned good incomes from coffee than women, the highest income was earned by a woman who grows and trades in coffee. As Obbo puts it,

women have set their own patterns of emancipation. Though women are not expected to grow coffee and cannot make long term investment on their husbands land, they are not passive. They can use other conventional means to achieve a better end. The woman who earned the maximum income from coffee is a married woman of about 50 years. She has secondary education and eleven children; five of whom have grown up and are independent while six are still under her care. This woman has a coffee plantation of her own, separate from that of her husband. When the yield is good, she can get about ten sacks out of it (a sack is equivalent to 80 kg of dry coffee). It was found that the woman maximized her income through a loan from Saving and Credit Society. She used the loan to buy more coffee from people in her village and beyond. Her educational level probably helped her to have knowledge and information about loans, hence placing her in a strong economic position. This observation supports the view that low educational levels of women affect their gender division of labour and decision making powers. Because of her economically powerful position, this woman at times hires labour to assist her on the farm and her decisions are valued by her husband. She said in her own words:



My husband does not care how much coffee I buy or how much money I get, because he knows I always help him in family needs when I have money. Now we have six children in school. Last term I paid Ug.Shs.120,000 for school fees. My husband feels great to have me as his wife. If I were like other women in this village he would not have managed the home.

As Marx puts it, prestige goes with material ownership. In the above case, we may assume that this woman's economic position earned her respect from her husband. She participates in family economic decisions, like when it comes to decide who to pay school fees and who should pay for who. She said that they always discuss such issues and agree as to what to be done.

But as socialist feminists argue, participation in market economy by women alone may not release them of household burdens. This woman, like many others in the rural area, are busy in household duties. She has to see to it that the family has enough food for home consumption, since her husband works away from home. Though at times she uses hired labour to maintain the farms, responsibilities like cooking for the family are on her shoulders. At the same time, she has to think of ways of raising money. This is a double burden. Among the Baganda, culture prohibits women from riding bicycles and in this area of the country there is no public transport in the villages. She usually walks on foot

when she is trying to make contacts with the coffee sellers. Her sons assist her to transport coffee on bicycles from where she has bought it after school. At times, she hires people to transport her coffee home, despite the fact that she has her own bicycles.

**Cereal:** The second major source of income is cereal selling. The selling of beans, groundnuts and sorghum bring in a lot of income to both men and women. However, more women than men derive incomes from cereals mostly beans and groundnuts. Out of the 19 who derived incomes from beans, 73.7 percent were women. Unfortunately, the total amount of beans sold by women accounted for only 43.3 percent of the total amount of beans sold. The average amount of cereals sold by men were 11 debes, while that of women were seven debes as shown in Table 5.15. The total annual average income earned by any of the cereal seller was Ug.Shs.70,589. The lowest income earned by any one cereals sellers was Ug.Shs.10,000 and the maximum was Ug.Shs.900,000. Since the amount of cereals sold by women was lower than that sold by the men, the women earned the minimum income. The unequal production relations between genders therefore goes as far as influencing the economic benefit that can accrue from the activities women participate in.

**Bananas:** As banana is the major staple food in the area, and since famine was at hand due to drought, very few people participated in its selling. There were nine men and two women who sold matooke in 1991, according to the level of their memory. The men sold an average of 76.7 bunches, while the women sold an average of 15 bunches a year. The amount of money derived by the different genders differed greatly. The minimum income derived from banana (matooke-food) was Ug.Shs.15,000 and it was earned by a woman. She sold about 10 bunches since they exchanged it for labour that worked for them instead of selling it for money, as earlier seen, while the maximum was earned by a man. He sold 200 bunches a year and he derived an income of about Ug.Shs.300,000 and this was the maximum income ever earned by any one person in the study. The annual average income from matooke was Ug.Shs.27,272.

Originally, banana plantation was under the responsibility of women, but as indicated in Table 5.11, the men have joined this sphere to control the economic benefit that accrue from it, hence leading to gender conflict in the production relations. This further demonstrated that class interacting with gender can lead to a situation of unequal and conflicting production relations. While men and women both produce food, banana

for example, their produce serve two different principal purposes, as observed earlier. This finally increases women's economic dependency on men.

There are two types of bananas, one for food and the second for brewing. Only one man, as indicated in Table 5.15, sold this type and two women(widows) sold banana(brewing). Due to scarcity of food, many people had turned to eating this sour type of bananas.

The annual average income derived by any one person who sold banana for brewing (mbidde) was Ug.Shs.16,800, the minimum was Ug.Shs.7,000 and the maximum was Ug.Shs.42,000. Still like in most of the sales, the men derived the maximum income and women the minimum.

**Cassava/potatoes:** These two types of food crops are considered inferior food stuffs by the people of Masaka and very few people grow them for income purposes. Instead, since banana is a type of food which cannot be stored for future use, people plant cassava and leave it there in the field until that time when banana is scarce - that is when they go and uproot for home consumption. There was only one man and one woman who sold cassava for income and each one of them derived an income of Ug.Shs.5,000 a whole year.

As pointed out by Jamal (1988) and Belshaw (1991) in Chapter Two, a shift of interest of the people from being predominantly traditional export producers to food crops has affected the allocation of activities on a family farm by gender. Unlike, in earlier studies done by Boserup (1970), Shivji (1987) and The Hunger Project (1990), there is a higher degree of male participation in food production. This is due to the desire to tap the economic benefit that can be realised from the sale of food. Hence, it can further be argued that the meaning attached to food production has different implications and values for genders. The male gender can look at food production in terms of economic benefit, while the female gender look at the same in terms of satisfying basic survival needs.

**Ownership of Animals:** Besides agricultural crops some informants kept animals. The different types of animals kept by men and women are shown in Table 5.16 below.

**TABLE 5.16 ANIMALS KEPT BY MEN AND WOMEN IN KALUNGU**

Type	Male (N=51) No.	Female (N=51) No.
Pigs	17	24
Cows	5	5
Poultry *	1	1
Goats	6	3
Bees	-	1

**Note:** Numbers in the table are just frequencies they are not exclusive because some people own more than one type of animal.

**\*Poultry:** Here it includes only chicken which are kept in a modern way.

Table 5.16 shows that the type of animals the rural men and women commonly keep are pigs. More women than men keep pigs. The same number of men and women keep cattle. There is only one man and one woman who rear modern poultry, yet almost every home keeps local chicken. Local chicken are easy to rear because they feed themselves. The owner just opens for them in the morning and they scratch around for food. In the evening they bring themselves back in the house. More men, six as compared to three women keep goats, while only one woman rears bees. But it was indicated that more women in the area who happened not to be in the sample also keep bees.

From Table 5.16 it is shown that more women than men own pigs. It is important to know why this is the case, because the means of ownership also have gender differentials. The majority of men buy most of the animals they rear, whereas the majority of the women are given these animals. In Kalungu County, there is a system where relatives and friends can give away small "she" pigs to other people to rear up - on the condition that when they grow and produce, they will share the pigs with the original owner. Many women in Kalungu and Villa Maria Parish have taken the advantage of this system (this system is locally known as "kusibira"). The "kusibira" system dictates that the person who rears up a pig shares equally with the owner. If a pig produces seven piglets, the owner of the pig takes three the person who has reared the mother pig also takes three. The seventh which in most cases has to be a "he" pig is given to the person who provided a "he" pig, which was responsible for the fertilization. The reason why women have adopted this system is that in most cases they have no money to purchase their own pigs. This system can still be used in goat rearing. But since goats, at times produce one kid, women have not taken this up. Women therefore are not always dormant, they try to change their social position although they are faced with many

constraints, husbands being one of the major constraints as we shall see in future sections in this text.

Looking at the minimum, maximum and the average annual incomes earned by men and women and given the fact that majority of the women sell small quantities of agricultural produce, it can be concluded that the majority of the women's income is lower than the average annual income. With low income, women cannot invest in other income generating activities, consequently having to wait to be given - like in the situation of pig keeping. Low levels of income increase women's dependence on men.

Pigs sell more than any other type of animals. As indicated in Table 5.15, nine women and one man derived incomes from pig selling. The maximum number of pigs ever sold by any one person was two while the rest sold one. The annual average income was Ug.Shs.14,558, the minimum was Ug.Shs.8,000 and the maximum Ug.Shs.20,000. The maximum income was earned by men. However, both men and women think of only rearing one or two pigs at a time, because it is hard to care for them.

**Off-Farm Sources of Incomes:** Besides on-farm activities, there are a number of off farm activities in which both men and women participate to get incomes. But



marital status plays a big role in the choice of off farm activities for both men and women who participate in income generation purposes.

**TABLE 5.17 OFF-FARM INCOME GENERATING ACTIVITIES**

Activity	Male (Frequencies)	Female (Frequencies)
Brewing	6	8
Sell labour (manual)	9	4
Make handcrafts	-	7
Trade	3	5
Sell pancakes	-	1
Bark-cloth making	2	-
Building/carpentry	-	-
Mechanic	4	-
Teacher/Nurse/Clerk	7	1
Butcher	2	-
Tailor	5	-

**Source:** Field Study by the researcher

From Table 5.17, it is evident that no woman participates in activities that need skills like bark-cloth making, mechanic, butchering of animals and tailoring.

With the exception of tailoring, those other named activities are considered unsuitable for women and no

woman can participate in them for purposes of income generation.

Incomes from beer selling were not easy to determine since many of the sellers said that usually they spend whatever they get out each day and none of them has ever tried to sit and calculate the incomes. Secondly, they do not keep written records. Another reason which made determining incomes from beer selling difficult is that the activity was not regular. A person could not sell everyday. The selling depended mostly on the availability of the beer itself in the area. Where people had turned brewing bananas to cooking pot, it was difficult to get beer itself. Some few women, however, said that could probably get about Ug.Shs.500 per jerrican a week, then one was likely to get Ug.Shs.4,000 a month. But many beer sellers complained that money was scarce. Most customers wanted to drink on credit. Giving credit meant that people will take long before they pay or until they get something to sell for money. If this happens, then it becomes difficult to get the capital to buy more beer. The business had to come to a stand still.

**Selling Labour:** Some men and women would sell labour on other people's farms for money. People could contract

pieces of work on other people's farms. The terms of contract differed according to the size of the work load and according to the negotiating powers of the employer and employee. Incomes derived from selling manual labour varied from Ug.Shs.1,000 to 5,000 per month. The annual average income derived by men from selling manual labour was estimated to be Ug.Shs.31,777, while that of the women was Ug.Shs.21,000. Women's contracts were in the range of Shs.1,000 to 3,000, while those of men fell between Ug.Shs.5,000 to 10,000. The differences in terms of contracts of men and women is either associated with the physical abilities between the two sexes as pointed out by Beattie (1964) or with the lack of negotiating powers on the side of women.

It was observed that women who sold labour were falling between the ages of 49 - 65 years and all of them were female heads of households. Probably, women falling under such age category do not mind about their sexuality and do not care about what men think about them. Hence selling labour becomes one of the ways of earning money.

Bark-cloth making is an activity for men. Women are prohibited by culture to even enter the bark-cloth workshop, as their entering it would bring bad luck to the family. Culture therefore, prohibits some people to participate in some activities while allowing full

participation of others. There were only two men who derived incomes from bark-cloth making and their annual average income was Ug.Shs.24,000, while their average income per month was Ug.Shs.20,000.

Seven men and one woman had professional jobs. Their income was regular and it ranged from Ug.Shs.8,000 to 20,000 per month. Their annual average income was Ug.Shs.16,666. Although there are only eight people doing professional jobs and only one of these is a woman, this gender differential shows how culture favours men in getting relatively higher education than women.

Skills like building, mechanic, carpentry and tailoring were monopolized by men in this study. Probably it is still culture that limits women from participating in these activities. Incomes derived from these activities were not easy to arrive at because, many men said that they only work when they get jobs. One can get a contract of building probably two or three times a year. Without a contract one remains unemployed. Tailors are the ones who are employed most of the time, repairing old and making new clothes. One man indicated that he can earn an income of about Ug.Shs.120,000 annually.

**Handicrafts:** Although men recommend handcraft making as the best activity which women could engage in, income from handicrafts is not forthcoming. Many women had made their mats but they had no market. One woman said she could sell about two mats a year at Ug.Shs.2,500 each. So many women are no longer interested in handcraft.

**Marital Status and Income generation:** Cereal growing in Kalungu County is a very important agricultural undertaking. The importance of this is noticed in the types of cereals such as beans and groundnuts which are grown. For instance, beans which are grow by husband and wife jointly, a portion is set aside for domestic consumption and the remainder is meant for sale. However, the woman has no control over the sale and income generated from it. In case of separate gardens, a woman is obliged to put aside some beans for home consumption first and she can sell the rest, while a man's produce in this case is mainly meant for sale, unless when there is a food crisis.

Groundnut selling is considered a good activity by majority of married rural women, although they still plant small gardens. As indicated in Table 5.17, nine respondents derive incomes from groundnuts. Of the nine respondents six are women. Married women prefer to grow groundnuts as a source of income because their husbands

rarely interfere with its growing. Groundnut growing involves a lot of activities, thus time consuming and few men want to participate in its production. Women can, therefore, control their groundnut produce without their husband's interference. Husbands do not interfere much in the crop they have not participated. Secondly, its market does not fluctuate like that of beans and it is easy to store. If the market is not good today, women can keep their groundnuts for a market in future when the market is good.

Deriving incomes from off farm activities is influenced by marital status. Married women, unlike the female heads of household, are not free to participate in some off-farm activities, as seen earlier .

**Participation in Income Generating Activities by Age of Female Respondents:** The age of women influence the choice of activities to participate in, thus limiting the choice of income generating activities. It was found that most of the young women were confined to handcraft making although this was not paying. Probably, they are limited by their spouses to participate in other most paying activities. Women who sell beer were found to be young and middle aged, their ages fell between 35 - 45. This is the age group, perhaps some had lost hope of getting married. If one still hopes to get married,

selling beer puts a stigma on her which hinders her marriage chances. Selling beer is associated with prostitution. Elderly women were found not to participate much in beer selling activity, probably because their age and appearance would not attract customers who are mostly men. Women who deal in trade were found to fall between the age category of 25 - 54 years. Probably, trade is the activity where women of all age categories can participate, provided one has the means to do so. Pig rearing was found to be the activity widely spread across all age categories with the exception of those above 54 years. This is mainly because with old age, people have no strength to gather food for the pigs.

More elderly women of 50 years and above were found to participate in groundnut selling. Probably with age, women have no immediate demands, like child care, and as a result have time to attend to income generation demands.

#### **Number of Children and Participation in Income**

**Generation:** It has been observed in this study that families with many children still under the care of parents were not involved in selling of food to earn income, but dealt in other activities like rearing pigs,

selling labour and brewing. Most families with many children indicated that they eat all the food they produce at household levels.

### 5.6 Marketing Facilities

**Methods of Marketing:** There are various methods of marketing agricultural produce in Kalungu County. Rich men and women either transport their produce to cooperative stores, Union Headquarters, or to market beyond the villages. While those who are poor and cannot afford these marketing facilities sell their produce from home. In some cases the cooperative union provide lorries to those men and women who have bigger amount of produce to transport their produce to the union stores. As a matter of fact this mainly takes care of those men and women who are well to do. This then is within Marx's argument that material ownership can gain one social prestige.

When it comes to selling of food, such as bananas, and beans, women unlike men, sell this food to the local people in the village. While the men can search for markets beyond the immediate villages, since they may have means of transport, such as bicycles. This supports Tadria's finding in the peri-urban area. Furthermore, men establish social networks in the towns in which they



organise people to buy the food from them. Women are incapable of doing this as they are rarely exposed to these social groups in the area.

Methods of marketing affect the income derived from the produce. It is observed that women are not able to accumulate a lot of income since most of the time they sell their produce through middle men. Their produce is under valued as the middlemen try to raise their profit margin. Yet the men who usually transport their produce to various markets can claim additional money for transport.

By selling from home, women are not exposed to wider market opportunities, which may be dealing in other commodities, or which may give them an idea about other types of trade from which they could earn more income. This brings rural women in Kalungu to over concentrate on agricultural produce.

### 5.7 Intra Household Decision Making Powers Over Major Economic Issues

**Introduction:** Among other things, this study set out to investigate is the extent to which rural women's participation in income generating activities affect their decision making powers over economic issues in the household. In order to investigate the decision making powers of women in the household, consideration was given to the concept of control of own income by genders. Both men and women were asked to indicate whether they control their own income or not. In this text, control was used to mean exclusive powers over using one's own income without being prevented by any other person.

#### **Marital Status, Control of Own Incomes and Decision**

**Making Powers:** It has been established by this study that marital status of women limits their control over incomes and consequently their decision making powers over major economic issues in the household. Decision making in this paper refers to the ability of making concrete decisions over economic issues. Economic issues in the household may include the buying of family essentials like salt, soap, paraffin, food, etc., as well as paying of school fees, hospital bills, buying clothing for family members and many others which require cash. It also includes making decision as to what income

generating activity to participate in. In order to get data for this section, women's incomes were investigated, their educational levels was documented, the control they have over their own income was examined and decision making powers was assessed.

As already noted, very few women participate in on-farm activities that could generate money, and where they sell some of their garden produce they sell small quantities, leading to earning low incomes. Without money, women cannot influence economic decisions. The study started by establishing the various types of control that exist in a rural household.

It was found that there are three types of control in the household. Table 5.18 below shows the different types of control of income in a rural household.

**TABLE 5.18 TYPES OF CONTROL OF INCOME BY MARRIED MEN AND WOMEN**

	Exclusive Control		Consultation Discussion		No Control		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Male	32	78	9	22	-	-	41	100
Female	19	61.3	4	12.9	8	25.8	31	100
Total	51	70.8	13	18.1	8	11.1	72	100

Table 5.18 shows that 78 percent of the married male informants and 61.3 percent of the female married informants have exclusive control over own income. It

was found that 22 percent of the male and 12.9 percent of the female informants have no exclusive control over own income. Before they use it, they have to discuss and consult the spouse, depending on the source from which the income was derived. Incomes earned from off-farm activities are in most cases the concern of the individual who has earned it. The table shows that 25.8 percent of the married female informants have no control at all over own income.

As indicated in the table, majority of the married men and women have exclusive control over own income. They can use their money without being prevented by any one person. It should, however, be noted that exclusive control has gender implications. While the men who have exclusive control do not mind whether their spouses know that they have money or not, the women who have exclusive control have to keep their money secretly from their husbands or else the money ceases to be theirs. Majority of the married women in Kalungu are of the view that, "never trust a man to the extent of letting him know what is happening in your money bag. If you do so the money ceases to be yours. If you are sure that he has no money at all, you can buy whatever you observe to be missing."

In their focus group discussion, many women agreed that when their husbands get to know that they have

money, the husbands either borrow the money from them and refuse to pay it back or they pretend to have no money at all. Consequently they direct their wives to spend whatever money they have until they are sure that they have no shillings remaining on them. Many women who find themselves in such situation are unable to plan for own income.

In situations where women control their money secretly, very few of them spend it on communal household economic needs. This is mostly because they do not want to let their husbands know that they have money as this may destruct family stability. Many men in Kalungu, ideologically believe that women in most cases are given money by men. Secondly, women do not want to spend their money on their marital homes, since they believe those homes not to be theirs. They feel that at any time they may either be forced by their husbands to leave, especially, when they husbands have married other women or by their in-laws when their husbands have died. Women therefore, keep their small savings as insurance for future time when their marriages have broken down. The rural men have in turn used it as a reason for refusing women from participating in income generating activities, because women's financial contribution is not seen. Levels of income and women's education also influence the

type of control and their decision making powers. It was found that 12.9 percent of the women who discuss money matter with, their husbands had higher income levels compared to the income levels of other women. It ranges between Ug.Shs.120,000 to 360,000 annually. One woman who falls in this category of "consultation and discussion" said that sometimes she could make decisions without even discussing. The husband feels great to have her as his wife and he honours her decisions. The second woman who does trading within her stall said that at times her husband lends her money to boost her capital. He never dictates over her money, but they always discuss the profits and find the best way of utilising it. Sometimes her decisions over rules those of her husband and he does not mind. While the third and fourth women said that they have a common bag where they put all the money they earn. Decisions concerning money from a joint bag are also made jointly.

The remaining 25.8 percent of the women who said that they have no control of own income, said that they always have to declare the money they own to their husbands before their husbands find out by themselves. This is done in order to avoid any family problems that may arise from this. This, however, does not stop the men from dictating over the use of this money. One 31 year old married woman said:

I cannot use my own money the way I want. He usually interferes with it. Sometimes he dictates to me to use the money on prevailing needs like buying salt or paraffin. If a child is sent out of school, even when he has money, he would ask me to pay mine for the child's school fees. He cannot spend a coin of his, unless he is sure mine is finished.

Whereas this woman takes her money to buy family essentials, it is not her choice to do so. Her husband dictates over her to use the money the way he likes. So her decisions are influenced by patriarchal influences, they are dictated rather than being discussed. Where economic power cannot be utilised to gain control over women's money, men can use their socially sanctioned power. If women object, men still have yet another resource to rely on for power. This is the house. Threats of chasing women out of the houses make women bend low to the level of complying with majority of decisions made by their husbands. In addition, marriage is highly valued in rural area. Women can sacrifice anything for the sake of marriage.

Another woman (37 year old) who found it difficult to have exclusive control over her money narrated her experience.

I used to sell pancakes, but he would always be on my neck asking me to produce the money I got out of it. Sometimes I would lie to him that I sold all of them on credit. But he would search the whole house looking for it. Sometimes I would tie my

money on a piece of cloth around my waist during day times. The problem would, however, come in the evenings when it was time for bed. I had no where to hide it. One time I developed the idea of bathing outside after dark, so that I hide my money in the banana plantation. But my husband is very jealous. He started imagining me having made a plan to have sex with another man outside the house. He developed a habit of watching over me when bathing. This made the whole issue of hiding my money difficult. Now I have given up the whole idea of making pancakes. After all it was not benefiting me.

Economic power of women undermines men's socially sanctioned patriarchal power. Rural men feel respected, adored and socially powerful when women continue kneeling before them requesting for this or that. Even when they are incapable of fulfilling the requests they feel great. It is the economic power to reward, punish or withhold benefits extended to women which is culturally believed to act as a bond that holds marriages together. It is believed marriages basically depend on superior - subordinate relationship. This relationship is in turn influenced by economic materialism. Where the bond based on economic materialism is weak, men resort to ideologically based and socially sanctioned power, which is patriarchy. Through patriarchy, men try to sexualize women's activities, as a means of controlling women's economic development.



Ideally, men believe that women are sexual objects and that they use their bodies to achieve their ends. Even when a woman work and earn money, men would believe that there is a man behind her economic progress. That is why views such as "the money a woman brings home is essentially earned from her sexual relationships rather than her labour," is still held by men. Sexualizing women's activities try to create a kind of stigma attached to certain activities. That is why some activities are not done by certain categories of women.

Many husbands in a rural area feel uncomfortable when they go home and find new things being bought by their wives. They feel their power as heads of household is being undermined. In the suburbs of the area of study, was a man who cut to pieces his wife's sewing machine, on the ground that it is the source of her pride. He wanted to curtail her economic progress, because she used it to sew for money.

The above observations support the socialist feminist view that entry by women in the labour market, cannot liberate them from the oppression of patriarchy. Though women can earn independent incomes, they may not have a say in their money.

Having seen the type of control and some of the decisions women can take, it is important to examine the

ways through which women who have some relative control over own income use this income.

**Income Use by Women:** It has been observed that the nature of control women have over their income influences the selection of items on which money is spent. Table 5.19 below shows the items on which women mostly spend their incomes.

**TABLE 5.19 THE MAJOR ITEMS ON WHICH WOMEN SPEND THEIR INCOMES BY THEIR MARITAL STATUS**

Items	Never Married N = 4	Married N = 31	Separated/ Divorced N = 6	Widowed N = 10
Self only	-	15	-	-
Children's clothing and treatment	-	8	-	-
Sometime assist spouse to buy family essentials	-	5	-	-
Everything in the household	2	4	4	9
Children's education	-	4	-	-
Natal home	-	4	-	-
Always he dictates	-	3	-	-
No money to spend	-	2	-	-

**Note:** Number in the table are just frequencies with the exception of the women who spend money on self, the remaining categories interact. One woman can buy children's clothing, treat them when sick, at the same time pay school fees or at times buy household essential.

As indicated in Table 5.19 the majority of women (15 out of 31) spend own incomes on self. This is mostly because there are things which their husbands cannot provide for them, as they believe it is a waste of money. All 15 women who spent money on self have at one time either bought a new dress, shoes or vaseline.

Relatively a big number of married women, twelve of them spend their money on either children's clothing, treatment and education. While a big number of the female head of households, two of the "never married," four of the separated/ divorced, nine widows and four married women spend their incomes on everything needed in the households. The day to day running of household depends on their incomes. It was found that four women spent their incomes on natal homes, mostly because their parents need help. These women are in their second marriages, they left their children of their first marriage with their parents and need to support them. Secondly, they feel secure when their money is invested in their natal homes. If things go bad in their marriage they have some kind of insurance to fall back on - their natal homes.

**Decision Making and Participation in Income Generating Activities:** It has been observed in this study that a mere participation in income generating activities does not improve women's decision making powers in the household. Instead, the environment that prevail when men and women control their income influence the decision taken by women. Where women secretly handle their incomes, their participation in major economic issues is curtailed. They either spend money on self by buying things like vaseline or send money to natal homes. If they were to spend money on major domestic issues, like family essentials, they would be questioned how the money was raised. Secondly, when they spend money on household needs, when their sources of income, are known to be limited, their personal needs will remain unattended to forever. As a result they are forced to buy what they have been missing. Thirdly, women's and children's needs are in most cases overlooked by husbands and fathers. Hence, many women make decisions with regard to children's clothing and treatment. Probably because men are rarely at home most of the time and cannot know the seriousness of children's illness.

On the other hand, very few women pay for children's school fees, either because they feel it is not their responsibilities or because their incomes are so low that

they cannot raise such money. Very few women were found to take economic decisions in matters affecting the household. Reacting about women's lack of economic contribution in terms of cash, men in their focus group discussion pointed out that women should not participate in economic activities. They said:

Women's money is never used in their marital homes. Their money goes to their natal homes. There is, therefore no reason why men should develop headaches thinking about why women should participate in income generation. After all, their money is not seen in the home.

Further still, married women in particular, face a problem when it comes to decide whether to participate in income generating activities or to depend on husbands.

As Whitehead (1991) states:

African women farmers may be placed in a difficult and a contradictory situation in which an unavoidable choice may have to be made. They may for example have to choose between loss of autonomy and poverty. As a 'family labourer' a women will lose the autonomy of independent farming. However, she may produce more crops and more income. As an unpaid labourer for her husband she may become better off if she helps him become successful. More important, she may also feel that her children's welfare is more secure. However, in addition, a lack of control over spending and welfare decisions, as unpaid workers, women do not build up their long-term resources. The decision to do more unpaid family work may hook a woman into a dependence which leaves her very insecure at times of crisis. (p. 75)

In most cases, the way women perceive the security of their marriages, the number of young children they have and the level of awareness about equality between genders influence the choice women take. Where women perceive their marriages to be very insecure (broken marriage) and where they have fewer young children, they can easily seek for autonomy in income generation. Probably that is when women move to cities and participate in trade as Obbo (1991) observed.

#### **Levels of Income, Levels of Education and Decision**

**Making Powers:** All four women who discuss with their spouses the ways money should be used are of secondary education. Yet all the women who have no control of own income fall in either "no education" or with "primary education" category. So education of women increase their power to control own incomes and also influence decision making powers over matters affecting their incomes.

It can also be concluded that women's level of income affect their decision making powers. Women with relatively higher incomes were found to participate fully in economic decisions affecting their household. It can further be concluded that economically powerful women have their marriages more secure than the poor, because

they can confidently invest in communal family needs, instead of keeping their money secretly from their husbands.

**Control of Own Income by Age of Women:** All the women who have no exclusive control over their incomes were found to fall below the age of 45 years, thus they were young women who had spent less years in marriage. It was found that 40 percent of them were below 30 years of age, while 60 percent are between the age category of 31-45 years. It can therefore be concluded that experience in marriage and the age of women teach them tactics of controlling own income.

#### **Number of Children and Participation in Income**

**Generation:** Number of children ever born by a woman has no direct influence on the control or use of own income. Indirectly however, the number of young children a woman has can influence the level of her submissiveness. As earlier noted, many rural women feel that their husbands' homes are not their homes as they could be forced to move out. Having more than one child, makes women submissive in the sense that, they would want to stay in their husband's home to rear up their children. Probably, if it is one child, a woman could easily move out, but if

they are many children it would be difficult for her to do so. Secondly, according to the customary law of the Baganda, children irrespective of their age, remain in the custody of their fathers when the marriages break up. Because of these reasons, women tend to be submissive not to arouse the temper of their husbands or else they are made to leave their children behind. Through their conversation many women indicated that it is their children who keep them in marriages. If this is true, then it can be concluded that older women who have older children fear nothing. That is why they are assertive and can claim for their rights to control own income without fear. Many elderly women are of the view that "I know my husband well therefore I can manage him". This means that through long experience in marriage women develop ways and means of fighting for their independence.

#### **5.8 Cultural Ideology**

**The Role of Cultural Ideology in Gender Division of Labour, Participation in Income Generating Activities and Decision Making Powers:** In Buganda and Kalungu in particular, it is commonly believed by both men and women that women are men's property. Women usually leave their



parent's homes with virtually nothing to join their husband's homes. Prospective husbands are expected to own land "the Kibanja" and a house before marriage. These two are so vital that even when the husband to be has no other asset, he is culturally respected. Ownership of land and houses influence the gender division of labour, gender participation in income generating activities and decision making powers over major economic issues in the household. Material ownership therefore, is a cultural means of perpetuating unequal gender relations in the household. In order to document the extent to which material ownership influence gender relations, both men and women were asked to indicate whether they owned land and buildings. It was established that 90 percent of the male informants and 8 percent of the females informants owned land. But only 10.9 percent of the males and one woman (1.96%) owned land titles for their land holdings. The remaining majority had "kibanja" type of land holding. This is the type of land holding for which, before 1966, tenants used to pay land dues (Busuulu and Nvujo) to their landlords. But after 1966, the Busuulu and Nvujo law was abolished. In 1975, with the Land Reform Decree, all tenants lost security of tenure. This meant that a rich person can buy off all tenants in the name of development.

Although many tenants have no security of tenure, owners of Bibanja (plural) can still use their land as a commodity for exchange for development and to command cultural respect. However, the average land holding in Masaka District is limited. According to the document of the World Bank Confidential Report No. 10715 Ug. (1992), the average area cultivated per person in Masaka in 1991 was 0.34 hectares. The area cultivated is small either due to the inadequacy of land itself or due to inadequate labour to exploit the available land. Out of the 46 men who had land, seven men indicated that lack of enough land is one of the problems they face when they try to produce for both their subsistence and market. In the same way, six women also expressed the same problem. It is worth noting here that although majority of women own no land of their own, they do not see it as their immediate problem because they see it as a normal and natural way of how things should be. This is ingrained in their cultural ideology and results in the ideology of female dependency. With the exception of six women, majority of whom are female heads of household, very few married women, find limited land a problem to their development.

Among the women who indicated owning land of their own, with the exception of one woman who had a land

title, the remaining women had small plots of land. But such women are culturally stigmatised and they are called "Nakyeyombekedde" (single elderly women). They are not regarded as women, because some of them pay graduated tax, and they are known for stealing other women's husbands. Though some of them have small plots of land just enough for residential houses and small vegetable gardens, they were powerful in determining their course of action like in choosing activities to participate in for purposes of income generation. But small plots of land limited their agricultural advancement. One elderly woman who was given land by her brother, after her marriage had broken down, called the researcher out to see the boundaries of her land. Just after the veranda of the house was the boundary of her land. She said:

My land is so small. Although I am grateful to my brother for this piece of land where I put my house, I still have a problem of going around the village begging people to lend me pieces of land where I can grow food for my consumption. You know the problem with borrowed land, you cannot grow coffee and bananas on it, because at anytime the owner may wish to take his land back. Now I cannot even rear chicken, I fear, the moment I open for them, they will scratch my neighbour's gardens and this will bring me conflicts.

Lack of ownership of land limit women to plant perennial crops, and borrowed land is insecure.

### 5.9 Houses:

Besides land, men are the majority house owners in the rural area. Even the men who had no land of their own, who were just squatters had houses of their own. Separated women are the majority of those who owned houses. Out of the six separated women, three of them had their own houses, (among the women there were only four women who had own houses.)

Most of the houses in the area were family houses used for residential purposes. Each house owner had built his/her house on his/her land, surrounded by coffee, banana plantations and other food gardens. Most of these houses were semi-permanent and made out of mud bricks, wattle, and roofed with either corrugated iron sheets or thatched with grass. The sizes and the quality of the houses varied from individual to individual. One woman had one of the best permanent houses in the area.

Most of these houses, although could not be used as collateral for securing loans from the banks, they command socio-cultural powers among the Baganda. The male gender, who owns most of the houses, use these houses as a source of power to dominate and command the female gender. Irrespective of the size and quality of the houses, men use threats of sending women out their houses as a means of commanding subservience and respect from these women. Despite the fact that some of these

houses are at the edge of falling down and leak during rainy seasons, women kneel and beg their husbands not to send them out of the houses. They can do any sort of task in order to be maintained in the houses.

Material ownership by men can influence the allocation of tasks by gender. Because of material base, men have the power to withhold and/or withdraw, reward or punish women. Through threats, such as chasing women out of the house, men are able to influence and overburden women with tasks which men feel unpleasant for them to perform like cooking, men sit and wait to be served by women. This observation is in line with Sen's and Grown's (1987) argument.

Secondly, ideologically, both men and women believe that rich women, richer than their husbands, cannot make successful marriages. It is believed that they are difficult to control and that they try to assume power almost equal to that of their husbands. In such situation, men lose their supremacy as heads of households, and this is culturally bad. If a woman is in such a powerful position to the extent that a man seem subordinate to her in a home, a woman is accused of witchcraft. To prevent such situation from happening, some men sabotage their wives' economic progress either directly by refusing them to participate, steal their money or use culture as a means of control.

Through focus group discussions, a variety of views concerning an economically independent woman were collected. Below is one 54 year old man views:

When a woman is rich she cannot respect her husband. She feels as if she is the boss in the house. The husband cannot discipline her by denying her anything. After all, she has money to provide for herself. When she goes out and comes back late at night, the husband cannot lock her outside the house. Because if he does so, it will be at the advantage of the woman. She can pack her things and go to start her own home.

Through material ownership, men get power to oppress women by denying them a right to sleep in the house. Economic power is one of the sources of gender oppression. Men feel that they should always be above women (sexual politics). They use God to justify this desire. They say that God created women subordinates and told men to be masters.

Another relatively younger man said:

If you let a woman work for money, what if her earnings exceed yours?. This is the time, you as a man in the house would lose all respect. She will feel that you depend on her and she will start calling you names, "kano akasajja" (meaning this small and unworthy man). Then as a man, you will have no peace in your own house. You will keep quiet as if you are a fool because you cannot beat her. If you do, then she will leave you.

Another middle aged man of about 45 years said:

If you let a woman earn an income, you have to know that you are accepting to be fed by another man. Because if her lover gives her money she will bring it home, buy salt, sugar or meat. You cannot ask her as to where she got the money, because her answer would always be "don't I work?" To avoid all that, let her stay home and you as a man struggle for the survival of your home. That way you know that your house is in peace.

These views were widely spread in almost all men's focus groups, they were brought up either directly or implied. Men feel that they should retain their traditional power as male heads of households and provider of cash in the homes. Irrespective of the fact that in most instance, they may find it difficult to fulfil these roles. Through their desire to have exclusive control over women's sexuality, men try to sexualize women's economic independence. They feel that women as much as they try to work and earn money, the greatest part of their incomes is earned through their personal relationship with other men. This is why a man would always want to know where the women has earned her money. Failure to know all the details of how a woman earns all her income leads to men feeling insecure and hence leads to the sabotaging of women's progress.

Through their focus group discussions, majority of the women pointed out that when a man in the home comes to learn that they (women) have earned money in the way the men approve, like from handcraft or selling a pig,

that is when the men pretend to have no coin on them at all. When a child is sent away from school, or when salt or paraffin gets finished, they will immediately ask the wives to lend them their money, which is never refunded. Whenever women ask them for the money, they would say, "was the child I paid school fees for not yours?" or "when your relatives come here don't I always buy things to entertain them" or "just keeps quiet."

The husband of the woman who indicated that she used to sell pancakes, used to check everything of hers to see where she kept the money. If he came across it he would steal it. He stole all the money and the woman decided to give up the business.

Another married woman (31 years) with five children said that one time she planted her sorghum for purposes of selling it. The yield was good but her husband refused her to sell it saying, "that is a good yield, it is me to look for the market." But from her experience she knew that after selling it he would not bring the money to her. He was the type who always used to borrow her money, but never pay back. The same woman had another experience where her husband was denying her a right to rear a pig which was given to her by her brother, she said:



My brother had given me a pig to rear on condition that when it produces we would share the piglets (the "mother pig" would remain his). But my husband does not want me to get money. He was very furious when he found that small pig here. He wanted to take it back to my brother. He said, 'I do not want such responsibilities. Suppose it died or if it was stolen, who would pay back?' I had to explain to him that my brother would not mind if any of the above happened. He would understand. But he still insisted that I return it. But I, myself, turned a deaf ear to him. The pig grew and produced seven piglets. I gave one to the person who owned the boar which was responsible and we shared the remaining six with my brother. I took three and my brother took three. Because feeding pigs was not easy, I decided to sell one of them. I sold it for Ug.shs.3,500. I mainly sold it that day, because my husband had gone to work saying that he had no money and the night before we had no paraffin for light. From the money I got, I bought paraffin, salt, a kilogram of meat and some secondhand knickers for the children."

"When he came back, my husband expected to find us in the darkness. To his surprise he saw light in the house. He straight away asked where I got money for paraffin. I explained but he seemed not to believe, he got sullen. When supper was served, he saw the meat, he straight away went to bed because he did not want to eat meat bought by another man. He accused me of using a pig as a cover up. He asked me whether I came to his house to become rich. He said, 'is it in order for a woman to care for herself while in her husband's house?', 'let me see it done again and we will know who is the owner of this home.' The same story happened when I grew my sorghum. He refused me to sell it. It is surprising, these days he is taking more care of the remaining piglets than me. He feeds them and gives them water. I think he has turned them his.

Men's views about an economically independent woman influence the type of activities women participate in, in the "off-farm" sphere, and also influence the type of behaviours women exhibit when they become economically successful.

As Hirst (1990) argues that the means of representation determine what is represented and the representation does bear a relation to something previously existed. For a long time, rural women have been mistreated by their husbands, because of their economic dependency on them. Women to liberate themselves from such conditions was made more complicated by the cultural practice of demanding "bridewealth" at marriage, and which had to be returned when the marriages break down. It can therefore, be argued that where marriages break down because of women's economic progress, it represents the previous mistreatment and the oppression the women had received from their husbands. Economic success in this case means breaking away from the source of mistreatment.

## CHAPTER SIX

### EMERGING ISSUES, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

**6.1 Introduction:** At the conception of this study, it was assumed that the traditional gender division of labour that persisted in ideology and practice keeps women in the domestic domain, limiting their chances of participating fully in income generating activities. Gender division of labour was conceived to be a product of both the material base and sexual politics (Which are also influenced by Cultural ideology) of individuals in society and families in particular. Gender division of labour was believed to be influenced by social change. The following section therefore points out the emerging issues out of the whole study. These issues have been reflected in the various sections that have been used to show how gender division of labour and other factors have affected women's participation in income generating activities and decision making powers.

#### **6.2 Emerging Issues:**

One of the major questions this study seeks to answer is that why has gender division of labour affected women's participation in income generating activities and decision making powers over major economic issues in the household? The study found that low levels of education;

marital status; overworking; low levels of income; and culture are some of the factors that affect women most.

In order to study the influence of education over the gender division of labour, it was found that low levels of education affects gender division of labour and decision-making powers of the rural women. In respect to this observation, the study found out that there are twice as many illiterate women as men, i.e. 27.5 and 13.8 per cent respectively, and almost equal percentage of men and women who acquired primary education, with few men and women who got additional training in skills (see Table 5.4). The almost equal percentage of men and women with primary education was found not to mean equal negotiating powers in the allocation of tasks. Men were found to use, in addition, their natural assumed male power (patriarchy) and material resources, over women to command them to do particular tasks. Signs of resistance from women provoked threats of sending them out of houses owned by men. Though some men with different skills could influence division of labour, their number was so small given the size of the study sample. Cultural ideology reflected through patriarchal power, and material ownership (mostly houses) rather than education was therefore found to influence more the division of labour between the genders. This observation,

therefore, refutes the ~~ideology~~ that low levels of education affects gender division of labour and decision making powers of rural women. Probably, when the numbers of educated women with various educational levels increase, the influence of education on the division of labour would be observed.

The study found out that there is gender cooperation among married men and women. Gender cooperation was found to be highest in food production. It was found that 75.6 percent of the husbands work physically together with their wives in food production. Although at times the number of hours spent in production may vary as earlier on observed. Sometimes they would both do the same activity like planting or weeding, at other times they would do complementary activities. Where husbands, because of various reasons, were unable to work with their wives physically, they would assist through hired labour. A total of 77.4 percent of the married women were found to either be directly assisted through physical participation or hired labour, hired by their husbands. Where husbands participate in food production, women's decision making power over the food produced is limited. It was found that the husbands control the surplus and the income that comes from it. Unlike the married women who have access to the labour of

their husbands and hired labour, un married women were found to be in a difficult situation in terms of labour accessibility on the farm. The only labour accessible to them was that of their own and probably that of their children. This affected their capacity to produce enough food. Although they could have overall power to decide about what to do with the food, most of them who, ever sold food had to forego some meals.

This observations, therefore, suggests that marital status of women affects division of labour and decision making process of women in the rural area.

The above finding is observed to diverge from earlier studies done by Boserup (1970), Shivji (1987) and The Hunger Project (1990) who found out that most agricultural activities and food production in Sub-Saharan Africa is done by women. The difference in observation may either be attributed to differences in cultures or to social change. Earlier studies may have focused on a few cultures in Africa and generalised the findings. Yet Africa has many different cultures and gender division of labour is a function of culture. Secondly, economic change caused by loss of profitability of primary exports like coffee, a traditional cash crop, may have brought about the shift of men from being predominantly cash crop producers and controllers to food

producers and controllers as well. Jamal (1988) and Belshaw (1991) point out that the loss of profitability in coffee exports led to a shift of interest of the people of Central Uganda to food production. This then supports Marxist view in the theoretical framework, that economics is the basic factor behind all other cultural changes. Men's desire to control the economic benefit that accrue from food production changed their role to that of food producers and controllers.

Gender conflict was also found to exist in situations where people of a particular gender failed to acquire all statuses that go with their gender position in the society. For example, men in general are not expected to do domestic work but single men who have failed to acquire wives because of some reasons were found participating in that activity. Others were doing women's roles such as cooking and fetching water. In the same way, married women were not expected to participate in beer selling, or selling agricultural labour, yet the same activities were being done by single women. Gender division of labour, therefore, goes with the position one occupies in the household and society as a whole instead of going with ones sex only. This goes back to the culture of the people which defines positions and tasks.

Like marital status, age of a person puts the individual in a particular position in the household and society. Consequently, influencing the choice of activities one can participate in. It was found in the study that young women below the age of 31 years and those above 45 years were not participating in beer selling. This was mainly because of the meaning and value attached to the activity. For instance, it is believed that young women participating in beer selling would lose their chances of getting married because the activity is associated with prostitution. It emerged therefore, that the middle aged engaged in beer selling activity. Women above 49 years were found to participate in selling agricultural labour, and these were found to be female heads of households.

This observation, therefore, disagrees with the Marxist view who treat class and gender as synonymous. It also disagrees with the socialist feminist, who look at production relations in terms of class and patriarchy. Both views overlook age as a factor that can influence relations, be they production or otherwise.

Gender division of labour goes hand in hand with time allocation. In order to guide the study, the following question was asked, "does being overworked affect women's participation in income generating



activities?" The study went ahead to collect data, and it was found that men, instead of women, spend more time in the agricultural activity. Women spend most of their time in food related activities like collecting food, preparing it, cooking it, fetching water, collecting firewood, etc. Such activities take an average of seven hours daily.

Although men spend more hours in digging (mainly commercial) a bigger percentage of them, 45.1 per cent, were found to have an average of six hours daily for leisure as compared to 27.5 percent of women who get an average of 2.4 hours daily for leisure. This is well illustrated in Table 5.13 which shows clearly division of time between digging and leisure for men and women. The time spent in leisure was however found to be a function of age, and marital status. Married men unlike the unmarried ones had food served to them while the unmarried ones had to serve the food themselves. Married women unlike the unmarried ones were found to have extra concern of caring and taking demands from husbands which in most cases gave them an extra load. This supports the Socialist feminists' view pointed out<sup>12</sup> the theoretical framework, that within class are gender relations that cannot be reduced to class terms. Irrespective of their economic status, married men had food served to them by

their wives. It is true in this sense that within families are gender relations which cannot be explained in class terms. "It is always a male prerogative to be served by women" Sen and Grow had observed. The elderly men and women were found to have fewer working hours since their health was not all that good.

In answering the question whether being overworked affects women's participation in income generation, the issues below emerged.

As already observed above, women are overworked. They spend most of their time in either working on joint farms with their husbands, or in food provision related activities. Very few women have time to work on individual income generating activities and in most cases they devote little time to these activities. As a result, little income is generated from these activities. This, therefore, supports the observation that overworked women are denied time to participate in income generating activities that could generate separate own incomes.

It was further observed that the male's power over the female gender do also limit women's participation in own activities for purposes of generating own incomes. Married women were found to have less control over their labour, and could not use it according to their wish. They spend most of their time on joint activities, the

outcome of which they have less control over. Women were found to have very few income generating activities that could generate adequate incomes. Where they work together with their husbands on joint banana plantations, women were found unable to sell some of the matooke. They instead exchanged some small bunches for labour that worked for them. Women could not hire labour using money to improve their sources of income. Consequently, their decisions to improve their incomes is limited by their failure to undertake big ventures, due to lack of enough money. Bartering matooke for labour could not make a good investment. This finding, therefore, answers the question that low levels of income available to women negatively affect their decision making powers and their participation in income generation.

Culture was found to be one of the major factors that affects women's participation in income generating activities. The cultural ideology reflected in patriarchal attitudes influence the choice of activities women can participate in. It was found that, ideologically men feared economically powerful women on the pretext that they are difficult to control and that they cannot make successful marriages. Marriage is believed to depend on superior\_ inferior relationship. When women are economically Powerful, they cannot take

that subordinate position, hence they become difficult for the men to control. Because of such ideological fears, men were found to sexualize most of the off-farm activities of women as a means of preventing them from participating in them. As a result, women concentrated on agricultural activity, the activity they would perform in the presence of their husbands, and the produce of which was mostly controlled by the husband. Male's desire to increase their material accumulation and desire to control women, which is reflected through cultural ideology has influenced the production relations between the genders. Consequently leading the male gender to dominate the productive activities which were formerly in the sphere of the female gender. Through superstitions and sexualisation of activities, women could only participate in fewer activities which were originally known to be male activities. This therefore confirms that cultural ideology affects women's participation in income generating activities.

Among the objectives, one tries to establish the extent to which women's participation in income generating activities affects their decision making powers. With regard to this objective the following issues were found to emerge. It was found that a mere participation in income generating activities by women

could not increase their powers to make decisions over major economic issues in the household. Instead, the control they have over the income they generate influence the type of decisions women can make. It was also found that the perceived security of their marriage influences the decisions women could make. Women who perceive their marriages to be insecure would rather keep their money secretly and women who control their money secretly, were found not to participate in major economic issues that affect the household. They instead spend their incomes either on self, natal homes, or keep it for future use, to be used as security when their marriages break down.

Women who earned relatively higher incomes were found to participate in major economic decisions which affect their household. They would at times discuss with their spouses how their money would be used and at times could take decisions without discussion. Such women were found to have slightly higher education and their marriages seemed secure since they did not indicate fear of marriage breakdown. This supports Marx's view in the conceptual framework that prestige goes with material well-being. Richer women can probably ensure the security of their marriages and as a result win respect and power to make decisions from their husbands.

The number of children a woman has and their age seemed also to indirectly influence the decisions women

could take. Women with young children were found to express a level of subservience. They indicated that, for the good of their children they had to abide with all decisions their husbands made, so as not to be chased away from the home and leave their young children behind.

Older women, were found to have some control over incomes they earn than the young ones. This is probably that, older women had no fear of leaving young children behind when their marriages break down, hence they can be assertive in their decisions.

### 6.3 Conclusion

Men's desire to control women's body and to accumulate material wealth is the basis for gender division of labour, gender cooperation and gender conflict in the allocation of activities in the rural household. Culture is the means through which the men's desires are realised. Where the means of accumulating wealth are limited and necessitate competition between genders, the male society through their cultural allocation of tasks eliminate women from the competition by assigning them domestic work. Where the means are within the already allocated female gender roles, the men use women on a cooperative basis to realise the economic benefits that accrue from that end. Where men have no

women to use, then that is the time gender conflict about the activities allocated arise.

Through culture, women's optimum goal was set and it is marriage. Women sacrifice everything for it. Yet, in marriage, men are given excessive power to control both the productive and reproductive resources of women. Men's culturally sanctioned power over women (patriarchy) limit women's choices to participate in income generating activities and their power to make economic decisions. Although other factors like age and probably education could limit women in the above areas, it is still culture which define the meaning and values attached to those factors. The meanings and values are interpreted in cultural terms which advance male's values. Women's lack of exclusive control and openness over their incomes which affect their decision making powers over major economic issues in the household is deeply ingrained in the marriage institution. Unless women's view of marriage changes, and they see other alternative goals in life, a mere participation in income generating activities without appropriate power to control the incomes that accrue from such activities, their decision making powers in the household may not increase. Consequently economic emancipation of women may seem to be remote if it is to be achieved.

#### 6.4 Policy Recommendations

**Gender Division of Labour:** It has been found that women spend a lot of time in food related activities, such as food processing, fetching water, firewood and others. As a result, they have no time for income generating activities. It is therefore, recommended that labour saving technology and services in food processing and preparation should be availed to rural women. These include things like hand tractors which can assist in uprooting foods, like potatoes, cassava, groundnuts and etc. This will relieve women of the burden of digging wider areas, using a hand and hoe for purposes of getting food for the families. These tractors can be availed by the Ministry of Agriculture on long term loan basis after appropriate research has been carried out. Secondly, services like borehole water, fuel wood saving stoves, electricity or biogas should be introduced in rural areas. This will help in reducing the time women take walking long distances looking for firewood or water, finally their work load would be reduced. Instead of spending seven hours daily in activities related to food provision, women may spend three hours. The remaining four hours could be used for productive activities like participation in income generation. In order to achieve this, the government should try to make a long term



developmental plan where by, it tackles one district at a time. Within a particular planned period of about thirty years for example, a number of districts would have benefitted from this project.

**Income Generating Activities:** It has been observed that the major source of income for rural men and women is agricultural produce. Yet the amount produced is limited, and cannot serve adequately the dual purpose of subsistence and market. This is mainly caused by limited labour, low levels of income and limited land. If labour saving agricultural technology, appropriate for small plots of land like ox-plough or hand tractors are introduced in rural areas, women and men will be helped in clearing large areas in a shorter period of time. Hence, facilitating early planting and large scale agriculture which can improve the yields and more will be available for market. If women spend less time in agriculture, be it on the joint farm or individual farm, they could invest their remaining time in other income generating activities. These labour saving technology can also be availed on a long term loan basis by the government, whereby a farmer is expected to pay in instalment for a period of some years.

Secondly, small free interest loans should be given to women and men on short term basis. These can be in form of farm implements like fertilizers and pesticides. Such loans could be availed through village cooperative societies. These can improve the yield and as a result more will be availed for the market.

Thirdly, seminars and other sensitising workshops, should be organised either by government departments or NGOs to enlighten women and men about other possible sources of income and benefit of women controlling own incomes. This will bring about gender development and will also bring about a shift from regarding agriculture as the only source of income.

**Lack of Decision Making Powers:** Women were found to lack decision making powers over major economic issues in the household. The underlying cause of this is found to be the culture which dictates gender relations in all aspects. In order to empower women with powers to make decisions, women should be accorded formal education. In order to achieve this, parents should be encouraged through sensitization groups to give girls equal chances to education. In the same way girls, themselves, should also be sensitised to accept that marriage is not the optimum goal for women. Besides marriage and child bearing, women have other important roles to play in

society. This sensitisation can reduce the cultural influence that keep women subordinate to men. To achieve this, seminars and workshops should be arranged by government and pressure groups at village levels, to educate and enlighten the rural population about gender issues.

With education, women will be able to have skills to work in highly skilled employment, they could also have power to negotiate their division of labour, and can fight for their economic independence.

Women's decision making powers was also found to be influenced by the security of their marriages. It is therefore recommended that laws governing property in marriages should be revised, to give women more control in the property acquired during marriage. This can make women more committed to their marital homes thus making them able to contribute in household economic matters.

There is also a need for bottom-up approach and planning. Instead of programme implementers making decision concerning activities which rural women can do to earn money, rural women should be involved in the decisions that affect their income generating activities. The women can know better the circumstances under which they produce for both their subsistence and market and they can use such knowledge to better their situation..

Finally, men should be educated about women's roles in economic production and decision making. This can help women to become co-partners in the production process instead of being subordinate servants, which "kill" women's morale to work.

Men should be made to become aware of the limitations of cultural factors which affect women in different areas. With such sensitisation, both men and women can pool together their internal capacities to fight those factors that act as a hinderance to women's economic progress.

As a result, men should be made to accept the fact that women are equal partners in various aspects. With such awareness, patriarchal oppression will be minimised and women will be able to get appropriate remuneration from joint enterprises with their spouses.

#### **6.5 Suggested Areas for Further Research**

Having realised that majority, of rural women control their incomes secretly, which affect their decision making powers over major economic issues in the household, there is need to investigate the economic benefit enjoyed by income earning women. The following questions should be answered:

- a) What benefits do women get from the incomes they earn?

- b) Is earning an income increase women's economic burden in the households?
- c) Do earning women become co-spenders in the running of day to day economic affairs in the household?

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## GLOSSARY

- A Kassajja:** A term commonly used to describe a small man who is despised.
- Busuulu:** Local fee which people used to pay for the land which they held.
- Control:** Control in this paper is used to mean exclusive power over own income. One can use it in any way one may wish without being prevented by another person.
- Debe:** A tin container which is rectangular in shape and it is capable of holding grain equal to 18 killogrammes.
- Decision Making:** The ability to make concrete decisions without waiting for another person's opinion.
- Economic Activity:** A wide range of activities that make up the structure of the economy.
- Gender:** A culturally shaped group of attributes and behaviours given to the male or to the female. Due to ones sex, there are culturally expected roles of that person.
- Household:** A group of people who may be living together in the same dwelling or homestead or who may be living apart; but have close economic ties. These economic activities may include arrangements made by persons (individually or in groups) for providing themselves with food or other essentials for living.

- Kibanja (Plural Bibanja):** Landholding on which most families have established their homes and farms.
- Kusibira:** A system of rearing animals for other people on conditions that when they produce, the owner and the person who has reared, will share the off-springs.
- Magendo:** Type of trade which existed in Uganda after the expulsion of Asians from 1971. It was characterised by smuggling and hoarding.
- Market Economy:** The condition that allows selling and buying.
- Market Activity:** Any activity from which an income is derived. It includes both home based activities, like beer brewing and/or other items which are taken from home and sold on the roadside or in the market.
- Married:** A person is considered married as long as she/he is in a relationship which is traditionally sanctioned or sanctioned by the Church or Mosque. In addition, the two must consider themselves as a husband and wife.
- Matooke:** A type of bananas used for food.
- Mbidde:** A type of bananas used for making local brew commonly known as Mwenge.
- Mulalo:** A person who looks after cattle in the wildness.

**Mweso:** A game played by two people using seeds of a particular tree and a wooden pallet.

**Nakyeyombekedde:** Elderly single women who have established their own homes.

**N.R.M.:** The National Resistance Movement--The political movement in power.

**Nvujo:** Fee paid for the agricultural produce one produces on the Kibanja.

**Patriarchy:** A system of male authority which oppress women through its social, political and economic institutions.

**RC I:** These are politically administrative areas, equivalent to a sub-parish. The RC I village is under a council of people, where a person is appointed as the RC I Chairperson. Others members are Vice Chairperson RC I, Secretary and Treasurer. There would also be one Secretary for each of the following areas: Mass Mobilisation, Youth, Women, Defence and Information.

**Gender Division of Labour:** Duties assigned to a person because of her/his sex. This assignment seems to be culturally determined.

**Subsistence:** In this paper, it refers to production of food and other activities related to food provision in the home.

**Surplus:** Any amount of produce above and beyond the amount needed for home consumption.

TABLE 1.0: CROPS YIELDS, MEAN PLOT SIZES, EXPECTED PRODUCTION ANNUAL CONSUMPTION, EXPECTED SURPLUS FOR HOUSEHOLDS IN MASAKA

CROP	YIELD (t/ha)	Mean Plot Sizes	Expected (ha)	Monthly Consumption (KG)	Average Price Per Kg (USHS)	Annual Household Consumption (t)	Expected Surplus (t)	Expected Income from Sales (USHS)
Matooke	6.7	0.39	2.613	3,841	65.90	0.655	1.958	129.032
Maize	1.1	0.16	0.176	1,876	83.29	0.083	0.093	7745.97
Beans	1.2	0.11	0.132	1,261	170.58	0.089	0.043	7334.84
Groundnuts	1.4	0.10	0.14	573	390.8	0.018	0.122	4614.16
Sweet Potatoes	10.0	0.07	0.70	1,656	72.71	0.273	0.427	31047.17
Irish Potatoes	10.6	0.03	0.318	174	154.49	0.013	0.305	47119.45
Cassava	33.6	0.09	3.024	1,523	104.34	0.175	2.848	297160.32
Sorghum	2.6	0.29	0.58	-	-	-	-	-
Coffee	-	0.45	-	-	-	-	-	-

**Source:**

1. Yield and mean plot sizes: Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries (MAAI) Report on Uganda National Census of Agriculture and Live Stock. 1990 - 1991 Entebbe - (MAAI) 1992.
2. Value of monthly household consumption: Ministry of Planning and Economic Development (MPED): Household budget, consumption and expenditure 1989-90 Kampala, (MPED) 1991 (Rural household in central Uganda).
3. Prices: MPED Back ground to the Budget 1990-1991
4. Expected production, consumption, surplus and income calculated by the researcher.
5. Note: One Metric tone = 1000 kgs.

**TABLE 2.0 PROPORTION OF FARM WORK CARRIED OUT BY WOMEN  
IN SELECTED DISTRICTS 1986**

District	Women Work Alone %	Husbands Seldom Help %	Husband Occasionally Help %	Husband Always Help %
Arua	30	23	28	19
Gulu	24	48	12	16
Jinja	28	39	31	2
Kabale	36	38	14	12
Kasese	43	50	4	3
Mbale	48	34	5	13
Mbarara	55	39	0	6
Masaka	22	36	9	33

Source: UNICEF (1989) P.3 SITUATIONAL ANALYSIS



## APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Village .....

District.....

**SECTION A: DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS**

1. Sex
2. Ethnicity
3. Age
4. Marital status
5. Religion?
6. Education level?
7. Number of children, their age and those under your care.
8. Main occupation ?

**SECTION B: DIVISION OF LABOUR**

9. What on-farm activities do you usually engage in ? Narrate them and state the time you usually spend carrying out each one of them. Do also give reasons for doing those specific activities.
10. List other activities usually carried out by members of the household and why.
11. If agriculture is one of the major activities, specify the following:
  - labour used
  - type of crops grown
  - time spent on the activity daily

**SECTION C: INCOME GENERATION**

12. What are your sources of income ?
13. About how much money do you get from each source annually ?
14. If you do not have any source of income what prevents you ?
15. Do you have assets like land , houses, etc. which you can use to generate income ?
16. What particular problems do you experience in income generation process ? particular type ?

**SECTION C: DECISION MAKING**

17. Do you control the income you earn ? What are the reasons for doing so or not doing so ?
18. How do you usually spend the money you earn and why do you spend it that way ?
19. How are the decisions regarding major domestic economic issues like the buying of things like salt; paying school fees and paying for other household essentials usually made ?
20. What problems do you usually experience when it comes to using your own money ?

END.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR CO-OPERATION.

## APPENDIX C

## FOCUS GROUP GUIDE

1. What are the activities believed to be suitable to be performed by women and men ? Why?
2. Is it proper for women to earn separate income, separate from that of their husbands ?
3. How should the income owned by men and women be used in the household ? How do men and women in this area use their incomes ?
4. What are the best income generating activities women should engage in and why ?
5. What are the problems you experience both in income generating process and in Division of labour in the household ?