INTEGRATING GENDER INTO WORLD BANK FINANCED TRANSPORT PROGRAMS

CASE STUDY

UGANDA

ROAD SECTOR PROGRAMME SUPPORT (RSPS)

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JUNE 2003

MAP OF UGANDA



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study would not have been successfully completed without the assistance and cooperation of a number of people and institutions at both national and community level. Special thanks go to all the staff of the Danida Road Sector Programme Support (RSPS), Ministry of Works, Housing and Communication (MoWHC), Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development (MoGLSD), the Royal Danish Embassy, the World Bank, as well as Mubende and Lira district officials and contractor representatives who took off time from their very busy schedules for the discussions. Their willingness to allow the consultant to access documentation is also acknowledged.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Uganda case study is one of the ten case studies commissioned by the World Bank to document best practices in the integration of gender into transport policies and projects. The objective of the overall the study is to "assist the World Bank [and other agencies] to improve the efficiency and equity of transport policies and programs through ensuring that projects respond to women as well as men's needs". This case study, of the Road Sector Programme Support (RSPS) supported by DANIDA:

- identified how gender dimensions were included in the preparation of the programme;
- documented gender mainstreaming experiences of implementation;
- identified the gendered outcomes; and
- identified lessons learned in respect of gender inclusion and where appropriate, suggested good practices.

The government of Uganda (GoU) has put in place legal, operational and institutional mechanisms to ensure that gender is explicitly addressed in all national, sectoral and local government policies, plans and programs. These include ratification of the Convention of the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), a gender responsive constitution, the national gender policy, the national action plan on women and creation of the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development (MoGLSD).

In the conducive environment, enabling laws, policies, plans and programs including the Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP), the decentralization policy; the Local Government Act of 1997 plus the amended Act (2001), the Land Act of 1998, the Universal Primary Education (UPE) program and the Social Development Sector Strategic Investment Plan (SDIP) have been formulated to contribute to women's empowerment and to gender equality and equity.

In the transport sector, the White Paper on Sustainable Maintenance of District, Urban and Community Access Roads is a watershed in an otherwise male-dominated sector. Implementation of the gender and women specific provisions in the Paper will ensure as well as strengthen women's participation in and benefit from the district, urban and community roads. This is especially significant considering that these are the roads largely used by the majority of the rural poor, including women, to secure their livelihoods. ¹

Danida's policy for development cooperation, as set forth in the strategy towards the year 2000 and its transport infrastructure sector policies indicate that promotion of women's participation in development is a cross-cutting concern. The transport sector policy states specifically that gender analysis should be undertaken for all interventions to facilitate the identification and integration of women's and men's specific transport needs and priorities.

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¹ More than 85% of Uganda's population lives in rural areas.

Conceptualization, formulation and implementation of RSPS were thus facilitated by the two countries' progressive commitments to gender-responsive development. RSPS was designed to assist implementation of GoU's Ten-Year Road Sector Development Programme 1996/97-2005/06 (RSDP1). The first phase (RSPS1) was launched in 1999 and ended in December 2002. RSPS2 will run from 2003-2007. Gender is a cross-cutting concern in RSPS with its commitment to active promotion of women's participation.

RSPS1 had three components: rehabilitation of the Kampala-Fort Portal trunk road corridor, institutional support for coordination of the RSDP implementation and support to road networks in 8 districts in the northern region of the country (DRN). To strengthen DRN's objective of reducing poverty through improved access to social and economic services, the Community Travel and Transport Programme (CTTP) was formulated in 2000.

RSPS2, building on RSPS1, has as its development objective the creation of sustainable road administrations and funding mechanisms for constructing and maintaining all levels of roads to support economic and social development. RSPS2 has five components: national road sector institutions, national labor-based training, national gravel roads, district roads and community access. The focus of the last three components is on districts in the north-east of the country.

RSPS was thus conceived to address national and local social and economic goals and was to be implemented within GoU's policy framework such as the PEAP and the national gender policy. The cross-cutting concerns to be pursued at all stages and levels of preparation and design included support of women's participation in development and promotion of environmentally sustainable development, human rights, democratization and popular participation. From the onset, Danida appreciated the significance of mainstreaming gender in RSPS and thus commissioned a study in 1998 that further elaborated gender concerns in the program and was to serve as input into the respective program documents and to suggest specific gender inputs and activities. The study confirmed that road construction, rehabilitation and maintenance in Uganda were predominantly male-biased. It thus recommended building capacities of all stakeholders to ensure that gender is routinely addressed by all institutions, systems and structures engaged in the roads sub sector.

The program was implemented within the existing national and local government systems and structures. It worked in close collaboration with the local government community services departments, which all have an officer designated to take on the function of gender.

RSPS was designed with a gender objective of empowering women by improving their opportunities to participate in and benefit from the roads sub sector and thus contribute to an improvement in their and their families' quality of life. The program's principle of equality of opportunity to both women and men resulted in the most visible and direct gender outcomes. There was improvement of women's access to employment in the roads sub sector, both as workers and contractors and in training opportunities in labor-based methods of road works. By actively promoting labor-based methods, the program enhanced women's opportunities to benefit directly from road improvements through earning cash income for payment of school fees for their children, accessing health facilities and consumer goods, as well as investment in productive assets such as land. The community transport and travel program of the RSPS that involves promotion of intermediate means of transport has potential to improve women's (relative to men's) opportunities to afford as own transport equipment.

Investment in district and community access roads strengthened the likelihood of program's improving women's access to markets, trading opportunities, farm inputs and consumer goods. The socio-economic component of the trunk road rehabilitation was an innovative program that maximized the gendered outcomes accruing from investment in physical infrastructure through improvements in health facilities, water supplies, market structures, school facilities the rehabilitation of several community access roads. Furthermore, training seminars focusing on HIV/AIDS and road safety promoted personal security.

A number of factors constrained attainment of the planned gendered outcomes. RSPS is implemented in an environment that is largely male dominated with inequalities in gender relations, both of which are to the disadvantage of women. Institutional factors that affected the outcomes of the programs included: i) insensitivity of some policies, programs and guidelines (e.g., transport sector policy) plus the RSDP; ii) inadequate gender disaggregated data to inform policy and practice; iii) limited gender capacities in both central and local governments; iv) insufficient technical and financial resources of the national machinery for mainstreaming gender to execute its mandate; v) the gender focal points in the line ministries either have other "mainstream" sectoral responsibilities or are too high up in the hierarchy to devote time to gender or too low down to be heard; vi) in both central and local governments, assigning the gender function to individuals without training in it; vii) engineers being statistical and quantitative by training; and viii) absence of statutory requirements to ensure gender compliance². All of these factors result in inadequate translation of gender responsiveness into gender sensitive development practice. Programmatic factors related to lack of gender dedicated budgets and late recruitment of gender advisors.

RSPS2's gender management plan strengthens the outcomes of RSPS1 and has the potential to transform the gender terrain in the country's transport sector, giving equal opportunities to both women and men, creating gender awareness amongst all categories of stakeholders, ensuring women's participation in the roads sub sector and eventually improving their decision making power regarding their transport needs and priorities. Having a dedicated fund will ensure successful execution of the plan and is thus likely to achieve the intended gender outcomes. Sustainability of the gendered outcomes beyond the program's life is through institutionalization of the good practices in both national and local government policies, plans plus implementing and monitoring procedures.

Lessons learned indicate that gender is an ideology that takes sustained efforts of all stakeholders, at all levels, to change. RSPS embarked on a process to bring about change in attitudes to gender and women's participation in road works. To ensure its ownership and sustainability, the RSPS gender integration process is participatory, involving stakeholders at all levels, giving voice to otherwise voiceless women and men. There is evidence that the program has improved women's visibility through their improved access to employment opportunities in the roads sub sector. Whereas gains in participation have been made, challenges still remain as regards decision making and benefit from outcomes of road improvement. Collaborative efforts of GoU and RSPS2 have the potential to strengthen gendered outcomes of the program.

There is no gender statute that obligates stakeholders to "do gender". Having a law helps as Uganda's Environment Statute demonstrates. It is a statutory obligation to undertake an environmental impact assessment including defining mitigation measures for all interventions that are likely to have a negative environment impact

The case study demonstrates the feasibility of, as well as value added from, addressing gender in transport programs. The lessons learned from RSPS show that mainstreaming gender is a long term, continuous process that requires a systematic, as well as dedicated, commitment of human and financial resources. That investment in gender capacity building of stakeholders at all levels is essential. With political commitment, the potential for replication of the program's gender integration strategies in other national transport sector programs and in other countries is high. The suggested approaches for replication derived from the good RSPS gender mainstreaming practices include but are not limited to:

- Establishing an enabling national environment for gender mainstreaming through policies, systems and structures: i) strengthening national machinery for mainstreaming gender; ii) institutionalizing gender training, working groups and focal points in the national and local government transport sectors; iv) instituting national fora for interactive partner government/donor discussions of both transport sector and gender issues, v) gender-responsive resource allocation with specific budget lines dedicated to women-specific and gender mainstreaming activities; vi) enforcement of gender sensitivity through statutory including contractual obligations
- Incorporation of gender from conceptualization through all stages of the transport program cycle, development of clear ToR for gender specialists where applicable and bringing them on board at the very beginning.
- Inclusion of community mobilizers and gender officers in all aspects of transport interventions.
- Inclusion of sociological estimates in bills of quantity to cater for gender responsive mobilization, awareness creation of communities, welfare requirements, recruitment of labor and participatory monitoring.
- Development of gender guidelines on "how to" steps as well as the standards plus rules and regulations to guide the design, implementation and monitoring of works.
- Making gender everybody's responsibility through awareness creation of stakeholders at all levels, to address the prevalent gender stereotypes as well as strengthening gender capacities of policy makers, planners and implementers.
- Promotion of stakeholder, especially women's, participation in identification, design, implementation and monitoring of transport interventions.
- Improvement in the collection of gender-disaggregated data to inform policy and planning and the monitoring of implementation of interventions.
- In the short term, incorporation of gender in all transport-related training institutions including their curriculum and training materials. In the long term, measures should be instituted to engender all levels of education.
- For sustainability and legitimacy, institutionalization of good gender integration practices in national transport sector policies, strategies and guidelines.

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ADRICS Annual District Road Inventory and ConditionalSurvey

BFP Budget Framework Paper
CSO Civil Society Organisation

DANIDA Danish International Development Agency

DCG Donor Coordination Group on Gender

DGCD Department of Gender and Community Development

DUCAR District, Urban and Community Access Roads

DUR District and Urban Roads
ELU Environmental Liaison Unit

EOC Equal Opportunities Commission

GMS Gender Management System

GoU Government of Uganda

HDI Human Development Index

HIPC Highly Indebted Poor Countries

HRD Human Resource Development

IFRTD International Forum for Rural Transport Development

IMF International Monetary Fund

IMT Intermediate Means of Transport

JSCTF Japan Staff and Consultant Trust Fund

LC Local Council

MELTC Mount Elgon Labour-based Training Centre

METC Mount Elgon Training Centre

MDG Millennium Development Goal

MoFPED Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development

MoGLSD Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development

MoWHC Ministry of Works, Housing and Communication

MTEF Medium Term Expenditure Framework

NGO Non Government Organisation

PAF Poverty Action Fund

PEAP Poverty Eradication Action Plan

PMA Plan for Modernisation of Agriculture

PRSC Poverty Reduction Support Credit
PRSP Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
RAFU Road Authority Formation Unit

RSDP Road Sector Development Programme

RSPS Road Sector Programme Support

UPE Universal Primary Education

SEDF Socio Economic Development Fund

SDIP Social Development Sector Strategic Investment Plan

TNA Training Needs Assessment

TRL Transport Research Laboratory

UN United Nations

UNABCEC Uganda National Association of Building & Civil Engineering

Contractors

UPPAP Uganda Participatory Poverty Assessment Programme

UPE Universal Primary Education

UTRP Uganda Transport Rehabilitation Project

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND

One of the pillars of the Millennium Development Goals promulgated by the United Nations (UN) is promotion of gender equality as well as women's empowerment. The World Bank, like the rest of the international community, has adopted this pillar based on empirical evidence of the significance of gender to economic growth, poverty reduction and sustainable development. The World Bank has thus commissioned a study called "Integrating Gender into World Bank Financed Transport Programmes". The work is financed by the Japan Staff and Consultant Trust Fund (JSCTF) and is being undertaken by a consortium led by IC Net Limited.

The overall objective of the study is "to assist the World Bank [and other agencies] to improve the efficiency and equity of transport policies and programs through ensuring that projects respond to women as well as men's needs". This will be achieved through:

- World-wide survey to review and document gender and transport initiatives promoted by the World Bank and other agencies to identify best-practices in the identification, design, implementation and evaluation of these initiatives.
- Developing training material and reference documentation which will make the findings and recommendations of the studies easily accessible to transport project managers, planners and policy makers around the world.

As part of the world-wide survey, ten case studies in nine countries of best practice in the integration of gender into transport policies and projects have been conducted. Uganda is one of the case study countries where a series of specific inquiries focused on Danida's Road Sector Programme Support (RSPS) have been undertaken.

1.2 OBJECTIVES OF THE CASE STUDY

Using the case of Danida's RSPS, the study:

- identified how gender dimensions were included in the preparation of the program;
- documented gender mainstreaming experiences of implementation;
- identified the gendered outcomes; and
- identified lessons learned in respect of gender inclusion and, where appropriate, suggested good practices.

1.3 OVERVIEW OF UGANDA'S TRANSPORT SECTOR

Uganda's transport sector consists of rail, water, air, pipeline and roads, the last being the predominant mode. The Danida program supports the road sub sector and the study thus focuses on roads. The road network is an estimated 64,558 km. National (trunk) roads constitute 14.7% of the

³ The study will also promote gender sensitive transport initiatives in the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) – a template used by the World Bank for poverty reduction.

network and connect the respective districts and the country with its neighbors. District roads (34.5%) link communities and connect the rural to urban areas and to the national road network. Urban roads are 4.3% of the network and the rest (over 46%) is community access roads that provide access to and from schools, villages, community centers and national and district roads. The Ministry of Works, Housing and Communication (MoWHC), the Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development (MoFPED) and the Road Agency Formation Unit (RAFU) are responsible for road development and maintenance of the physical assets. More specifically, MoWHC's role is policy formulation, monitoring of works and management of the national roads. An Environmental Liaison Unit (ELU), established in the MoWHC in mid-2000, is mandated to mainstream the environment, occupational health and safety, HIV/AIDS and gender in road sector policies and strategies. Local governments, specifically district and urban authorities, are responsible for district and urban roads respectively while local communities manage community access roads. RAFU, established in 1998, is charged with all major national road development projects. The transport section of MoFPED is responsible for coordinating donor contributions to the sector and plays a further coordinating role with MoWHC and RAFU on level of development and recurrent expenditures for the roads sub sector.

1.4 DANIDA'S ROAD SECTOR PROGRAMME SUPPORT (RSPS)

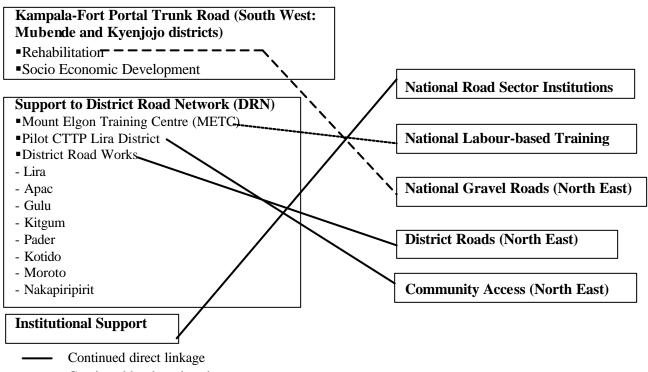
RSPS is designed to assist implementation of GoU's Ten-Year Road Sector Development Programme 1996/97-2005/06 (RSDP1). The first phase of the program (RSPS1) was launched in 1999 and ended in December 2002. RSPS2 will run from 2003-2007. RSPS1 consisted of three components: rehabilitation of the Kampala-Fort Portal trunk road corridor, institutional support for coordination of RSDP implementation and support to district road networks in 8 districts in the northern region of the country (DRN). To strengthen the DRN's objective of reducing poverty through improved access to social and economic services, a Community Travel and Transport Programme (CTTP) was formulated in 2000.

RSPS2 builds on the RSPS1 and its development objective is the creation of sustainable road administrations and funding mechanisms for developing and maintaining all levels of roads in support of economic and social development. RSPS2 has five components: national road sector institutions, national labor-based training, national gravel roads, district roads as well as community access. The focus of the last three components is on districts in the north-eastern parts of the country. Figure 1 is a diagrammatic presentation of the RSPS components, geographical coverage and the linkages between phase 1 and 2.

Figure 1: RSPS Components, Geographical Coverage and Linkages between Phase 1 and 2

RSPSI

RSPSII



- ----- Continued but broadened scope
- -- Continued support to national roads but focus on gravel roads in the North Eastern region

1.5 STRUCTURE OF THE REPORT

This report consists of 8 chapters. Chapter 2 details the methodology used for the study including the approach and tools and the rationale for focusing on RSPS. Chapter 3 reflects on the macro social, economic and political processes, systems and structures under which RSPS was conceptualized, designed and implemented and the way these have influenced the program's gender mainstreaming initiatives. The focus of Chapter 4 is on the transport sector institutions. Institutional analysis is undertaken at three levels: the "macro" policy making level, the "meso" level that operationalizes policy and the "micro" level that includes transport operators and users. RSPS design and implementation issues are discussed in Chapter 5. Differences in planned gender outcomes and the actual impacts of the RSPS are presented in Chapter 6. Chapter 7 highlights the major conclusions and lessons learned in incorporating gender in RSPS formulation, design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation. The discussion considers the impact of the external environment and institutional and contextual factors that affected the gendered outcomes of RSPS. Furthermore, suggestions on the replicability of the RSPS gender integration initiatives including the potential approaches to replication are made. Chapter 8 outlines suggestions for local dissemination of the study findings.

2. METHODOLOGY

2.1 METHODOLOGICAL PROCESS

The study, undertaken between March and June 2003, involved review of documents and field work in Kampala, Mubende and Lira Districts. Background documentation analyzed to assess the approaches to and lessons learnt in integrating gender in the RSPS included Danida transport infrastructure sector policies, RSPS formulation, inception, progress and annual GoU/Danida RSPS review reports. GoU poverty, gender and transport sector policies, plans and strategies were reviewed. The document review formed the basis for formalizing the methodology agreed at the briefing workshop in London in March 2003: defining the specific program areas to be visited, sources of information, people to be interviewed and tools for data collection. The study involved all components in both phases of the program with the emphasis on the RSPS1. Analysis of RSPS2 was limited to the way it was conceptualized, identified and designed. Of special interest was the way the good gender mainstreaming practices in RSPS1 were incorporated into RSPS2.

2.2 JUSTIFICATION FOR FOCUSING ON DANIDA'S RSPS

RSPS was conceptualized and designed and is being implemented within the framework of GoU and Danida's transport infrastructure policy frameworks - both of which are, to a large extent, gender-responsive. Gender, as a development concern, is increasingly gaining legitimacy in Uganda. GoU has demonstrated commitment to the advancement of women and gender has been acknowledged as integral to sustainable development of the country. Danida's policy for development cooperation, as set out in Denmark's Development Policy Strategy: Partnership 2000 and outlined in the Danida sector policies, includes promotion of women's participation in development as a cross-cutting concern. To promote equality and the equal and active involvement of women and men in the development process, Denmark's development policy will:

- integrate the gender aspect in all elements of development co-operation;
- promote the opportunities for women to influence the development policy agenda;
- prioritize special initiatives to promote the gender aspect as one means of generating greater awareness of the need for equality to develop methods and instruments that may ultimately be deployed more broadly in development co-operation;
- advance the gender aspect in the political dialogue with the program countries and in negotiations in the multilateral system;
- promote the gender aspect in the day-to-day implementation of development activities by adopting a flexible approach that takes practical circumstances into account; and
- give priority to the education of women as the best means of promoting political, social and economic opportunities for women and the welfare of the family.

Danida's transport infrastructure sector policies specifically state that:

"Women shall benefit equally to men from the direct effects as well as the spin off effects from the intervention. It shall also be ensured that specific consideration is taken in relation to the transport

needs of women and children when appropriate. As part of any programme in the sector a gender analysis shall be undertaken, which shall lay out the benefits of the intervention on both genders." ⁴

In addition to the policy commitments to gender integration, a preliminary assessment of the RSPS showed that there has not been "gender evaporation" in its design and implementation, as Chapter 5 elaborates. Another consideration for focusing on RSPS is that the program has been in place for long enough to be subjected to considerable reviews. This provided great scope for capturing and documenting good gender mainstreaming practices in the program. Further, RSPS2's building on RSPS1 offers an opportunity to assess, albeit from a sector program perspective, the sustainability and replicability of the gender mainstreaming efforts of the first phase.

2.3 DATA COLLECTION METHODS

This was both a desk and a field study. Secondary data were based on analysis of GoU and Danida's development assistance planning frameworks for transport sector policy formulation, planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation. These frameworks constituted the context of the gender and institutional analysis of RSPS and of the external environment. Central to the assessment was how GoU and Danida national and transport policies and plans impact(ed) on the gendered outcomes of RSPS. Levels of participation by stakeholders, principally female and male operators and users, in the identification, planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of RSPS was another yardstick for the analysis.

Qualitative and participatory data collection tools were used in the field study. Nationally, discussions were held with MoWHC and Danida officials to establish how the program was designed and implemented and its intended impact on women and men. Discussions with representatives from MoGLSD captured the milestones in development of the national gender policy framework including gains and challenges. World Bank program officers were interviewed to gain perspective of one of the key development assistance partners in the country. Interviews were held with officials from MoFPED and representatives of the national association of contractors.

Field work involved visits to Mubende and Lira Districts. Lira was selected because in addition to being one of the beneficiary districts of the DRN program, it is where the CTTP was piloted. Besides, it was the safest district to travel to at the time of the study⁵. Whereas METC is in Mbale District, interviews with program staff were held in Kampala. Besides time and distance constraints, this was because a considerable number of technical staff involved in the first phase of the program had left. Further, the program staff mandated to ensure gender sensitivity of METC has an office in Kampala. The interviews elicited information on how gender has been mainstreamed in the METC curriculum and training materials and in actual training.

Individual and focus group discussions were held with female and male beneficiaries -including transport users and operators - to determine their levels of participation and their perceptions of the gendered outcomes of the RSPS. For the labour-based roadworks, group discussions were held with female and male workers on the roads to establish how gender was incorporated during

⁴ Danida (1999) Transport Infrastructure. Danida Sector Policies, 1999: 25

⁵ All the DRN programme districts experience some form of conflict. There is cattle rustling in the districts of Kotido, Moroto and Nakapiripirit and a guerrilla war in Lira, Apac, Pader, Kitgum, Gulu that cause the areas to be insecure.

implementation. To understand the challenges of incorporating gender in the delivery of a public service using private providers (whose motive is profit maximization), in-depth interviews were held with contractors involved in the program. Interviews with local government politicians and technocrats were conducted to assess their understanding of and commitment to gender-responsive development. The interviews established their gender capacities and the practicalities of gender mainstreaming. Issues of institutionalization of gender integration in implementation of road works were also discussed. A full list of people interviewed is at Appendix 2.

2.4 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

RSPS is very broad, in both geographical coverage and program content, making the study very challenging. The DRN component was implemented in eight districts in the north of the country (most parts of which experience perpetual insecurity). METC is in the east of the country. The Mubende-Fort Portal component covered two districts in the south-west and by the time the road works were completed, one of the districts had been split into three.

3. ENABLING ENVIRONMENT AND MACRO CONTEXT

3.1 POLITICS AND GOVERNANCE

Uganda has had a turbulent political history in which the country's constitution was abrogated and at one time was totally suspended with parliament in abeyance. Since independence in 1963, the country has had seven presidents and been under one-party, multi-party and military rule. By the time the National Resistance Movement (NRM) took power in January 1986, the country had been so politically mismanaged that a broad based non partisan political system was the "justified" road to democracy.

Uganda embarked in October 1992 on decentralization of functions, powers and responsibilities from the central to local governments. The intention was to bring political and administrative control over services to the point where they are actually delivered, improve accountability and effectiveness and increase people's ownership of programs. The decentralization policy that has been codified into the Local Government Act of 1997 embraces the principles of participation as well as bottom-up approaches to development to promote and ensure good governance and democratic participation in and control of, decision-making by the people. Under decentralization, local governments play the central role in operationalizing national and sectoral policies, strategies and programs. Uganda is divided into 56 districts that constitute the local government system. Districts are composed of five levels - the District (Local Council, LCV), the County (LCIV), the Sub County or Division (LCIII), the Parish (LCII) and the Village (LCI) - each with an executive committee. The district plus the sub counties are local governments with legislative and executive powers with the rest being administrative units.

3.2 THE ECONOMY

Uganda's economy has undergone drastic transformation since independence, when it was regarded as one of the fastest growing economies in sub-Saharan Africa. By the 1970s, negative growth, hyperinflation, disintegration of public infrastructure and poor human development resulted from civil strife, corruption and mismanagement. The breakdown of the economy necessitated the introduction of reforms in the 1980s (Section 3.2.1 below). Agriculture is the backbone of Uganda's economy accounting for 40% of GDP (services give 40% and industry 20%), 85% of export earnings and 80% of employment and provides most of the raw materials to the mainly agro-based industrial sector. More than 85% of Uganda's population of 24.6 million live in rural areas and depend mainly on agriculture for their livelihood. Many of these people live below the country's absolute poverty line ⁶. The agriculture sector is comprised of predominantly (70%) subsistence farmers with women constituting 70-80% of the labor force. In view of the centrality of agriculture to the national economy, GoU developed the Plan for Modernisation of Agriculture (PMA) as the operational framework for eradicating poverty. The PMA identifies roads as key in the agricultural modernization drive and indicates that one of its strategies for improving marketing access will be ensuring the implementation of RSDP.

⁶ Studies of poverty in Uganda indicate that it is largely a rural phenomenon and that 48% of the rural population (the majority depend on agriculture for their livelihood) is below the absolute poverty line

3.2.1 Economic Restructuring

Uganda embarked on an economic recovery program in 1987 with support from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The program has involved stabilization and rehabilitation of the economy as well as the removal of structural distortion. The intention has been, inter alia, to rehabilitate the productive sectors and in particular, the infrastructure on which they depend. Restructuring has involved a shift to less government intervention and more market-oriented economic strategies designed to promote macro-economic stability and growth. The overall objective of the structural adjustment programs (SAP) for fiscal operations has been to reduce government expenditures as a major instrument for the control of inflation. Expenditure control, adopted in 1992, has involved prioritization of primary education, primary health care, water and sanitation, agricultural research and extension and roads as key sectors of the economy. Other elements of public expenditure management have been civil service reform (through downsizing), the decentralization policy (aimed at improving the efficiency of service delivery) and significant reduction of subsidies. Other reforms included liberalization of prices and markets for both internal and external trade and privatization involving liquidation of enterprises, contract management and change of ownership from government to the private sector.

The decentralization process has redefined the role of local government in development. Under decentralization, MoWHC's role in the transport sector has been limited to policy making and monitoring, leaving responsibility for district, urban and community access roads to local governments. Public resources are being increasingly allocated to district and sub county level where the needs of the rural poor are better understood. The whole concept of participation allows gender-responsive development to emerge (Section 3.4.6). Privatization has resulted in changing the approaches to works from direct involvement in road construction, rehabilitation and maintenance by departments to the use of contractors.

The economic reforms have resulted in rapid reconstruction of the country, growth in GDP and control of inflation but these have not been matched with human development. Uganda is ranked 158 of 174 countries according to the UN's Human Development Index (HDI) and it is one of the poorest countries, with per person GDP of USD 300.

3.2.2 Poverty Reduction Strategies

In response to the high levels of poverty, as reflected in the low HDIs, GoU formulated a Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP) to coincide with the UN's Poverty Eradication Decade (1996-2007). Poverty reduction, whereby government intends to reduce the proportion of the population living in absolute poverty from 44% in 1997 to below 10% by year 2017, is a central objective of the country's development strategy. The PEAP, the comprehensive development framework for formulation of public policies and plans and investment programs for development partners and Civil Society Organizations (CSO), is designed to balance economic growth with human development, as an analysis of its four pillars indicates. The PEAP, underpinning GoU's resource allocation for poverty reduction, is Uganda's equivalent of the PRSP and provides the framework for development of the World Bank's Poverty Reduction Support Credit (PRSC).

Developed in 1997 and revised in 2000 to reflect the development priorities of the people, the PEAP identifies strategies to contribute to improving the lives of the poor. The overall objective of the PEAP is to eliminate absolute poverty through the strategic objectives of: i) creating a framework for rapid and sustainable economic growth and structural transformation; ii) ensuring

good governance and security; iii) directly increasing the ability of the poor to raise their income through participation, support for infrastructure development, promotion of employment and provision of livelihoods for those who are disadvantaged; iv) enhanced quality of life of the poor through provision of: adequate health, education and housing, improved service delivery and public information and addressing AIDS and large family size.

Priority actions of the PEAP include rural roads, primary health care, primary education, water and sanitation and transformation of agriculture. These areas benefit from the Poverty Action Fund (PAF) that was created in 1998 to act as a conduit for the financial resources saved under the Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) debt relief initiative, of which Uganda is a beneficiary. The PAF funds, which are protected from reallocation even in the event of fiscal shortfalls, are provided to local government in the form of conditional grants.

Results of the 1998/99 Uganda Participatory Poverty Assessment (UPPAP) on which the revised PEAP is based and the UPPAP2 (2001/2002) demonstrate strong linkage between gender and poverty. Gender is identified as critical in national as well as household resource generation, allocation, distribution and use. Gender inequality emerges as a number one poverty issue, causing both deprivation and inefficiency. In the light of its significance to development, the PEAP thus recommends that all national policies, plans and programs demonstrate clear sensitivity to gender.

3.2.3 Sector Wide Planning

GoU has adopted a sector wide approach (SWAp) to planning to operationalize the PEAP. Agencies responsible prepare plans detailing their prioritized actions for poverty eradication over a 5-10 year period; this approach applies to the road sub sector as well as to social development (where gender mainstreaming falls). Gender is regarded as a cross-cutting concern and most SWAps indicate that it will be mainstreamed during the identification, design, implementation and monitoring of development interventions. However, considering gender as a cross-cutting issue commonly results into its invisibility in overall, sectoral and specific objectives, activities, indicators and investment plans. This implies that unless special measures are taken, gender may be inadequately incorporated during implementation. Indeed, an audit of decentralized local governments' gender capacities in 2002 reveals that they "don't do gender" because it is not one of the PEAP priority areas that benefit from PAF funding. Considering that PAF constitutes the biggest proportion of local governments' development budgets, this poses a big challenge to gender mainstreaming. Further, whereas SWAps are intended to develop efficient and effective mechanisms to deliver sector programs from the centre, their sectoral nature is counterproductive to gender mainstreaming that requires cross-sectoral measures. In addition, they are largely top-down, leaving little scope for gender responsive participatory planning.

3.3 WOMEN'S SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

Women constitute more than half the Uganda population with the female to male ratio being 12.5 million: 12.1 million. Women in Uganda are disadvantaged relative to men in both the public and private domains. Prevalent gender stereotypes define what work women and men do and determine how resources are generated and distributed, giving power to some (men) at the expense of others (women) thereby influencing who participates in and benefits from development. By defining public and private spheres, these gendered stereotypes create diasporic space for women and men

whereby moving from one sphere to another is perceived as transgression. This limits women's mobility.

A recent (2001/02) MoFPED participatory poverty assessment carried out in 60 communities in 12 districts of Uganda found that, whereas these stereotypes are changing, gender inequalities persist in the work women do relative to that of men, the resources they have to undertake that work and distribution of the benefits accruing from use of those resources. The study confirmed that women have primary responsibility for domestic work, play a major role in agricultural production and are almost entirely responsible for food security. Women's overburden with domestic work leaves them with insufficient time to get involved in productive sectors. As regards gendered access to and control over resources and development outcomes, women generally have user rights but limited decision making power. Due to the payment of bride wealth, women are regarded as property of men who control their time, access to information (e.g., men restrict women's access to the radio) and participation in politics, social groups and training.

Ownership of productive resources in Uganda refers largely to land, of which women have user rights, but which the majority (93%) does not own and consequently can not make decisions regarding its use. Land ownership is significant because it underpins the economic, social and political lives of the majority of the people in Uganda; it is the very heart of women and men's well being. Land is fundamental to the reproduction of capital and in defining spaces within which other market and distributional processes operate, in addition to being a prerequisite for accessing other productive resources including credit.

Factors that perpetuate gender inequalities are, *inter alia*, negative traditional, cultural and religious practices, beliefs and attitudes, the misconception that gender is synonymous with women and the lack of gender-disaggregated data to inform policy, planning and resource allocation. Gender stereotypes are so deeply ingrained in people's attitudes that changing the *status quo* is a long term and continuous process, requiring commitment of both human and financial resources and considerable investment in capacity building.

In the roads sub sector, a baseline study on the use of labor-based methods in district road works in 2000 revealed that for the two years analyzed, there were no female unskilled workers under the force account system for both periodic and routine maintenance. Further, women contributed an average of 11.5 and 13.5% of the workdays in skilled and unskilled rehabilitation works, respectively. The survey established that mainstream works/technical services departments were male dominated, with no female district engineers and only one female district supervisor of works.

3.4 GENDER POLICY FRAMEWORK

GoU, recognizing the gender inequalities in the country, has put in place measures to improve women's condition as well as their position relative to that of men. These have resulted, as the sections below demonstrate, in significant legal, institutional and policy gains for women.

3.4.1 Gender Responsive Constitution

Uganda ratified the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). This obligation to gender equality was translated into a commitment as articulated in the 1995 constitution which is regarded as one of the most gender-responsive in the region with a

specific focus on the historically disadvantaged position of women. The Constitution embraces gender-sensitive language like man and woman, he/she and chairperson instead of chairman. Gender equality is entrenched in the Constitution through a number of provisions. Article 21 affirms equality of all persons and prohibits discrimination based on, amongst other things, sex. Article 32 establishes the rights of the disadvantaged and requires the state to take active measures including affirmative action to redress the situation. The Constitution prescribes, *inter alia*, the composition of Parliament to include one woman representative for every district and specifies one third representation of women on local councils at all levels. Article 33(6) prohibits laws, cultures and traditions that undermine women's welfare, interest or status.

Whereas some enabling laws as provided for by the constitution have been enacted, gaps still exist. Laws that discriminate against women, especially those related to marriage and the family, persist in the country's statutes. The Equal Opportunities Commission (EOC) that is supposed to enforce affirmative action has not yet been put in place.

3.4.2 National Machinery for Mainstreaming Gender

MoGLSD is the national machinery for the advancement of women and promotion of gender equality and equity. Established in 1988, the Ministry is responsible for promoting social transformation of the communities and has the mandate to initiate, co-ordinate and monitor gender-responsive development. The Directorate of Gender and Community Development (DGCD) of MoGLSD is responsible for ensuring the mainstreaming of gender in the development process as well as enhancing equal opportunities for men and women in accessing and controlling resources and development outcomes. The Ministry works in collaboration with gender focal point persons, in all line ministries and in all local governments, whose major role is to ensure that the respective sectors and districts mainstream gender in their policies, plans and budgets. MoGLSD's capacity to execute its mandate is greatly constrained by inadequate financial and technical resources. The Ministry is one of the least funded and the civil service restructuring process has drastically reduced the number of staff within the DGCD, from over 25 officers in 1997 to the current eight.

3.4.3 National Gender Policy

The overall objective of the national gender policy (1997) is to mainstream gender in the national development process to improve the social, legal/civic, political, economic and cultural conditions of the people, especially of women. The policy defines structures plus key target areas for ensuring that gender concerns are routinely addressed in the identification, design, appraisal, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of national, sectoral and local government policies, plans and programs. The gender policy mandates MoGLSD to coordinate, monitor and review the formulation of gender-responsive policies and their implementation within sectors. In light of its central role in national resource mobilization and allocation, MoFPED's role in operationalizing the policy was defined as: ensure that, *inter alia*: all national policies, programs and projects are gender-responsive and resources are allocated to programs and institutions that promote gender equity. The gender policy has been overtaken by national events including fiscal decentralization and the adoption of SWAps with the related Medium Term Expenditure Frameworks (MTEFs). SWAps have redefined the role of MoFPED in the planning and budgeting process, which has become more participatory and inclusive with all the different sectors drawing up their plans. The gender policy is being reviewed to incorporate these developments.

3.4.4 National Action Plan on Women

The national action plan on women (1999), developed as a follow-up to the Beijing World Conference on Women, is designed to provide equal opportunities for women and men to participate in and benefit from social, economic and political development. The action plan prioritizes poverty, income generation and economic empowerment, reproductive health and rights, legal framework and decision making, girl child education and domestic violence⁷ as areas of concern for advancing women. The plan is intended, *inter alia*, to uplift the economic status of women and develop their entrepreneurial capacity and create a regulatory mechanism to promote gender equity and women's empowerment. While the action plan provides the framework for coordinating initiatives in the priority areas for a five-year period (1999/2000-2003/2004), it has not been operationalized. The biggest constraint has been inadequate dissemination. Accordingly, the key players'- including line ministries, local governments, development aid partners and NGOs - initiatives have not been systematically responsive to the prioritized development areas.

3.4.5 Social Development Sector Strategic Investment Plan

The Social Development Sector Strategic Investment Plan (SDIP 2003-2008) focuses on social protection as a strategy for social transformation. The SDIP is built around a twin-track strategy: mainstreaming social development concerns through working and supporting policy and program development across and within sectors and direct/targeted interventions to provide services to specific socio-economic groups. As regards gender, the SDIP targets building the capacity of decision makers and planning officers to mainstream gender in at least five priority sectors: education, health, water, agriculture and roads. Further, gender and equity budgeting analyses will be conducted for 24 district local governments and for the five priority sector Budget Framework Papers (BFPs) over the plan period. It is intended also that, by the end of 2003, the Gender Management System (GMS) will be operationalized. The GMS mission is to advance gender equality and equity by promoting political will, forging a partnership of stakeholders (government, civil society and the private sector), building capacity and sharing good practice. The goal is mainstreaming gender into all government policies, programs and activities. The GMS mechanisms include gender analysis, gender training and developing performance appraisal and management information systems.

Whereas the SDIP is essential for rationalizing and maximizing investment activities in the social sectors, it is likely to result in further weakening of gender incorporation in the other SWAps, including the RSDP - the respective sectors hold the misconceived belief that gender is the sole responsibility of MoGLSD.

3.4.6 Gender Responsive Development

GoU's enabling environment has led to progress towards gender-responsive development. The decentralization policy states an obligation for gender-responsive planning, defining structures and processes to ensure that gender is addressed in all future activities and gender awareness among local government politicians and technocrats is fostered to enable them address gender concerns.

In response to the raising levels of domestic violence in Uganda, it was added to the prioritized areas after the Beijing+5 conference in New York

The constitutional provisions for women's participation in political decision making are operationalized in the Parliamentary Elections Statute (1993) as well as in the Local Governments Act of 1997 plus the amended act (2001) which included definite spaces for women in strategic local government bodies like the executive, tender board, land board and the district service commission. The Local Governments Act explicitly states that women shall form at least one third of all local councils at all levels. Affirmative action has also been applied in institutions of higher learning where, since 1993, qualifying girls are awarded an extra 1.5 marks to their entry grade points. This has seen an increase in the number of girls entering Makerere, the biggest public university in the country, from 20% to 43% in this academic year (2002/03). Prior to affirmative action, the number of women in parliament ranged from none to 2. The proportion has increased steadily to 24.4% in the current parliament (2001-2006). The Universal Primary Education policy (1997) provides for free primary education and guarantees education of the girl child. The 1998 Land Act, which provides for the protection of women's land rights, is yet to be implemented and a clause in the Act that would guarantee secure land tenure by women was omitted and is currently under debate.

The gender-responsive environment has also resulted into the growth and development of women and gender activism, although this is best described as a chicken and egg kind of relationship. Many of the achievements in Uganda are attributed to the strong women's movement that has continuously lobbied and advocated for policy transformation towards gender equality. Under umbrella organizations and networks, women's civil society organizations formed strategic alliances with legislators to institutionalize enabling laws in the Constitution. They are currently pushing for all the gender sensitive provisions of the Constitution to be implemented. In recognition of the central role of academic arms of the women's movement in conducting research and therefore generation of gender disaggregated data, women's CSOs lobbied for the establishment of the Department of Women and Gender Studies at Makerere University in 1991, the first such unit in sub-Saharan Africa. The establishment of MoGLSD, which could be defined as the landmark in Uganda's gender and development terrain, was also a result of women's activism. Having a ministry, a policy making organ, as the national machinery has greatly contributed to the gendered gains achieved so far. In collaboration with the MoGLSD and with financial support from development aid partners, women's NGOs have also been involved in countrywide gender awareness creation of policy makers, planners, implementers plus the community.

4. INSTITUTIONAL ANALYSIS

4.1 OVERVIEW OF UGANDA'S TRANSPORT SECTOR STAKEHOLDERS

Uganda's transport sector has a number of stakeholders whose perceptions, attitudes, practices and capacities shape the gendered developments and outcomes of investment in it. National institutions such as MoWHC, MoFPED and RAFU and donors provide most support to the transport sector. The gender sensitivity of these organizations is critical considering their central role in formulation of transport sector policies and development guidelines, planning and resource allocation. GoU's decentralization policy involves local governments, through the statutory district and sub county works committees and tender boards, coordinating all development activities for the sector and implementing decisions made centrally. Other stakeholders are contractors and consultants who are playing an increasing role in roadworks, as the privatization policy entails moves towards contract management with a corresponding reduction in direct labor operations and in-house design work by MoWHC. Engagement of the private sector presents a threat to gender mainstreaming initiatives as the contractors' and consultants' overall motive is profit maximization. At project level are the primary stakeholders, the intended female and male beneficiaries of improvements in the road sector. This level is made up of transport operators and users, both individually and collectively as communities.

4.2 TRANSPORT SECTOR POLICIES AND PLANS

GoU's transport sector policy is aimed at provision of cost-effective, efficient, safe and environmentally sensitive transport services to support increased agricultural and industrial production, trade and tourism and improved access to social and administrative services. The transport sector strategy involves further scaling-down of public administration, decentralization of services and involvement of the private sector. By not explicitly stating gender in its objectives and strategies, the road sector policy does not reflect the national commitments to gender responsive development. This poses a great challenge in light of the policy being supposed to provide the operational framework for developments - including gender integration - in the roads sub sector.

4.2.1 The Road Sector Development Programme

The ten-year RSDP was developed in 1996 to provide a safe and efficient road network by removing the major transport flow constraints to support the present and projected economic and social development and to promote national and regional economic integration, peace and unity. The emphasis of RSDP initially was the classified main road network. RSDP was updated in 2002 to take account of developments such as PEAP and the Local Governments Act (1997) and extended to cover 2001/02-2010/11. RSDP2 is designed to meet economic and social demands related to the transport sector. It is intended to establish a funding and institutional framework for sustaining the road network at an acceptable level of service to ensure sustainable benefits. RSDP has three components: the national road network; the local road network; and road sub sector institutional development and capacity building.

RSDP1 was understandably gender-blind as it was not informed by the national gender policy, which was not in place when it was formulated. Whereas promotion of gender equality is supposed to be one of the strategic measures of the RSDP2, it is inadequately integrated within the plan, being limited to only women's participation. In a section detailing how cross-cutting issues will be

addressed in further reform action and capacity building RSDP2 states that: "Participation of women in labor-based rural works helps to raise incomes of rural women, strengthens technical and leadership skills, and supports women enterprises development. The implementation of road activities will consider measures to facilitate the participation of women, including supervisors and contractors".

4.2.2 Final Draft White Paper on Sustainable Maintenance of District, Urban and Community Access Roads

The draft White Paper on sustainable maintenance of district, urban and community access roads (DUCAR) outlines a 7-10 year strategy for road maintenance, including rehabilitation works needed to bring roads to a maintainable standard. The Paper underscores the promotion and institutionalization of labor-based technology in all roadwork activities to the extent possible. A district road development plan is to be developed from this strategy. The Paper recognizes that, while women's participation in the roads sub sector would improve their incomes and help alleviate poverty, their participation is very low, less than 10% of the labor force. The Paper states that, to tap this important human resource, government will take affirmative action to ensure that women participate at all levels of road rehabilitation and maintenance. The implementation measures to increase involvement of women in road works include: i) a target of at least 30% of the workforce and of small-scale contractors developed and employed to be women; ii) effective sensitization and training programs to enlighten all the role-players on the benefits of involving women; iii) introducing flexible working hours to enable women to harmonize their domestic duties with road works; iv) increasing women's access to training opportunities; v) inclusion in the contract legal framework to address gender equality; and vi) preparing specific gender guidelines as part of the current District Road Works Manuals. Further, MoWHC, which will be responsible for implementation of these measures, is to track progress of achievements in improving women's participation in and benefits from the roads sub sector.

While the draft White Paper is currently with the Cabinet for discussion, some of these recommendations have been implemented under RSPS (as Section 5.2 indicates). The paper establishes a very firm foundation for integration of gender in DUCAR. Other enabling policies include the draft policy, strategy and plan of action for capacity building of the local construction industry 2002/03 - 2006/07 which states that: "Equal opportunities shall be accorded to women to obtain gainful employment or provide services in the construction industry. The planning, design and construction of infrastructure shall take into consideration all relevant gender issues and ensure that adequate facilities or mitigation measures are provided to the satisfaction of either gender. All the stakeholders in the industry shall be sensitized on gender issues and compelled to comply with this policy".

4.3 GENDER IN THE TRANSPORT SECTOR: NATIONAL AND DEVELOPMENT AID PARTNERS' PERSPECTIVES

The foregoing sections have demonstrated that there is an enabling environment as a result of national political commitment to mainstreaming gender; this may not have been adequately translated into practice. A study conducted under RSPS in 1999 established that, of the 12 international donor organizations involved in road sub sector support in Uganda, only Ireland Aid had affirmative action specific to women's employment. Whereas the situation is improving, gender mainstreaming in the roads sub sector continues to be relatively weak, because of number of factors.

Gender is believed by most stakeholders to be synonymous with women and efforts to address gender are thus limited to women's participation. The roads sub sector is perceived to be technologically complex and a male preserve; for instance, there is only one female engineer in MoWHC. This is largely because of inequalities in girls' and boys access to education in general and science-based subjects in particular.

Donors in Uganda prioritize gender and the most have focal point or program officers with a gender function. A Donor Coordination Group on Gender (DCG), open to representatives from bilateral and multilateral donor organizations and international NGOs, gives a forum for coordination between development partners to promote gender equality and women's empowerment to enhance the efficiency and effectiveness of assistance. The objectives of the Group include: i) enabling development partners to participate in ongoing processes for mainstreaming gender in national development policies and programs such as PEAP and the decentralization process and within the SWAp in various sectors; and ii) liaising with other donor coordination groups to promote and ensure that gender is on their agendas. Unfortunately, unlike other sectors, there is no interactive road sector SWAp process to enhance donor coordination at policy level. Consequently, the road sector does not benefit from the DCG initiatives.

At personal level, national and development aid partners hold varying views viz.:

"Mainstreaming gender during implementation is definitely significant, but at the higher policy level, there is no value added doing gender". *MoFPED official*

"Arguments that women can't perform as well as men in road works are not valid. Women are more efficient performers and in fact some of the work is best done by women. I have seen women engineers operate heavy machinery as well as, if not better than men. Gender is 'doable' and women's participation is not a new concept. For instance in Kampala City Council, women's role in street maintenance is very visible. Furthermore, staff in the Kireka soil testing laboratory are predominantly women. Information is important because gender stereotyping is due to lack of awareness." World Bank official

"The level of understanding of gender within the MoWHC varies, some individuals especially in DUR appreciate its significance to the sector but to others, when a man actively promotes gender, they are sometimes teased that they will soon become women." *MoWHC official*

The local governments, despite affirmative action, are predominantly male dominated. For instance, the Lira works committee has two women and six men members and the Tender Board (though dissolved at the time of the study) is similar. Apart from under-representation of women and therefore their perspective in decision making, local governments appear to be biased against women's participation; one female contractor in Lira said:

"I am an experienced professional engineer. I was selected to go for training at the METC while I was an employee of Winroc, a private construction company. After the training I wanted to apply what I had learnt but the managing director was not supportive. I decided to quit and formed my own company, Gender Enterprises Uganda Limited. When the district advertised for road works, I applied but the tender board was not ready to award a tender to me arguing that 'a woman can not get the contract because road works are for men'. It was only on the intervention of the Danida DRN that I got the contract." *Margaret Mogai, Female Contractor*

4.4 GENDER IN THE TRANSPORT SECTOR: USERS AND CONTRACTORS' PERSPECTIVES

The study established that socio-cultural and attitudinal barriers deter women's participation in and benefit from the transport sector but that users and contractors' perspectives vary.

Community Perspectives

Culture dictates against women earning money. As such, most men do not allow their wives to work.

Husbands grab their wives' earnings from road works rationalizing that since the women abandoned garden work, their wages should be used for the purchase of food. In addition, men often threaten to report their "transgressing" spouses to the clan heads and/or even divorce them. Consequently, many women have left the road project work for fear of losing their marriages.

The gender division of labor in the community also dictates that labor intensive work should be for men. Women are only supposed to engage in domestic work.

Some women are not comfortable working on the road for fear of negative public opinion. "I am a cook on the road project but women friends say they are ashamed of being seen doing men's work."

Contractor Views

Men are erratic and impatient, they slow down the work. Women on the other hand, are more understanding. They concentrate more in labor based work and they produce quality work.

Labor-based work is energy demanding and sometimes the women fail to meet their targets.

Women often turn up late for work because of domestic chores and some work with their babies strapped on their backs thus reducing their output.

The rainy season comes along with a lot of garden work and this affects work – women are affected more because they are more involved in the gardening.

Some of the women have not changed their attitudes and often want to do work that is related to their socially ascribed roles like cooking and collecting water other than break the ground on the road. Others only want to perform half tasks.

The findings indicate that attitudes have not changed overtime. A study in 2000 revealed similar arguments re women's participation in road works: "With women gone all done, who will look after the children at home, who will ensure food security? Will women behave well with money? How can I (a man) live with a financially independent woman? Families will break up. Road works are not for women. Women will become rebellious." 8

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⁸ See MoWHC/Danida (December 2000) Baseline Survey on Use of Labour-based Methods in Road Works: 4-15

5. RSPS DESIGN AND IMPLEMENTATION

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This section discusses RSPS's design and implementation. Considering that RSPS2 has just been formulated, analysis of implementation procedures is limited to RSPS1. Design issues analyzed include the gender sensitivity of objectives, activities, indicators and budgets and considerations of gender in the analysis of the external environment. The focus of discussion of implementation is on the gender responsiveness of structures, staffing, contracting processes, monitoring and reporting. For labor-based road works, the organization, recruitment process and management of labor are discussed. Involvement of stakeholders, including intended beneficiaries, in RSPS design and implementation is also considered.

5.2 RSPS DESIGN

GoU in 1996 requested Danida to assist with the implementation of its ten-year RSDP in a number of specific areas. RSPS1 was conceived to address national and local social and economic goals and was to be implemented within GoU's policy framework such as the PEAP and national gender policy. The cross-cutting concerns to be pursued at all stages and levels of preparation and design included support of women's participation in development, promotion of environmentally sustainable development and promotion of human rights, democratization and popular participation. From the outset, Danida appreciated the significance of mainstreaming gender in RSPS and commissioned a study in 1998 that further elaborated gender concerns in the program. The study was to be input to the respective program documents and to suggest specific gender inputs and activities. The study confirmed that the construction, rehabilitation and maintenance in Uganda were predominantly male-biased. It recommended building capacity of all stakeholders to ensure that gender is routinely addressed by all institutions, systems and structures engaged in the roads sub sector.

5.2.1 Mubende-Fort Portal Road: Trunk Road Rehabilitation

The objectives of the support to the Mubende-Fort Portal corridor included significant reduction in road user costs and traveling times, an efficient and effective maintenance system and capacity and improved accessibility to stimulate social and economic development. The latter was to be achieved through a socio-economic sub component (see 5.2.2). Gender concerns identified in the component description include: the attitude that women cannot manage the work in road construction, resulting in a male dominated labor force at all skill levels; and the inadequacy of the labor camps to meet women's specific interests of privacy and the necessity to practice subsistence farming to supplement their wages. The component description thus underscored the significance of addressing gender and indicated that the contractor would be encouraged to employ women for all staff categories. Further, it provided for development of a gender action plan and the employment of an advisor by the contractor to ensure that social and gender aspects would be routinely addressed during construction work.

5.2.2 Mubende-Fort Portal Road: Socio-Economic Development

The socio-economic component of the Kampala-Fort Portal trunk road was designed with emphasis on participation, empowerment, human resource development and gender and poverty aspects. The sub component that was to be operationalized by a Socio-Economic Development Fund (SEDF) to address employment, income generation, provision and improvement of social and physical infrastructure and training and skills development. Baseline studies and action plans were developed with participation of beneficiary communities. These identified and prioritized community gender-disaggregated needs for complementary infrastructure and defined benchmarks for subsequent monitoring.

5.2.3 District Road Network

The District Road Network (DRN) component had three sub components: rehabilitation and maintenance of feeder roads; spot improvement of classified roads; and promotion of labor-based methods. The objectives of DRN were poverty reduction, enhancement of security, social development and economic growth in rural areas through enhanced accessibility and increased employment, promotion of private sector participation and labor-based methods for works, The support to METC was specifically intended to assist with capacity development in the DRN districts and dissemination of the labor-based concept nationwide.

The feasibility study for the DRN component, that included a gender analysis of the district road management and works, confirmed that this was a predominantly male field. The study concluded that improvements in women's participation in road works would be ensured through the active promotion of labor-based methods. Private sector involvement would open up new opportunities for women, either as contractors or because new (ungendered) patterns of employment were likely to emerge⁹. To ensure that women's priorities were addressed, it was recommended that district local government gender officers should be involved in planning and that the underlying causes of low women's participation should be assessed in greater detail to enable development of appropriate strategies. The component description did not include gender sensitive indicators and thus suggested that a gender action plan should be developed during implementation.

5.2.4 Community Transport and Travel Programme (CTTP)

The CTTP sub component of the DRN was designed as a pilot in 8 sub-counties in Lira District. The intention was to generate experience for formulation of a community access component of RSPS2. The program was intended to provide better access for communities to essential social and economic services through improving local transport infrastructure, socio-economic services as well as availability of intermediate means of transport for rural dwellers. Formulation of CTTP was gender-sensitive and participatory, involving members of communities, district and sub county local governments and NGOs. The underlying principle during the preparation of the program was to facilitate local communities to plan, implement and maintain priority improvements to their transport systems. Planning was intended to be at two levels of project: sub county investment projects linking community access roads to the district road network and community investment

Studies have established that women stand better chances in new types or forms of employment which do not have an established gender division of labour.

projects involving local transport infrastructure to improve access to services and facilities. CTTP was to demonstrate and promote to rural communities, intermediate means of transport (IMT).

5.2.5 Institutional Support for Coordination of the RSDP Implementation

The objectives of institutional support for coordination of the RSDP implementation were to: i) coordinate functions to generate management information on quality, cost, time and performance of the road system; ii) promote use of information by road sector agencies and donors; and iii) strengthen Ugandan capacity to ensure sustainability of coordination and monitoring functions after the transition period. The component document indicated that performance monitoring would include gender and provided for a set of gender monitoring indicators and action plans for gender interventions to be established under the component. However, having separate indicators that are not included in the main component document is likely to result in their not being appreciated and thus monitored. The component included support to the Transport Desk in MoFPED and the DUR and RAFU Desks in MoWHC.

5.3 RSPS IMPLEMENTATION

5.3.1 Mubende-Fort Portal Road: Trunk Road Rehabilitation

A gender specialist was attached to the Kampala-Fort Portal trunk road component to ensure that gender and poverty issues were addressed in implementation. The specialist held meetings with different communities, including women's groups, along the road corridor. The purpose was to discuss the potential benefits as well as the challenges of the program. A gender awareness-creation workshop for the contractor's top management was organized to introduce gender concepts and the principles of gender analysis in road construction. Further measures to incorporate gender in implementation included: i) informing women of potential employment opportunities in the road works; ii) ensuring that women have employment opportunities; iii) representation of women in the workers' welfare committees; iv) quarterly meetings with female workers; v) site visits to observe the working environment; vi) collection of gender-disaggregated performance monitoring data. Issues raised in quarterly meetings and site visits such as lack of protective wear and privacy were addressed. A three-month paid maternity leave including meeting pre- and post- natal medical care bills was instituted. Family planning services were made available at the company clinic.

Constraints to the effectiveness of the gender specialist identified during an annual review of the program included her coming on board late when recruitment of the workers had already been completed and initial lack of clarity about her functions and roles. The latter, coupled with lack of dedicated funds for gender-related activities resulted in missed opportunities for incorporation of gender early in implementation. The review recommended a model regarding gender that could be replicated in other road sector programs including RSPS2. Suggestions for strengthening the effectiveness as well as the acceptability of a gender specialist included: i) future tender documents should outline ToRs for the specialist, including objectives, outputs and activities; ii) the specialist be mobilized at the beginning of the project; iii) contract documents should provide budget for the specialist.

5.3.2 Mubende-Fort Portal Road: Socio-Economic Development

The socio-economic development sub-component was operationalized by a socio-economic development fund (SEDF) that supported small scale development projects to take advantage of the positive effects of the road and mitigate negative impacts. Communities living within 3 km of the trunk road were the beneficiaries. The component was implemented in close cooperation with the road construction project and got technical support from the gender advisor. Gender was integral to the awareness training of the communities before the start of the project and a special emphasis would be placed on women's participation not only as beneficiaries but also during identification, planning and implementation of project activities.

The budget reflected specified amounts for gender support. However, a November 2000 performance review of the sub component indicated that monitoring and reporting on gender was weak and suggested the collection of gender-disaggregated data. In August 2001, a gender management and action plan was developed, to be the basis of strengthening the integration of gender into the component. Suggestions for improvement included greater representation of women in contract management, on the fund board and on other implementation structures such as water management, development, implementation and maintenance committees. It was suggested that gender analysis be undertaken in all stages of the SEDF-funded projects. Implementation of the component was by an SEDF board of all major stakeholders including MoWHC, local government representatives (including the community services department), Danida and the project consultant.

5.3.3 District Road Network

A sociologist was charged with promoting socio-economic aspects of the DRN including poverty, gender and working environment considerations, labor-based methods and participatory approaches to planning. All the technical studies undertaken under the DRN had a gender perspective and to ensure responsive outcomes, the study teams included sociologists. A number of strategies were put in place to strengthen the mainstreaming of gender in implementation. Local government community development department staff were actively involved in all stages of the road improvement process. Local government stakeholders including politicians and technocrats participated in the program through public hearings and mobilization and awareness-creation workshops about the road works including the significance of women's participation. The introduction of gender, an otherwise sensitive issue, in such forum resulted in stakeholders identifying with it and making recommendations on how to address some of the related challenges. A gender management and action plan developed by the program, including the target of 40% women's participation, was based on suggestions generated during a workshop which discussed principles and approaches for preparation of the plan. Stakeholders thus felt ownership of and identity with the program.

Other gender related activities undertaken by the DRN sociologists included conducting a baseline survey in the program districts to establish benchmarks, facilitating a training module in gender at METC, screening of program documents (contracts, tender evaluations, METC curricula, training manuals) for gender sensitivity. Process indicators related to: i) gender incorporation in the district road planning cycle through the collection of gender sensitive socio economic data during Annual District Road Inventory Condition Surveys (ADRICS); (ii) use of data in road prioritization and inclusion of gender in all district road plans; iii) participation of women in road works, income generating activities and decision making. Gender sensitivity of employment and working

conditions were developed through provision of equal opportunities for both women and men, undertaking 50% of works through task rate, 60% of the contracts using flexible working time, all work sites providing separate sanitary facilities for women and men and women undertaking non-traditional tasks.

Monitoring was participatory, including local government gender officers as well as female and male representatives of the community. Contractors were encouraged to use task instead of daily rates, adopt flexible working times, allocate women non-traditional tasks and provide them with separate and special facilities to promote their participation. The program developed monitoring forms to ensure gender sensitivity in the recruitment process and to track the proportion of women in responsible positions, views on female employment and remuneration of women relative to that of men.

Initiatives to address gender in METC included gender awareness training of local government non-engineering technical staff, specifically community development/gender, environmental and labor officers. Other measures included providing space (separate rooms, toilet and shower facilities) for women. Space allocation was managed flexibly to accommodate the number of female trainees. Training was offered to political and administrative officials including district chairpersons, chief administrative officers, district secretary for works as well as chairpersons and secretaries of district tender boards. In recognition of the importance of community mobilization in the promotion of women's participation in road works, a district community mobilizers' course was developed. Implementation of the CTTP commenced in March 2002 with a baseline study to identify indicators, some of which are gender sensitive. The demonstration of IMTs was conducted with displays of a bicycle ambulance, a bicycle trailer, bicycle panniers and an ox-driven cart - there was no indication of specific considerations to gender.

5.3.4 Institutional Support

A study to identify strategies and focus areas of activities to ensure that gender was mainstreamed was undertaken at the beginning of RSPS. The study was to propose gender sensitive performance indicators for RSPS, which had not been developed during formulation. The study recommended awareness creation for attitudinal and behavioral change of all stakeholders and suggested practical measures such as separate facilities in labor camps and structuring the work day to facilitate women's participation. These were additional to establishing gender quotas for the workforce, collection of gender-disaggregated data, incorporation of gender and encouragement of the recruitment of women in road related training courses, review of road sector documents including training manuals for gender sensitivity and integration of gender in the early stages of project design. The study suggested that funds be provided to facilitate gender-oriented activities and recruitment of gender officers for all future Danida-funded road projects. DUR has commissioned studies such as the White Paper on DUCAR that, if passed, will result in adoption of most of the recommendations.

5.4 RSPS2 DESIGN

Danida's support for RSPS2 is intended to complement that of other donors to the road sector. The development objective of RSPS2 is creation of sustainable road administrations and funding mechanisms for developing and maintaining all levels of roads to support economic and social development – the execution of which is transparent and accountable. RSPS2 consists of five components:

- the national road sector institutions component includes support to MoWHC's national and local roads divisions plus the Environmental Liaison Unit (ELU) and the transport section within MoFPED:
- the national labor-based training component supports the METC¹⁰ including its extension service that provides training to local governments and the private sector (small-scale contractors and consultants);
- the national gravel roads component involves investment for improvement of national gravel roads in the north-eastern districts using labor-based methods;
- the district roads component supports capacity building and road investments in the northeastern districts using labor-based methods; and
- the community access component supports sub-county councils and investments in community access activities in the north-eastern districts.

RSPS2 is intended to contribute to improved gender equality through promotion of women's participation as contractors and workers and thus provide income that will benefit the general welfare of households and to increase accessibility to public services that are essential to women. Formulation of RSPS2 was a participatory process between GoU and the Government of Denmark. The process involved consultation of all stakeholders and included gender reviews of RSPS1 and a gender appraisal of the phase 2 components. The gender analysis demonstrated the viability of mainstreaming gender in road works and suggested that, for equity, it would be essential to address gender in policy, strategy and program formulation. The design process identified key gender concerns essential for consolidating the gains from and addressing the shortcomings of RSPS1, in addition to ensuring further incorporation of gender in RSPS2. Proposed strategies were: i) building capacity at both national and district levels to address gender within the transport sector; ii) incorporation of the transport needs of both women and men in the district and sub-country development plans; iii) participation of women in the planning of transport interventions; iv) providing information to women about employment opportunities in road works; v) equal recruitment opportunities for women and men in labor-based road works; and vi) awareness creation of men to allow their spouses to participate in road works.

Gender capacity development plans were developed for all five RSPS2 components. The time- and resource- bound plans detail the capacity development issue, action required, institution responsible and national standards or guidelines. The proposed actions include, *inter alia*: i) attaching a social assessment technical advisor to the ELU, a part-time sociologist to the METC and local gender advisors to the community access component; ii) gender training for stakeholders at all levels; iii) development and institutionalization of gender guidelines for the sector; iv) gender-responsive recruitment and contracting procedures; v) strengthening gender sensitivity of monitoring and reporting systems; vi) ensuring women's participation in development planning. The consolidated gender management plan document emphasizes that "whereas indicative cost estimates are provided in the plans, it should be noted that all gender related activities are mainstreamed into the RSPS2 components and the budgets can therefore not be specifically earmarked for gender activities." Table 1 summarizes the RSPS2 gender capacity development plans.

¹⁰ During RSPS1, METC was referred to as MELTC (Mount Elgon Labour-based Training Centre),

¹¹ See Danida (2002) Consolidated Gender Management Plan. Road Sector Programme Support - Phase 2. Uganda. October 2002; 4

Table 1: Summary of RSPS2 Gender Capacity Development Plans

Component	Proposed Actions
National road sector institutions	 Attach a technical adviser (social assessment) to the ELU Gender training for ELU staff Develop and institutionalize national guidelines for gender assessment and management for the road sector Develop mandatory gender equal opportunities and labor recruitment procedures including sensitization and mobilization for incorporation into road works contracts Develop and conduct gender training programs for road sector personnel Develop gender awareness raising material for the road sector Review and revise social and gender baseline and performance monitoring indicators for road works Review and revise formats and modalities for reporting on gender in the road sector
	Establish road sector social and gender information system and database
National labor-based training	 Attach a part-time sociologist to METC Gender training needs assessment (TNA) and training METC trainers Review and revise METC curricula and training manuals for further gender sensitivity Review and revise guidelines for selection and registration of contractors for METC training to ensure equal opportunities for women Ensure that gender is adequately covered in all training, mentoring and monitoring activities Road works tailor-made gender TNA and training of district councilors, staff and tender board members Incorporate accommodation and facilities for women in the METC master plan Monitor trainee, tender document as well as contractor gender compliance
National gravel roads	 Assess and train station engineering staff and/or private consultants in gender Sensitize women and men re: road sector employment opportunities for women for all categories and classes of road works Tailor made LBM road works gender TNA and training of female and male workers

	 Incorporate specific gender recruitment, including sensitisation and mobilisation requirements into contract documentation Monitor tender document and contractor gender compliance Collect and collate gender disaggregated road works data
District roads	 Gender TNA and training of female and male district councillors, staff and tender board members
	 Sensitize women and men re road sector employment opportunities for women for all categories and classes of road works
	 Tailor-made LBM road works gender TNA and training of female and male workers
	• Ensure that transport needs of women and men considered in development plans
	Ensure participation of women in development planning
	 Incorporate specific gender recruitment, including sensitisation and mobilisation requirements into contract documentation
	Monitor tender document and contractor gender compliance
	Collect and collate gender disaggregated road works data
Community	Attach local gender advisors to the component
	Attach part-time international gender advisor to the component
	 Gender TNA and training of female and male district councillors, staff and tender board members
	 Gender TNA and training of sub-county and village leaders and staff, female and male workers and communities
	Tailor made LBM road works gender TNA and training of communities
	• Ensure that transport meds of women and men considered in development plans
	Ensure participation of women in development planning
	 Incorporate specific gender recruitment, including sensitisation and mobilisation requirements into contract documentation
	Monitor tender document and contractor gender compliance
	Collect and collate gender disaggregated road works data

Achievements to date in implementing the plan include recruitment of technical advisors/sociologists; review of METC curricula, training manuals, guidelines for selection and registration of contractors; and engendering the METC master plan, contract documentation and transport sector development planning.

6. GENDER DIFFERENCES IN OUTCOMES

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The section analyzes the differences in planned gender outcomes and impacts of the RSPS. The analysis is in relation to the four key dimensions of poverty defined by the World Bank's PRSP: i) **opportunity**, related to access to employment within and outside the transport sector; access to education and training, affordability and ownership of transport, access to natural resources, farm inputs, raw materials, transport services, markets and trading opportunities; ii) **capability**, related to HIV/AIDS as well as access to health services, education and training, land and housing, water, energy and social capital/networks; iii) **security**, of person and transport-related accidents; iv) **empowerment** – participation in policy, planning and implementation, development of social capital/networks, knowledge and information including user involvement and participation in political processes at community, district and national levels. Because of short period of implementation of RSPS2, assessment of gendered impacts focuses on RSPS1.

6.2 MUBENDE-FORT PORTAL TRUNK ROAD REHABILITATION

The component was to improve women's (relative to men's) opportunities to participate in and benefit from road works. The intended outcomes of the program's gender activities were that company management and workers at supervisory level would be aware of gender and be able to address women's and men's concerns in road construction activities. This program also aimed for gender balanced staff recruitment and development practices leading to increased visibility and capacity of women in road works.

The component improved women's opportunities to access employment in the roads sub sector. One of the three sub contractors was a woman and participation by women in road works was 17.1%. Women were involved in a wide range of activities including *shamba*, traffic control, store keeping, security, stone pitching, crack sealing, removal of obstructions, spreading, leveling, edge repair, landscaping, brooming, surfacing, gabion, topsoiling and grassing – women's participation on otherwise non traditional work reached a peak of 13.3% during the project. Other achievements included gender sensitivity in the language from: "Go Slow, Men at Work" to "Caution, Roadworks Ahead" or "Go Slow, Work in Progress". This, coupled with the improved women's visibility in road works, contributed to women's empowerment as well as breaking the stereotype that road works are for men. Road works improved opportunities for income generating activities through roadside markets, agriculture, trade centers, new buildings along the road and higher traffic flow. No gender- disaggregated data are available to establish how these outcomes were distributed between women and men although anecdotal evidence suggests that women were major beneficiaries. Negative impacts of the component identified by the community included increased road accidents, spread of HIV/AIDS and teenage pregnancy.

"Road construction involves several challenges to the communities. Six children were born in this parish as a result of the road works and have been left fatherless since the project ended and the workers left. My daughter who was in her 11th year of schooling was one of the 'casualties'. She has since dropped out of school since we have seven other children to support. The baby has no support and there is no communication with the father." *Aisha Senyonjo, Treasurer, Kissujja LC1*

6.3 MUBENDE-FORT PORTAL TRUNK ROAD REHABILITATION: SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The socio-economic development sub-component's goal was to promote sustainable socio-economic development for the poor, the women and other vulnerable groups along the road corridor. The SEDF was established to assist the people to improve their livelihoods. The expected gender outcomes of the sub-component were: maximum participation of and benefit to the women in the complementary physical and social infrastructure (community roads, markets, produce collection points, safe water facilities); linkage of farmers to micro-credit schemes and information about market opportunities; environmental awareness and tree planting. Although no gender-disaggregated data were collected, analysis of the supported projects indicates that most related to women's work and reflected their development needs.

The gendered outcomes of the project were: i) women's groups were trained in planting disease-resistant fruit trees; ii) construction of protected wells to provide clean water to communities and in some cases, reduce travel time; iii) construction of several access roads within a 3 km of the trunk road; iv) organizing seminars on HIV/AIDS and road safety at sub county (LCIII) and parish levels (LCII); v) improvement in school facilities by constructing pit latrines (separate stances for girls and boys) and providing school desks and water tanks; vi) construction of Gwanika market with water tank, rubbish skip and pit latrines to promote hygiene; vii) awarding two road construction contracts (of an unspecified number) to women; viii) women's empowerment through their participation in project identification and design and in implementation as contractors and workers; ix) change in attitude towards women's capacities to execute road works through their work being of higher quality than men's.

"The project has really empowered us. As a result of the participatory approach to development needs identification, we can now confidently articulate our problems. Our group consists of 15 women and is involved in a fruit tree planting project. We were trained by agricultural extension workers on how to plant trees as well as improve productivity through grafting. Last year (2002), we made a profit of USh. 3,000,000/ (US\$ 1,500) from the fruit tree planting project. This really boosted our incomes and improved the welfare of our households." *FGD with members of Bagezza Women's Fruit Tree Planting project*

While the component trained HIV/AIDS service providers and established AIDS testing centers at the district hospital and in two health centers, husbands refused their wives to use these services. As one community member said:

"Men do not allow their women to participate in community activities and meetings for fear that their wives will elope with other men. They also fear that once their wives have information about HIV/AIDS, they will be able to notice their spouses' signs of infection. In any case, the AIDS program commenced too late for the community to benefit. Many had already had sexual contact with the road contractors. Many of the babies born as a result of the project have HIV/AIDS symptoms."

6.4 DISTRICT ROAD NETWORK

Expected gender-related outcomes were: i) incorporation of gender in the district road planning cycle; ii) increased participation of women in road works with a target of 40%; iii) gender sensitive employment and working conditions. Formulation of a gender action plan and setting up of

comprehensive socio-economic impact studies were to have positive gender outcomes, in addition to increased opportunities for women's participation as workers or owners of small business enterprises. The studies were intended to help evaluate the contribution that women make to the communities' formal and domestic economies.

The 40% target set in August 2001 was attained and exceeded by one female contractor by October 2001- the female contractor complied with all the contractual obligations. The average participation of women in road works by then was 31.3%, up from 29% in August 2001. While the figure was below target, it is above the 30% which is believed to be the critical mass essential for a minority group to get its perspective into the decision-making process. By the end of the program the total women's labor in contracted works was 23% of the total 485,000 worker days. Women's participation in road works in a region experiencing conflict drastically improved their livelihood, as a case below shows.

"I am a 55-year-old married woman. I live at the cultural centre, the home to the war-displaced persons in Lira district. The rebel Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) forced me and my family to flee our home in Otwal sub-county, Apac district. I escaped with my husband, a traditional healer, and my 8 war-orphaned grandchildren, leaving my farmland. We were all dependent on my husband's meagre earnings until the Managing Director of Gender Enterprises Uganda Limited came to our camp to recruit workers. I was one of the few lucky ones. My husband allowed me to sign up for the road works since he realised that we were fighting for survival. Although we still experience shortages, the income from the road—Sh 2500 (US\$ 1.25)-- has been very helpful. I can now buy clothes and food for my grandchildren. At my age, the work is quite hard and in many cases I am too weak to work due to hunger. There is scarcity of food in the camp." Lucy Amenya, female laborer. Ereda-Boroboro road. Lira district.

While changes in numerical presence of women in road works were quite fast, changes in the gender division of labor took much longer. From the time of implementation, monthly report after report noted the differences in the work performed by women and men in the road works: contractors allocated tasks along existing gender division of labor and some women preferred work related to their traditional tasks in the household.

Although some program districts have started collecting gender-disaggregated socio-economic data during the ADRICS and are applying it in road prioritization, gender is yet to be fully incorporated into local government road plans. There are no available data on women's participation in road related income generating activities, but field observations indicate that a number were engaged in selling food and beverages to the workers. Women participated in construction site meetings, with attendance ranging from 16-21%. There is no indication about women's strategic presence at these meetings, i.e. whether they influenced the situation in their favor. The number of women in responsible positions rose from none to at least one female contractor by the end of RSPS1. By November 2002, seven out of the 11 trained contractors had women in supervisory positions (forepersons and gang leaders).

The inadequacy of mechanisms to ensure contractor compliance with conditions in their contracts allowed the majority not to adopt flexible working hours or provide separate facilities for women on most sites, the argument being that road works were within the workers' homes. For the one contract away from residential areas, however, a road camp with separate facilities was constructed. No shelters were provided for breastfeeding mothers. The gender sensitivity of the recruitment process varied. The majority of the contractors provided equal opportunities for both women and

men by advertising on market days and through community and local government administrative structures. Others informed communities of work opportunities through their staff, thus limiting women's participation.

The principle of equal opportunities was not always taken into consideration in the recruitment process. The criteria predominantly used for recruitment included physical fitness and trial and interviews on fixed dates, obviously deterring women's participation. No information is available about the gendered distribution of the direct benefits of road improvement: cash income accruing to community members living along district roads, improved accessibility and improved livelihoods. The proportion of women at workers' representatives meetings at the work site was an average of 3%; worker community committees average 25 and female membership to work committees was 24. This information is not set against any benchmarks, making it difficult to assess the improvement in participation.

Support to METC was designed to improve the capacity for implementing labor-based methods in rehabilitating and maintaining feeder roads in the DRN districts. Special consideration was given to the potential for increased involvement of women at all levels. By actively promoting the use of labor-based methods, the program enhanced women's opportunities to benefit directly from road improvements by earning cash income that was used to pay school fees for their children, accessing health facilities and consumer goods and investment in productive assets such as land. Training of contractors contributed to changing their attitudes towards the use of female labor. Monitoring reports indicate that as a result of training, the number of women employed by nine contractors rose from an average of 27% to 36% over a three-month period. The DRN socio-economic completion report indicates: "Contractors that have experience with female labourers are pleased with the results and would like to employ more women as they are more responsible and perform better in certain types of work". However, some negative attitudes persisted with some contractors remaining unwilling to employ women. Available information indicates that women constituted 11% of the total person training days and 20% of the private sector contractors trained. Other gender related outcomes are incorporation of gender in the METC draft training policy, the curriculum and trainers' guides. HIV/AIDS, one of the cross- cutting issues in the RSPS, has been integrated into the METC curriculum, trainers' guides and manuals. However, evidence on the ground suggests it has not been adequately addressed in practice.

The CTTP gender-related targets were that local government would be aware of gender perspectives in rural transport by the end of year two of implementation and a 50% representation of women in the parish development committees responsible for planning, implementing and monitoring the program. While it is too early to identify gender-related outcomes, investment in community access roads has the potential to address women's transport needs. The introduction of IMTs is likely to improve women's (relative to men's) opportunities to afford as well as own transport.

The DRN directly improved women and men's access to labor-based road works knowledge and cash income for the contractors and those engaged in the works. Access to income improved women's and men's opportunities to invest in productive assets such as land. The principle of equal opportunities for women and men in the selection of contractors and the award of contracts and the encouragement of contractors to target the most disadvantaged members of the communities including women contributed to the gendered redistribution of income and the alleviation of poverty.

6.5 INSTITUTIONAL SUPPORT FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF THE RSDP

The major gendered outcome of this component has been institutionalization by DUR of the good DRN gender mainstreaming practices through the publication of national (MoWHC) manuals, contract documents and guidelines and the formulation of policy documents such as the White Paper on DUCAR. For instance, the MoWHC manual on gender guidelines for district engineers is intended to guide them and other stakeholders in mainstreaming gender in the road improvement cycle. Institutionalization will ensure sustainability of the good RSPS gender mainstreaming practices beyond the program's life. Since all the documents are owned by the MoWHC and not the RSPS, they will be the basis for adopting a systematic approach to incorporation of gender in the district road sector in Uganda, setting standards and guidelines for donors to follow.

6.6 THE RSPS2

The intended impacts of RSPS2 include: improved access to health and education institutions; easier access to markets; reduced vehicle operating costs and travel time; enhanced effectiveness of extension; improved flow of information; improved food security; increased employment opportunities (with labor-based methods); improved environment management; increased women's participation; increased awareness of the HIV/AIDS pandemic; improved integration into the national economy and improved security. An appraisal of individual RSPS2 components indicated that the national labor-based training and the community access components have high potential development impact on gender equality. The expected gender outcomes of investment in national road sector institutions and national gravel and district roads were ranked by the RSPS2 feasibility study to be medium.

Once fully operationalized, RSPS2's gender management plan has the potential to transform the gender terrain in the country's transport sector, giving equal opportunities to both women and men, creating gender awareness among all stakeholders and ensuring women's participation in the road sector and improving their decision making power on transport needs and priorities. Dedicating funds will ensure that the plan is, to a large extent, implemented.

7. CONCLUSIONS AND LESSONS LEARNED

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Gender is an ideology that takes sustained efforts of all stakeholders, at all levels, to change. The RSPS embarked on a process to bring about change in attitudes to gender and to women's participation in road works. To ensure ownership and sustainability of the RSPS gender integration process, the program is participatory, involving stakeholders at all levels, giving voice to the otherwise voiceless women and men. Implementation of the program is within national structures of both central and local governments. The program is in the process of institutionalizing the good gender mainstreaming practices in national policies, strategies and guidelines. There are indications that the program has improved women's visibility, for example by their improved access to employment opportunities in the roads sub sector. Gains in access have been made but challenges remain for effective participation, decision making and benefits from road improvement. Collaborative efforts of GoU and RSPS2 have the potential to strengthen gendered outcomes of the program. The sections below reflect on factors that shape gender relations in Uganda and determine how women and men benefited from the opportunities provided by the RSPS to improve their livelihoods.

7.2 IMPACT OF THE EXTERNAL ENVIRONMENT ON THE INTEGRATION OF GENDER IN THE RSPS

The RSPS is implemented in an environment that is largely male dominated. A combination of historical and socio-cultural factors has resulted into inequities in women's (relative to men's) access to and control over physical, financial, social, human and natural assets essential for securing livelihoods. A low level of education, coupled with few numbers in science-based subjects, limits women's opportunities in the transport sector that is traditionally viewed as an engineering field. Decision-making is regarded as a male privilege and even with affirmative action, women are still under-represented on national and local government strategic bodies that shape and influence prioritization of development needs and resource allocation. Society ascribes roles for women within the private, domestic realm and for men in the public sphere. Road works are a sanctioned male realm and women participating in the sub sector are regarded as transgressors. With an estimated 10 hours daily spent on cooking, collecting firewood and water, digging, caring for the sick, young, the old and the men, women are left with limited time to participate in road work.

The RSPS recognized these constraints to women's participation in the roads sub sector and put in place, as Chapter 5 and Section 7.3 describe, measures to address them.

7.3 INFLUENCE OF INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS ON GENDERED OUTCOMES OF THE RSPS

The RSPS was conceptualized and designed and is being implemented within the GoU's and Danida's development policy frameworks, which are conducive to integration of gender within the program. The GoU has emplaced legal, operational and institutional mechanisms to ensure that gender is explicit in all national, sectoral and local government policies, plans and programs. These include ratification of the Convention of the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), a gender responsive constitution, the national gender policy, the national action plan on women and MoGLSD. As number of enabling policies, plans, strategies and programs have

been formulated. The PEAP, decentralization policy, Local Governments Act, Land Act, UPE program, affirmative action in favor of women and the government White Paper on DUCAR are all largely responsive to gender. Having an ELU in the MoWHC structure is a tangible commitment that will ensure growth and sustainability of gender mainstreaming within the ministry. As a result of instituting the ELU, the MoWHC has got approval from the Ministry of Public Service to recruit two senior environmental officers, one of whom will be charged with social issues including gender. A senior officer within MoWHC serves as a gender focal point and is mandated to ensure that all the ministry's activities are gender sensitive.

Danida's mechanisms to ensure gender responsiveness of the RSPS include explicit provisions of an obligation to gender in its development aid and specific transport sector policies. The Royal Danish Embassy has a full-time program officer whose role includes reviewing all documents including ToR for gender sensitivity and recommending gender studies/consultants where appropriate. She brings gender on the agenda at all opportunities including during joint GoU/Danida annual sector review missions. The Head of Mission of Danida is very supportive of gender mainstreaming and women's empowerment. His attitude has helped ensure that all embassy staff, especially at program level, are sensitive to gender. For instance, before he endorses key documents he ensures that gender has been addressed; this has helped promote gender and ensure that gender is everybody's concern.

GoU's affirmative action measures and the system of gender focal persons in line ministries and local governments resulted in easy acceptance by stakeholders of RSPS gender responsive implementation strategies of program gender advisors/ sociologists in the field and requirements of quotas for women's representation in road works. Institutional challenges for gender mainstreaming relate to: i) insensitivity of some policies, programs and guidelines such as transport sector policy plus the RSDP; ii) inadequate gender-disaggregated data to inform policy and practice; iii) limited gender capacities in both central and local governments; iv) insufficient technical and financial resources of the national machinery for mainstreaming gender to execute its mandate; v) the gender focal points in the line ministries either having other "mainstream" sectoral responsibilities or being too up in the hierarchy to devote time to gender or too low to be heard; vi) in both the central and local governments, assigning the function of gender to individuals without training in it; vii) engineers being statistical and quantitative by training; and viii) absence of statutory requirements to ensure gender compliance ¹², all of which result into inadequate translation of gender responsiveness into gender sensitive development practice.

Nationally, the absence of a SWAp process for the road sector implies that different donors have individual working policies rendering institutionalization of gender difficult ¹³.

There is no gender statute that obligates stakeholders to "do gender". Having a law helps as Uganda's Environment Statute demonstrates. It is a statutory obligation to undertake an environmental impact assessment including defining mitigation measures for all interventions that are likely to have a negative environment impact

The RSPS gender mainstreaming institutionalization efforts have largely been focused on the DUCAR

7.4 PROGRAMMATIC FACTORS AFFECTING THE GENDERED OUTCOMES OF THE RSPS

The RSPS design provided for recruitment of sociologists/gender advisors and development of gender management action plans defining priority women and gender-specific activities and indicators. The program adopted a participatory approach involving all stakeholders at all levels including the designated gender officers in local governments. It embarked on a program of stakeholder gender awareness-creation and gender training for contractors, district engineers and community development officers. Gender was incorporated in the training function, policies and structures of METC. Attempts were made to institutionalize all the good gender mainstreaming practices in the form of national guidelines and policies for the transport sector. RSPS2 incorporated all the lessons learnt from RSPS1, strengthening the gains and designing strategies to address the gender mainstreaming challenges.

Whereas inroads were made in addressing gender during RSPS1 implementation, effective gender mainstreaming was constrained by a number of factors. These included lack of funds committed to realization of the intended gendered outcomes, gender being viewed as separate and thus the sole responsibility of the individual taking on that function and the gender advisor for the trunk road being recruited late. Institutionalization of gender mainstreaming initiatives did not match the pace of program implementation. For instance, the program promoted women's participation by setting quotas in employment and encouragement of gender sensitivity in mobilization, recruitment and implementation. However, during the initial stages of implementation, this largely depended on the goodwill of the contractor, as there were no contractual obligations for compliance. The monitoring system of RSDP1 was gender blind, rendering the tracking of progress of its implementation from a gender perspective almost impossible. Implementation of RSPS2 is likely to achieve more gendered outcomes since most of the programmatic and institutional challenges have been addressed.

7.5 REPLICABILITY OF THE RSPS GENDER INTEGRATION STRATEGIES IN OTHER TRANSPORT PROGRAMMES AND COUNTRIES

The foregoing sections have demonstrated the feasibility of and the value to be added by, addressing gender in transport programs. The lessons learned from show that mainstreaming gender is a long term, continuous process that requires systematic and dedicated commitment of human and financial resources. It shows also that investment in gender capacity building of stakeholders at all levels is essential. With political commitment, the potential for replication of the program's gender integration strategies in other national transport sector programs and in other countries is high. The suggested approaches for replication derived from the good RSPS gender mainstreaming practices would include but not be limited to:

• Establishment of an enabling national environment for gender mainstreaming through policies, systems and structures: i) strengthening of national machinery for mainstreaming gender; ii) institutionalizing gender training, working groups and focal points in the national and local government transport sectors; iv) instituting national forum for interactive partner government/ donor discussions of both transport sector and gender issues, v) gender-responsive resource allocation with funds dedicated to women-specific and gender mainstreaming activities; vi) enforcement of gender sensitivity through statutory, including contractual, obligations.

- Incorporation of gender right from conceptualization through all stages of the transport program cycle, development of clear ToR for gender specialists where applicable and bringing them on board at the very beginning.
- Inclusion of community mobilizers and gender officers in all aspects of transport interventions.
- Inclusion of sociological estimates in bills of quantity to cater for gender responsive mobilization, awareness creation of communities, welfare requirements, recruitment of labor and participatory monitoring.
- Development of gender guidelines on "how to" steps as well as the standards and rules and regulations to guide design, implementation and monitoring of works.
- Making gender everybody's responsibility through awareness-creation for stakeholders at all levels to address the prevalent gender stereotypes and strengthen gender capacities of policy makers, planners and implementers.
- Promotion of stakeholder, especially women's, participation in identification, design, implementation and monitoring of transport interventions.
- Improvement in the collection of gender-disaggregated data to inform policy and planning and the monitoring of implementation of interventions.
- In the short term, incorporation of gender in all transport-related training institutions including curriculum and training materials. In the long-term measures should be instituted to engender all levels of education.
- For sustainability and legitimacy, institutionalization of good gender integration practices in national transport sector policies, strategies and guidelines.

8. SUGGESTIONS FOR LOCAL DISSEMINATION

The findings of the study will be disseminated in a one-day stakeholder workshop to be organized by the case study consultant in collaboration with the World Bank and Danida. The workshop objectives will be threefold:

- present the findings of the study to the stakeholders;
- discuss issues arising from the study; and
- agree on mechanisms for strengthening and further institutionalization of gender integration in the transport sector in Uganda

Workshop Participants

The proposed workshop participants will be drawn from the World Bank, Danida, development partners supporting the transport sector, MoWHC, MoFPED, MoGLSD, Ministry of Local Government, RSPS, RAFU, contractor associations and CSOs. Individuals to be invited will include program officers, advisors and focal points taking on the function of gender as well as designated transport officers. To ensure that management action is taken on the recommendations arising from the workshop, it is suggested that policy makers in the respective institutions attend the workshop. An estimated 30 people are expected to attend.

Workshop Program

The workshop program that will be developed in consultation with the World Bank and Danida will include a presentation by the case study consultant highlighting the methodology and the key findings of the study. Stakeholders will discuss the findings in groups to be formed around their areas of interest i.e. policy, programming, implementation and development aid cooperation.

Workshop Outputs

The major output of the workshop will be a report documenting the outcomes of the meeting. The workshop report will be distributed to all the workshop participants.

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APPENDIX: LIST OF PEOPLE INTERVIEWED

Name Position and Organization

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Francis Ongia Former Sociologist, DRN, RSPS/ Project Manager CTTP

Jacob Batemyetto Former SEDF Board Chairperson
Lattimer Ddembe Former SEDF Administrator, RSPS

Dan Tindiwensi Vice Chairperson, Uganda National Association of Building &

Civil Engineering Contractors (UNABEC)

Labite Victorio Ocaya Highway Engineer, The World Bank

Richard Onen Okello District Engineer, Lira District

Alex Oruk Managing Director, BAC Construction Co. Ltd.

Margaret Mogai Managing Director, Gender Enterprises Ltd.

Tom Mao Okello Odong Foreperson, Gender Balanced Enterprises

Lucy Amenya Female road worker Geoffrey Abong Male road worker

John Obulu Medical Superintendent, Mubende District Hospital

Matovu District Health Officer, Mubende District
Paul Wanume District Entomologist, Mubende District

Jimmy Angutoko Community Development Assistant, Kasambya, Mubende District

Joseph Sendegeya Gwanika Market Head, Mubende District Aisha Senyonjo LC1 Treasurer, Kisujja, Mubende District

Moses Muwonge Former Worker on programme road, Mubende District