



**Governance, Social Development, Conflict and Humanitarian
PEAKS Consortium led by Coffey International Development**

Final Report

**Support for Strategic Review and Planning to Strengthen DfID's
Work on Gender Equality and Women and Girls Empowerment in
Karamoja Region, Uganda**





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**Support for Strategic Review and Planning to Strengthen DfID's Work
on Gender Equality and Women and Girls Empowerment in Karamoja
Region, Uganda**

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The purpose of the review is to strengthen gender equality and women's and girl's empowerment. DFID wishes to assess its work to date, in relation to the dynamic and changing social circumstances in the Karamoja, and in relation to inputs by other donors and organisations. Food Aid over the last forty years, and intensive development assistance, over the past 10 – 15 years, has had a positive impact on some aspects of inequitable gender relations in the region, but has left others relatively unchanged or worse – it may have caused further inequalities between men and women, boys and girls.

The review: 1) Assessed the current situation and context for promoting development and resilience, with respect to empowerment of women and girls, men and boys, 2) Assessed how and to what extent DFID's programmes in Karamoja are having impact on the factors above and, 3) Based on the situation analysis above, supported DFID-Uganda in developing an evidence-based Theory of Change (ToC) and a strategy for promoting gender-based empowerment in Karamoja.

The review involved several different components focusing on a literature review and web search, consultation with key stakeholders and community consultations with groups of stakeholders in Moroto, Nakapiripirit, Amudaat and Kaabong. The review was based on understanding that to strengthen gender equality means working towards social change. Gender equality requires change in social norms and practices. Social change requires a holistic and strategic approach. It cannot happen only through changes in the behaviour of individuals or groups within communities – it needs a broad commitment, throughout society, to make change happen. Achieving these steps towards social change requires work at three different levels: enabling; catalytic and focused.

Key Findings:

- ***Karamoja is entrenched in social dislocation and “cultural depression”.***
- ***Traditional ways of being, and traditional livelihood strategies are no longer functional – yet there is little, apart from aid-dependency, to replace them.***
- ***People have lost their traditional roles and their purpose.***
- ***Inequitable power relations and discriminatory cultural norms are the foundations for gender inequality in Karamoja. The values, attitudes and beliefs of the people in Karamoja have led to disempowerment of men and boys, girls and women and have failed to protect human rights for women, girls, men and boys, throughout the region.***

The history and environment of Karamoja mean that the majority of people – women, girls, men and boys are living with high levels of vulnerability. Over a century of cyclical conflict, and marginalisation from central government strategies, have left the Karamoja population at severe disadvantage. Colonial, and post-colonial political and economic policies towards pastoralists did little to deter the traditional cattle-raiding strategies of the Karamajong and Pokot, but increased rigidity of political and territorial boundaries and consequent tensions between political and cultural identities, have played a primary role in changes in the structure and function of traditional livelihood strategies in Karamoja¹. For over 40 years, there has been a growing dependency on food-aid in Karamoja. Recent intensified environmental degradation – owing to climate change – means that this dependency continues, despite new food-for-work approaches geared to encourage people to “give back” in return for food aid, rather than simply receiving a hand-out.

Gender inequalities stem from inequity in power relations and the politics which govern the way that people relate to each other. This understanding forms the basis of our presentation of gender issues in Karamoja.

Low enrolment of both boys and girls in school and low retention of girls in school: Everyone in official positions, or development agencies stated that Karamajong and the Pokot do not value education. In particular, they are said

¹ Gray, S. (2000) A Memory of Loss

not to value it for girls: *“When a father looks at a daughter he thinks ‘cows’; as soon as she is married, she will bring cows and wealth into the family”* (Ex-cutter, Amudaat)

Heavy women's workload: Women's workload is a challenge mentioned by all women, and recognised as discriminatory by district officials and all development workers consulted. In general, women in the region carry the entire burden of the households and the communities. Women go out to work and do the public works where the work-for-food programme is implemented (When women are considered by their husbands to have “failed” in these duties, they are likely to be beaten).

Neglected Young People with nothing to do: young people – both male and female – in Karamoja, are the most vulnerable and disadvantaged people in the communities. Young men and women are most affected by food insecurity, because they are supposedly the young and energetic ones, and therefore have to find food for their parents and siblings. Young men do not have any skills because they do not have an education. Young women, if still not married, are following in the footsteps of their mothers: they hold the burden of all household chores; are responsible for firewood collection and finding for food, looking after the sick, looking after children and cooking while the mothers are out working to earn some money or food. The majority of young people are reportedly unemployed and some of the elders are complaining that the youth are unruly because of the freedoms brought by human rights training and awareness of Karamoja youth of young people in other places. Having nothing to do is leading to an increase in petty crime and an increasing dependence on alcohol

Gender-Based Violence (GBV): GBV is endemic in the region². It is exacerbated by a) the dislocation of society, b) loss of cultural identity and purpose and c) misuse of alcohol (see below). Nevertheless, GBV is a “traditional” part of society in Karamoja, with some older women claiming that the proof of a husband's love was in the fact that he hit (“disciplined”) his wife³. This is in spite of the efforts made, through the legal structure, to protect people against gender-based and partner violence.

FGM/C is a social issue, and an abuse of rights. FGM/C is about power and politics⁴. It is not only about control of women and their sexuality, it is about what it means to be a female human being, and to be a full part of society. *“We believed: how can I live as a girl and a woman and not be cut? To go through cutting shows we are brave, as a woman should be – just like a man has to be brave against enemies. Not being cut means you are a coward. An un-cut girl is not brave, she is like a cheeky child”*. FGM/C is about the relationships between women and men and how cultural expectations for being a woman or a man are passed on from generation to generation. All FGM/C causes physical, psychological, emotional, sexual, spiritual and social damage. Health consequences include pain and trauma, as well as risks of haemorrhage, infection and sometimes death⁵. There is evidence of increased risk of complications at childbirth, putting mothers and new-borns at risk. FGM/C also has economic consequences for the affected families and communities and can prevent girls from accessing formal education and development. FGM/C is a social issue, but it has often been ignored, even in the most obvious situations where it damages health. The same damages can also be attributed to CEFM. In Karamoja, as in many other areas, FGM/C and CEFM are closely inter-linked.

“Courtship” happens through rape: Young men of warrior age (late adolescence and young adult-hood) rape girls aged between 10 and 12 years as a way of “securing” them for marriage. Although the extent of this traditional practice is difficult to judge, rape is cited as common in Karamoja⁶ and contributes to many girls being married off as early as 10.

² And across Uganda as a whole

³ Welbourn, A., *Pers. Comm.*

⁴ Gender and age politics – the relationships between men and women of different ages in society, and the relative authority that different groups have.

⁵ See, for example, Crawford, S. (2013)

⁶ See OECD (2015)

Misuse of alcohol and other substances: loss of purpose, self-esteem and cultural pride, are leading to misuse of alcohol and other substances.

“In the old days, we all used to drink – at celebrations and on market day... Then, alcohol didn’t do anyone any harm. Now, we drink to forget and we drink to fill our bellies. We drink because we have nothing else to do. We sit under trees and we drink. Women drink too. We drink and we get drunk. When we get drunk, we might get violent. Then we can sleep. (Leader, Lorokumo village, Rupa). There are suggestions that intensified alcohol consumption is leading to an increase in violence, not only by men, but also by women. The Foundation for Human Rights Initiative and Penal Reform International 2015 report on women prisoners in Uganda, identified alcohol consumption as a driver of violence by women, and a contributor to why many women are in jail.

Threats of radicalisation: cultural depression could, potentially, spark a highly volatile situation. In one way, the lack of purpose leads to lethargy (“sitting under trees”) in another, it leads to a vacuum in personal and social purpose – ripe to be filled by any subversive, or extreme, ideologists who may choose to exploit it. There is, as yet, insufficient understanding on how the processes of radicalisation work (and what research there is does not stem from, or work into, the development world). However, “unexpected” radicalisation has become a real issue in, for example, Egypt and the Yemen, and is, of course, of great concern in the West. More research is needed to determine the full extent of the problem, but there is a strong argument to say that it is obvious that more effort to engage young men in development and livelihoods processes is a) needed to promote gender equity and b) to help avoid emerging risks.

Child Labour was reported in all communities as an issue affecting boys and girls. All children are expected to work to help support the family and livelihoods. However, work becomes labour, and becomes a rights abuse, when it prevents children fulfilling their rights to education, leisure and protection – in the family and in the community. As elsewhere, it is more likely to be girls who are kept back from school to help with household chores and paid work, centring round the household economy.

Economic inequalities: In the traditional patterns of pastoralism amongst the Karamojong, status and wealth were expressed through ownership and good care of cattle and, by extension, a man’s control over his wife/wives and household. Cattle were the only form of wealth that counted, and the ability to protect cattle and homesteads was what defined a man’s sense of self-worth. The traditional forms of cattle-raiding (which extend to “raiding” of women – as in the courtship-by-rape example above) have been long-documented. Lack of economic autonomy increases women’s vulnerability to violence.

HIV/AIDS: Stigma against people living with HIV in Karamoja was reported by many respondents in Kaboong and Moroto. Some of them reported experiences of discrimination following disclosure. One medical officer noted that many women face violence at disclosure because they are tested during pregnancy, and therefore discover their status before their husband does.

Being part of a highly vulnerable community: In isolated and extremely poor communities, poor infrastructure and communications heighten inequalities and discriminations. The IK community in Kaboong district face the compound vulnerabilities of being a minority tribe of only 6000 people and living at the far end of the region, where there is little government investment for empowerment. The Ik have remained marginalized over decades, despite church involvement since the 1950s.

Investment in Karamoja

The major part of DFID investment in Karamoja is into building resilience to food insecurities, environmental change and climate change. The Enhancing resilience programme (see box below) was designed as a strategic response to food-security and survival needs in a changing environment. Yet, these were the challenges most often mentioned in the communities – where women talked of the difficulties of ensuring that food aid is eaten by

the right people and about how burdened they are with heavy labour and “late” remuneration with food. During our consultations, it was the gender issues of food aid (hand-outs and food-for-work), more than any others, which came across as a major barrier to achieving gender equality. Although women saw the survival need of food-aid approaches, they did not, in any way, see them as a form of empowerment. While men were happy to have the food coming into the house, some men said that the public works programme was useless – because it did not give them any work. Since “food is women’s business” (said by several men talked to), we interpreted their attitude to mean that working for food (not cash) is demeaning.

DFID is also currently supporting the SAGE programme, which aims to promote social equality through implementation of a social protection programme. In the first phase, the aim was to reach the poorest and most vulnerable families and to provide pensions for senior citizens.

Until June 2015, DFID funded the UN Joint Programme on Gender Equality (UNJPGE). The programme was designed to enhance gender equality in access to services and opportunities in targeted districts. A number of UN agencies were involved in the programme, with UN Women being the lead. Set up of a protection system against GBV, with law and shelters, was a central component of the programme. The UN programmes on GBV and FGM/C have been running in Uganda since 2008. Working with the Ministry of Gender, the programmes have supported important changes in both policy and practice: including the FGM/C Act of 2010 and development of the GBV policy and National Action Plan. It is hoped that the GBV policy will be adopted by April 2016 and the National Action Plan will then be implemented. Importantly, the UNJPGBV has supported the set-up of the National Gender Based Violence Data base (NGBVD), which was launched in July 2015. NGBVD Standard Operating Procedures (SOPs) have also been developed, printed and disseminated.

It is difficult to draw lines between the work of the UNJPGE, UNJPGBV and UNJPGF/C programmes, since all have, or are, working on over-lapping themes – even if their operations are in different districts. Aside from the changes noted in the policy and regulatory environment, the establishment of Survivor Shelters (in Karamoja and other regions) is said to have been very important – offering safe spaces for women and girls and demonstrating government and community commitment to protecting women and girls.

A Theory of Change for Women’s and Girls’ Equality and Gender Empowerment

We have taken a fifteen year window to reach impact. Achievements will be made along the way (immediate change is by 2020) and medium-term change between 8-10 years from now. But, in the design of many programmes which are based on social norms and social change, “within one generation” is thought to be a reasonable target for achieving sustainable and institutionalised social changes. In spite of the view put forward by one high-ranking official, who said that there will never be equality between men and women, we have set an aspiration of achieving the vision of gender equality and women’s and girls’ empowerment in Karamoja, by 2040. The ToC diagram is given on the next page. In the diagram, each box “hovers” over a coloured bar, indicating whether it is a focused, catalytic or enabling environment concern. We also outline basic assumptions and risks, and give a SWOT analysis.

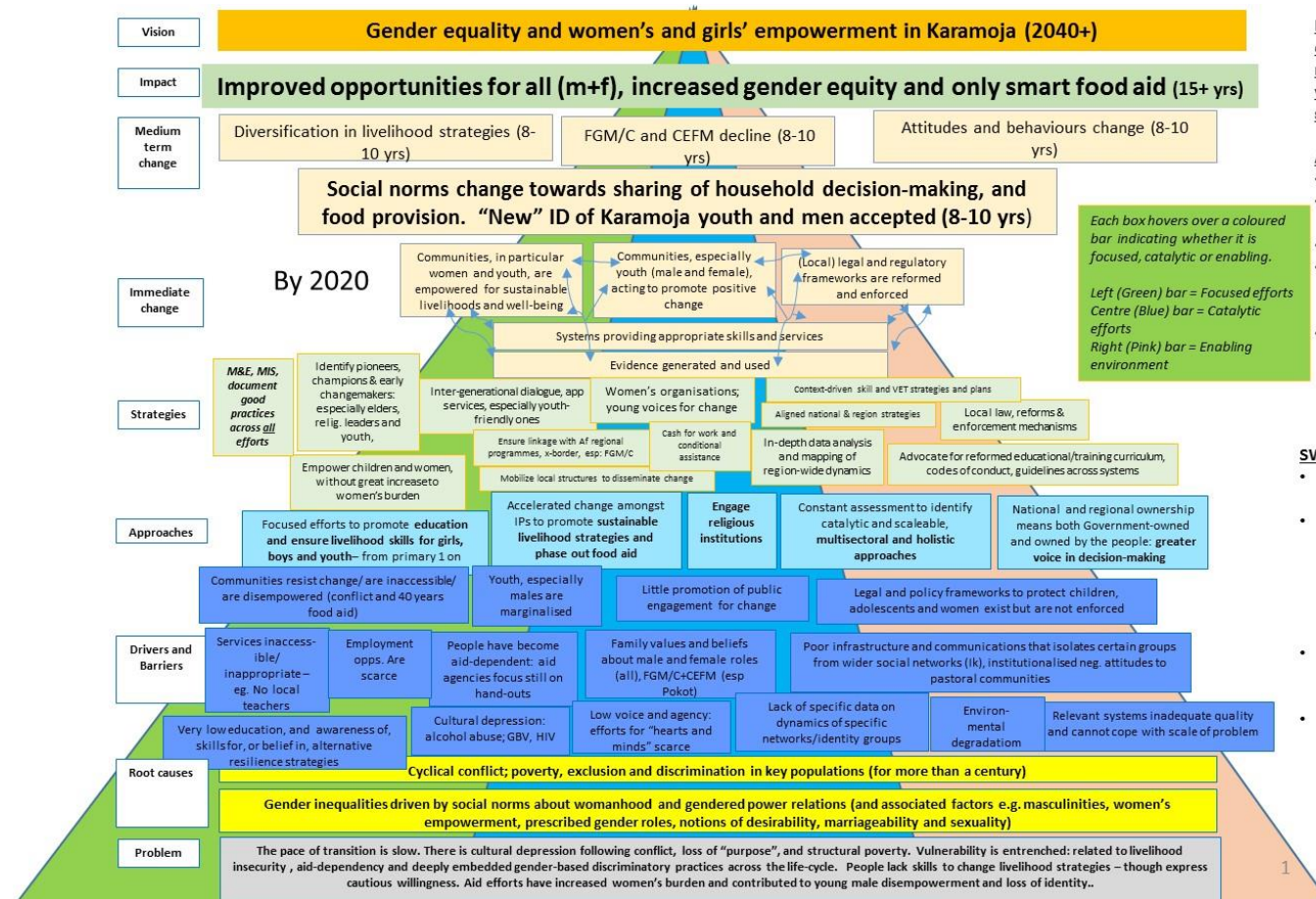
The ToC is based on:

- a) Respect for the rights principles of inter-dependence of rights, non-discrimination, participation and fulfilment of obligations (by all parties)
- b) The need to promote justice, equity and dignity **for all**, including men and boys. Without this, gender equality is not achievable.
- c) All interventions need to ensure efforts are made to include the poorest and most marginalised people.

The overall vision of the ToC is that: Gender equality and women’s and girls’ empowerment will be achieved by 2040+. This will mean that there is a balance within society between the socio-political power of men and women and that boys and girls are growing up in the knowledge that livelihood opportunities are not constrained by gender. The vision is to have reached parity in primary school completion and advancement to secondary school. The 2040 target is aspirational – but it is based on the conviction that, once past the “take-off” point, change can happen rapidly. Whether this speed of change is possible will depend on external factors – such as speed and severity of climate change and environmental degradation, and on internal factors – such as political will and

commitment to development in Karamoja, and the Karamoja people's willingness and ability to change and build resilience through new, and positive, livelihood strategies.

The Overall Theory of Change for Women's and Girls' Empowerment and Gender Equality in Karamoja



Programming Principles: Right-based development, Gender equality & mainstreaming, Equity and inclusion of most vulnerable and marginalised, Environmental sustainability

Assumptions and risks:

- Stability can be maintained
- Political willingness to invest in region (GoU and donors)
- Regional and x-border support can be built
- Karamoja people can be encouraged to join development efforts and develop own initiatives (evidence for this exists)
- UN agencies able to coordinate for food aid phase-out and increased development approach

SWOT Analysis in Karamoja:

- Strengths:** Stability, national law and policies, regional strategies, plenty of IPs,
- Weaknesses:** Unelaborated development focus (food-aid based) lack of strong coordination/follow-up, competing/overlapping initiatives, lack of in-depth analysis on districts, lack of connectivity between outputs
- Opportunities:** Growing willingness to focus on development and gender issues; possibility of youth mobilization; committed local leaders
- Threats:** Karamoja still seen as "difficult"; men seen as problem (not part of solution) danger of "losing" this generation of young men. Alcohol abuse, GBV, increasing HIV not seen as symptoms linked to cultural depression: danger of radicalisation and insurrection

The major part of DFID investment in Karamoja is into **building resilience to food insecurities, environmental change and climate change**. Yet, several of the interventions which are supported, provide only survival and basic subsistence needs. To enhance women's and girls' overall empowerment, and gender equality, **a more strategic approach is needed**. Simply addressing practical needs – even if these go beyond basic food and agricultural skills needs – will not, automatically, lead to a shift away from gender inequality. positive productive activities amongst men. This does not increase equity. Development policy, over recent decades, has sought to build immediate resilience to threats to survival and a more sustainable, long-term resilience to drought and climate change. Recent agricultural, cash-for-work and VET developments have expanded opportunities for Karamojan people but, we argue, have done so at the expense of deep-rooted resiliences, built up over time with the Karamojan cattle-culture, and at the expense of Karamojan people's identity and purpose. An assumption has been made – by governments and donors – that it is necessary to encourage the move away from pastoralist livelihood strategies. There are few voices contesting the drive towards settled agriculture in favour of pastoral livestock care. Those that do, argue that a pastoral strategy fits the environment, can build resilience and will be able to cope with climate change. However, the arguments lack any gender analysis or attention to women's and girls' empowerment. Further research into promotion of active and equitable roles for women, within a broadly pastoral system, is needed.

Cash for work schemes may offer greater opportunities for promoting equity at the same time as greater equality of access to resources. Unconditional and Conditional Cash Transfers (UCTs and CCTs) have also been shown to work in different areas, and with differing effectiveness. As with food aid, there is still much that can go wrong, and results are not always those which might be expected. Conditional Cash Transfers which work to raise girls' access to schooling, tend to do so in societies where education is already valued. It is not clear that this is yet the case in Karamoja. This is an indicator of the fact that gender issues in Karamoja cannot be addressed without a **broad and deep, strategic approach to empowerment and gender equality**. For all gender issues, whether these are around distribution of food and cash in the family, education and skills opportunities, violence (especially FGM/C and GBV), etc., we need **a strategic approach to tackle power relations at all levels**. And this requires that norms and values be addressed, sensitively, at all levels. Power needs to "shift": between individuals in the family, families in communities, communities in the wider society, between people and authorities and people and government (between individuals, groups and institutions). This means we need to look for the links between sectors, and the chains of effects, which need to be addressed in order to reduce the impact of gender-based inequalities. One example is that if we break the chain that links FGM/C, CEFM and drop-out from education, we greatly increase the chances for women's and families' health and livelihood opportunity. Another example is that the evidence base highlighting the interaction between women's increased vulnerability to HIV, violence (GBV and Intimate Partner Violence) and food insecurity, is increasingly robust.

Presently (including work which is now in the tendering process), DFID is working in Karamoja on: Economic empowerment (*support for public works and, from 2016, cash-for-work programmes; support to pensions for the over-60s*); Resilience to climate change (*£43 million, till 2017, Enhancing Resilience in Karamoja programme, implemented by UNICEF, WFP, FAO and GIZ*); Sexual and reproductive health and rights (*DFID central investments through the UNJP on FGM/C and CEFM*); Education and skills (*currently, largely through farmer-field-schools, and with intention to invest more in education*); Citizen's rights and voice – including the right to security and freedom from gender based violence (*Support to the UN Joint Programme on Gender Equality in Uganda ends with the year 2015 – 16. DFID is tendering for SURGE -- Support to Uganda's response on Gender Equality -- to start in 2016 and to include investment in Moroto*)

Working for gender equality, multiple entry points are needed, and these need to be complementary and mutually reinforcing. This does not simply mean giving more attention to women and girls.

Recommendations

R1 Build a new, five-year programme with a focus on changing gender-power relations and building new resiliencies. A move away from food aid will be difficult, though an increasing number of organisations are now working towards cash transfers instead. Set definite goals for the end of all but absolute emergency food aid.

R2 Invest in in-depth socio-political research to support the development of programming. We do not know enough about the changing dynamics of Karamoja society or the relative value of different approaches to development. We do know that current programming does not mesh with people's ideas of what they want from development, nor entirely with what we know works to promote gender equality.

R3 Include components to end FGM/C and CEFM and to reduce Gender- and Age-Based Violence. These are "hot" topics, for which there is strong national and global support. As stated in section 3, FGM/C and CEFM have profound effects on girls' ability to gain education and, more fundamentally, on their lives, livelihoods and well-being. A widespread, approach to ending FGM/C will give best value for money and chance of success – linking with other, East Africa Region initiatives (Girl Hub, UNJP on FGM/C, the Towards Ending FGM/C in Africa and Beyond research component etc.).

R4 Work with women, girls, men and boys in the promotion of gender equality and empowerment. Focus not only on survival, but also on getting rid of cultural depression and creating a sense of new and positive identities in Karamoja. Work to **promote positive masculinities as well as work to empower girls and women. In all programming, ensure that there is a focus on social norms change and the needed steps towards wider social change**

R5 Continue to invest heavily in building resilience in Karamoja. Resilience to climate change and environmental degradation is crucial for survival. For gender equality and empowerment, so is resilience to the changing dynamics in Karamoja society.

R6 Strengthen the move away from "hand-outs" towards development of opportunities in productive work and employment opportunities. The proposed move towards cash-for-work is stated as priority for people in Karamoja. It needs to be accompanied by other interventions – promoting men's and women's productive work and employment, so that cash entering the household is spent in ways that benefit all family members.

R7 Where food-aid and hand-outs are imperative, make efforts to increase the conditionality. Giving school-feeding usually does not have a lasting effect (school attendance stops when food incentives stop) but can be a helpful trigger in the short-term.

R8 Model approaches to conditional and unconditional cash transfers. The SAGE pension scheme is one model – and has provided learning on the difficulties in ensuring that transfers are understood and get to the right places.

R9 Create more opportunities for youth and men in work programmes and reduce women's workloads. The current approach to food-for-work places a heavy burden on women and exacerbates men's feelings of uselessness.

R10 Invest in the education sector, to provide quality education which meets rights standards, through promotion of girls' and boys' completion of primary school. All stakeholders consulted feel that education is the key to gender equality and empowerment in Karamoja.

R11 Model approaches to support young people's, especially girls', completion of secondary school and progress through professional training. Working with the District Education Offices, assist young people to get access to bursaries for secondary school and professional training. It is of particular importance to support young people to become teachers, and to attract them back to work in Karamoja.

R12 Support women's organisations and women's and youth representation across all areas of programming. The importance of strong women's organisations in all aspects of gender empowerment is well-attested. Work with local authorities and NGOs to promote voice and representation.

R13 Expand investment in end-FGM/C, CEFM and GBV programmes. FGM/C and CEFM have profound effects on girls' ability to gain education and, more fundamentally, on their lives, livelihoods and well-being.

R14 Explore possibilities for adapting and using the 12+ Rwanda approach to building self-esteem, self-confidence, social, health and economic assets. In Rwanda, 12+ is a programme which will, eventually, reach all 11-year old girls in the country.

R15 Re-visit the Stepping Stones and Appreciative Enquiry approach for Peace and Prosperity and engaging men in Karamoja. An adaptation of the original Stepping Stones HIV-prevention and gender equality package has been created and piloted in Karamoja. Young people consulted after the programme felt that the Stepping Stones approach would be a useful foundation before skills/VET . Stepping Stones also works closely with CEDOVIP in other areas, and it would be useful to model the relative merits of the 9-month Stepping Stones approach against the 3-year SASA! Approach.

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Acronyms

BMZ	Bundesministerium Für Wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit (German Federal Ministry for Economic Development Cooperation)
CEDOVIP	Centre for Domestic Violence Prevention
CEFM	Child Early and Forced Marriage
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DFID	Department for International Development – UK Government
ECM	Early Child Marriage
ERKP	Enhancing Resilience in Karamoja Programme
ESP	Expanding Social Protection
ESP	Expanding Social Protection
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation
FGM/C	Female Genital Mutilation/Cutting
GBV	Gender-based Violence
GIZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit, GmbH (German: German Society for International Cooperation, Ltd.)
HTP	Harmful Traditional Practices
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MGLSD	Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development
MoH	Ministry of Health
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
PIGD	Participatory Interest Group Discussions
SAGE	Social assistance grants for Empowermen
SGBV	Sexual and Gender-Based Violence
ToC	Theory of Change
ToR	Terms of Reference
UDHS	Uganda Demographic and Health Survey
UN	United Nations
UNFPA	United nations Fund for Population Activities
UNICEF	United Nations Children’s Fund
UNJPFGM/C	United Nations Joint Programme on Female Genital Mutilation/Cutting
UNJPGBV	United Nation Joint Programme on Gender-Based Violence
UNJPGE	United Nations Joint Programme on Gender Equality
VET	Vocational Education and Training
VFG	Vulnerable Families Grant
WFP	World Food Programme
WFP	World Food Programme
ZOA	ZOA International Relief

SUPPORT FOR STRATEGIC REVIEW AND PLANNING TO STRENGTHEN DFID'S WORK ON GENDER EQUALITY AND WOMEN AND GIRLS EMPOWERMENT IN KARAMOJA REGION, UGANDA

1. BACKGROUND

1.1 Context of the Review

This review takes place at a time when DFID wishes to assess its work to date, in Karamoja, in relation to the dynamic and changing social circumstances in the region, and in relation to inputs by other donors and organisations. Food Aid over the last forty years, and intensive development assistance, over the past 10 – 15 years, has had positive impact on some aspects of inequitable gender relations in the region, but has left others relatively unchanged or worse, may have caused further inequalities between men and women, boys and girls. For example, increase in opportunities for women's income has positively strengthened women's economic position, but has also increased women's workload and may also lead to increased Gender-Based Violence⁷. Amongst some groups, levels of Harmful Traditional Practices (HTPs), such as Female Genital Mutilation/Cutting (FGM/C) or Child Early and Forced Marriage (CEFM) have hardly shifted (for example, FGM/C remains at 95% amongst the Pokot in the district of Amudaat). As women's workload is expanding, men's traditional livelihood strategies and life purpose is contracting, with climate change and social factors decreasing the possibilities for a successful pastoralist economy. In addition to these factors, some deeply entrenched prejudices and discrimination against pastoralist populations have not been eradicated⁸. Throughout the region, levels of education are low, with an estimated overall literacy rate of only 6% in some areas⁹.

DFID currently has substantial investment in the Karamoja region. Invested funds have reached fifteen million per year over the last five years. The nature of investment has, however, been defined by individual programmes, rather than by an overall, strategic vision.

1.2 Purpose and scope

DFID now has an opportunity to re-assess its overall approach to mainstreaming gender issues throughout the Karamoja programme. The aim is to strengthen gender equality and women's and girl's empowerment. The review will:

1. **Assess the current situation and context for promoting development and resilience, with respect to empowerment of women and girls, men and boys.** This will involve strengthening of understanding of the drivers of vulnerability and resilience; gender- and wider social- power relations; access to appropriate, quality services; institutional (at all levels) response to need, etc.. These issues will be examined in relation to: economic empowerment; resilience to climate change; sexual and reproductive health rights (for all ages); education and skills, and citizen's right and voice – security and freedom from Gender-Based Violence (GBV). A strong focus will be given to building understanding of the

⁷ See Section 3

⁸ Gray, S. J (2000) A memory of loss: Ecological politics, local history, and the evolution of Karimojong violence; Human Organization, Winter 2000

⁹ See section 3

needs of men and boys, in relation to reaching gender equity and equality. We will look at gender equity and equality in relation to internal, and external, political drivers¹⁰.

2. Assess how and to what extent DFID's programmes in Karamoja are having impact on the factors above, and if/how the programmes are designed with awareness of these factors and adopt strategies to address them. We will include an informal gap analysis to assess which key drivers of gender inequities are addressed/not addressed, and the implications of this. Results will allow us to make recommendations on priority areas to address in future
3. Based on the situation analysis above, we will support DFID-Uganda in developing an evidence-based Theory of Change (ToC) and a strategy for promoting gender-based empowerment in Karamoja. We will work together with DFID, and relevant stakeholders, to ensure development of an overall ToC which takes into account all needed aspects of rights-based change, covering the five key themes, and which will allow linkage to the wider UK programme. The ToC and strategy will need further work by DFID after the review mission – to ensure full ownership and to develop the details within each theme area. To do this properly takes time. We see the work of the review as strengthening information and giving guidance, so that DFID will have the tools to produce the full, in-depth gender strategy, for each theme area in which it will be involved.

1.3 Deliverables

The expected deliverables for the work are:

1. Inception report, finalising methodology and workplan
2. A report, divided into two main parts: i) A situation analysis outlining the factors that help/inhibit development and resilience in Karamoja with respect to empowerment of women and girls, men and boys; ii) An assessment of the effectiveness of DFID's current programme in Karamoja with respect to addressing the 5 key theme areas
3. A (draft) ToC produced through a participatory workshop with DFID and key stakeholders supporting materials, and a close-out presentation
4. A final report including: overview of findings, and recommendations for DFID to strengthen its gender focus in Karamoja.

1.4 Contents of the Report

Section 2 outlines the approaches and methods used. In section 3, we look at the key issues affecting gender equality and women's and girls' empowerment in Karamoja. We also show that the particularly socio-political context in Karamoja means that men and boys must now be fully included in all development efforts. In section 4, we explore the key ways in which DFID investment is currently promoting gender equality and women's and girls' empowerment – or failing to do so. Section 5 sets out an over-arching Theory of Change (ToC) for gender equality and women's and girls' empowerment in Karamoja, and section 6 gives recommendations on future DFID investment. The annexes give the Terms of Reference for the review, the itinerary and people met.

¹⁰ By "political", we mean here the processes of communication and relations of power which affect possibilities for personal fulfilment of rights and for stability and security at all levels.

2. APPROACH AND METHODS

2.1 Background and Underlying Principles

In this section, we outline the principles which underpin the review, and set out the methods used to gain information and understanding. For primary data, the review was based on consultations with a wide range of stakeholders. Although we used participatory research methods in some of these consultations, the review was not, in any way, a formal, qualitative study. We gained insight into community perspectives, but these insights are “quick and dirty snap-shots” of the views of particular people at the time of enquiry. Understanding of secondary data was gained through a web-trawl and literature review.

The only way in which understanding gained was triangulated, was through comparison between the views of different stakeholders and stakeholder groups, and with comparison with views expressed in the literature. Overall, there is not enough evidence to allow full understanding of the dynamic and changing socio-political environment in Karamoja, including a lack of information on gender issues. More, structured research is needed.

The review has been based on a set of underlying principles:

1. It is independent, yet draws on the opinions of DFID and all relevant stakeholders;
2. It offers an outside perspective;
3. It is rigorous, yet participatory,
4. All enquiry with participants has followed established ethical enquiry procedures. Particular attention to good practice guidelines has been followed in enquiry with children and vulnerable people¹¹.

2.2 Components of the Review

The review has involved several different components:

1. Literature review: *covering all relevant literature supplied by DFID, UN and other agencies, other relevant stakeholders who have worked in Karamoja in recent years, and a web trawl*
2. Start-up phone call, and later face-to-face meeting, with DFID-Uganda
3. Interviews with key stakeholders in Kampala and Karamoja: *(government, donors, organisations and civil society; tele-consultations with individuals familiar with the situation in Karamoja over a 15-day period in November 2015)*
4. Field visits to four selected (and contrasting) districts –Moroto, Nakapiripit Amudaat, Kaboong. *Table 1, below, outlines the rationale for choosing these districts.*
5. Meetings with district-level stakeholders, and interest groups (women, girls, men, boys etc.) in communities. *As a matter of principle, we avoided incurring sitting/transport costs for government officials, meeting them in their own offices. The breakdown of the people consulted is contained in annex 3. Around 130 people for consulted over a period of 8 days (total 10-day trip to Karamoja, including two full days’ travel)¹²*
6. A half-day stakeholder workshop in Kampala with DFID and other relevant stakeholders
7. Follow-up tele-consultations with stakeholders unavailable during the period in Uganda
8. Preparation of reports and response to comments and queries.

¹¹ See, for example, Action Aid (1995); Save the Children (2002), Crawford S. (3013)

¹² Figures and breakdowns are finalised in the main report

2.3 Geographical focus

DFID has investment across the whole Karamoja region. However, it has not been possible, in the time available, to visit all districts. Drawing on the technical expertise of the Ugandan Gender Advisor, and in agreement with DFID, the districts shown in Table 1 were chosen. We feel that this choice reflects the differences in political economy across the region and has allowed us in-depth understanding of priority women's and girl's empowerment and gender quality issues. These include, Female Genital Mutilation/Cutting (FGM/C), Child Early and Forced Marriage (CEFM), other forms of GBV, extreme marginalisation/isolation and poverty, differences in gendered livelihood opportunities etc.¹³

Table 1 (districts are mentioned in the order they were visited)

District	Indicators
Moroto	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The "capital" of UN investment on the region Pockets of FGM among the few Pokot and Tepeth in the district. Urban district with opportunity to explore all indicators of Education, Health and Agriculture especially pastoral with pockets of agro pastoral communities. Some communities involved in mining industry
Nakapiripit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Has a big community dependent on subsistence agriculture, and high investment in (long-term) feeding programmes.
Amudaat	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Female Genital Mutilation largely practised in the district among the Pokot. Figures thought to be as high as 95%, though population denies this. Cross-border "opportunities" for carrying out FGM/C in Kenya High levels of CEFM A few strong interventions, by church and schools, to protect against FGM/C
Kaboong	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The IK (a minority tribe in the Kidepo mountains) are known to be highly poor and marginalised – though can now be reached by road and have had charitable assistance since the 1950s. Kaboong has pockets of agro farming (fertile soils from the mountains), but rain dependent and, increasingly, affected by climate change Has lowest coverage of water at approximately 26.21%

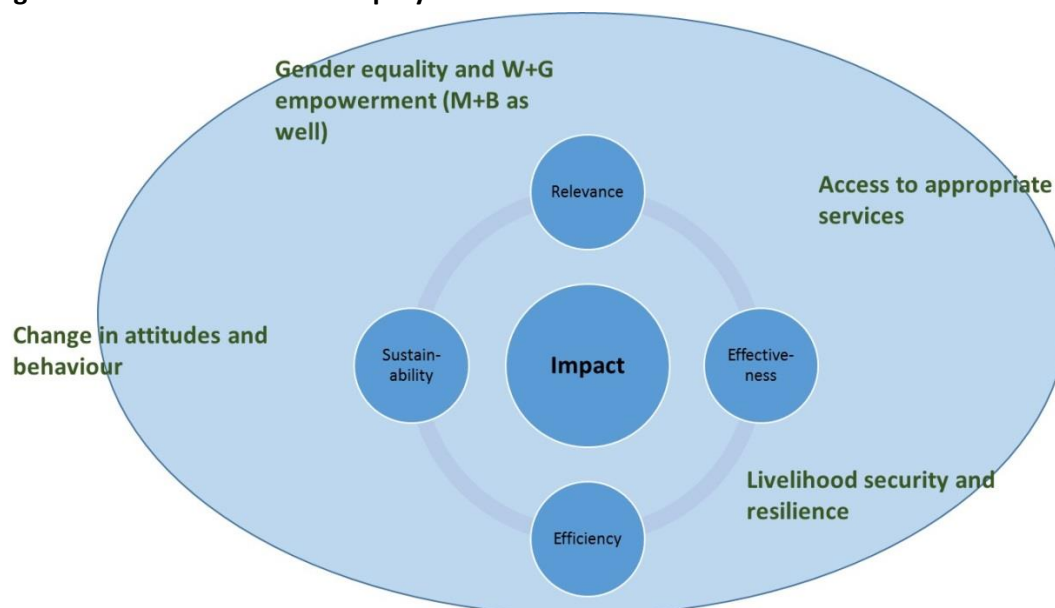
2.4 The Framework for the Review Process

The review process was built on a framework that incorporates four main components:

1. The DAC evaluation criteria (relevance, effectiveness, efficiency, sustainability, impact).
2. A set of integrated lines of enquiry, drawn from the social environments in Sudan, Karamoja
3. Our understanding of the processes of social and economic change necessary to reach increased resilience, equity, gender equality and women's and girls' empowerment.
4. A set of questions areas, outlined by review team and designed to allow fulfilment of ToRs.

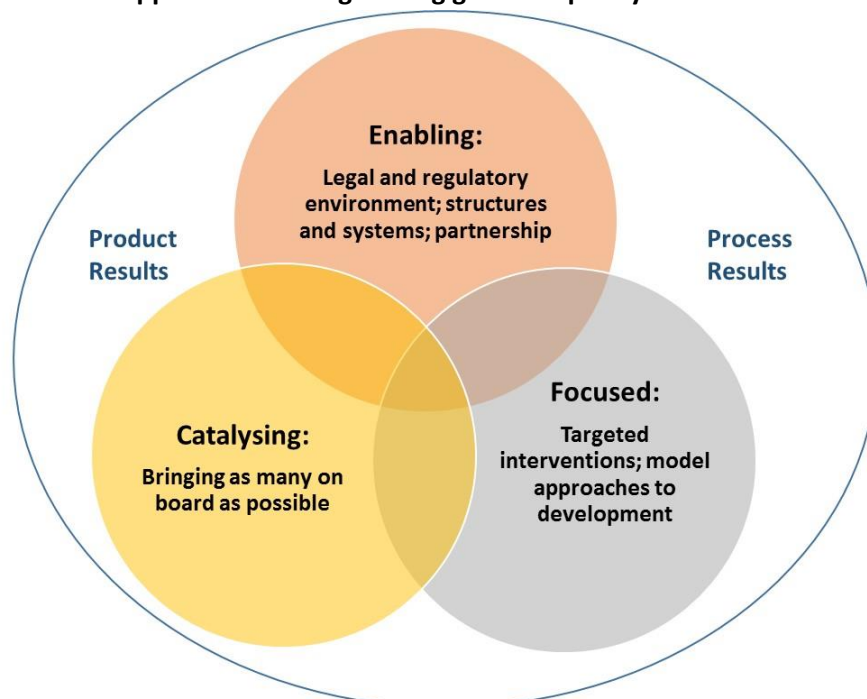
¹³ These differences are elaborated in section 3 – 5 of the main report

Figure 1: The Framework of Enquiry



To strengthen gender equality means working towards social change. Gender equality requires change in social norms and practices. Social change requires a holistic and strategic approach. It cannot happen only through changes in the behaviour of individuals or groups within communities – it needs a broad commitment, throughout society, to make change happen. It is possible to start with small steps towards social change, but these changes have to be taken up quickly, by the wider society, until so many people have adopted the change, that hardly anyone believes it is right to stick with the old ways of doing things. Achieving these steps towards social change requires work at three different levels: enabling; catalytic and focused.

Fig 2 A holistic approach to strengthening gender equality

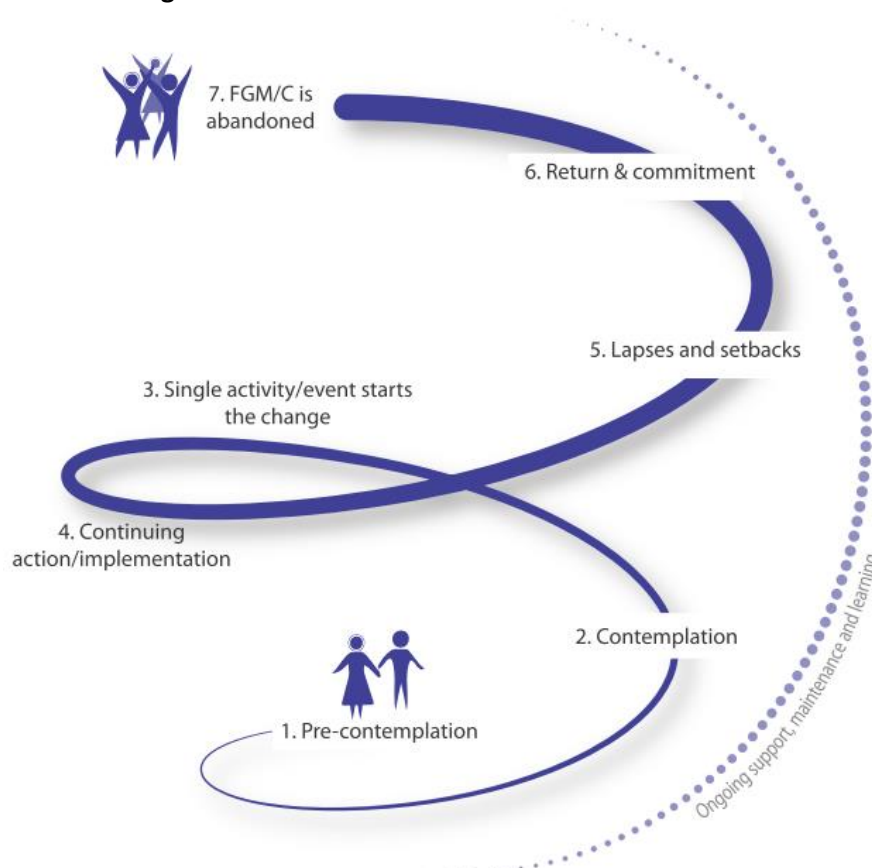


It is in the area of overlap between enabling, catalytic and focused action, that changes for greater gender equality are realised.

Strengthening gender equality is also about shifting power relations in society: that is, shifts in power relations between girls and boys, women and men. The shifts may be small – for example, the fact that a girl may now voice her opinion in her family – or more broad – such as public declaration to commit to ending FGC. They may also be shifts in, for example, the way that local authorities, or government offices and institutions respond to citizens' demands¹⁴. To achieve these shifts, takes changes in “hearts and minds” – that is values, attitudes, beliefs and practices – so that rights can be made real in practice. These shifts may be triggered by practical things – such as providing new skills for women, greater education for girls and new economic opportunities. But to institutionalise the changes requires also change in the way that men and women see themselves to be in society: how they think about, and act upon, what it means to be a man or woman boy or girl. We will explore this further in sections 3 and, 5 and 6.

In section 5, we outline a Theory of Change (ToC) for gender equality and Women's and Girls' Empowerment (including men and boys) in Karamoja. In Section 6, we make recommendations for future DFID investment. Underpinning the ToC and the recommendations is a model for social change¹⁵:

Fig 3 Model of Social Change



¹⁴ See, also, Crawford, S. 2015

¹⁵ The model has been adapted from the Trans-Theoretical Model of Change, originally used to address addictive behaviours, and is adapted from Crawford, S. 2015.

In the model, individuals/ families/ or groups move through various stages in the process of change towards greater gender equality. At each stage, something needs to trigger a change, for example from pre-contemplation to contemplation, from contemplation to action etc.. Throughout the process, support and maintenance are needed – to set the trigger and to preserve the change. At any stage, people may lapse or relapse from change. If they do so, they need encouragement back on to the path of change. Some people may walk away from the process entirely. Others may fall back into a contemplative stage. In a community, people are likely to be at different stages of change. For example, some may decide, very quickly, to give up certain discriminatory practices in their families. Others may take longer to commit to that decision. Even if there are lapses and relapses over time, if people are still traveling on and up the spiral, a full and sustainable change will be reached.

2.5 Hypothesis underpinning the review

The review started with the following understanding and hypothesis, which were drawn from initial literature review, consultations and experience:

Efforts to secure the lives and livelihoods of people in Karamoja have focused on a) provision of basic survival needs and b) increase in livelihoods/economic activities for women. These approaches have been developed and implemented with insufficient attention to development of strategic, in-depth understanding of underlying socio-political, power, gender and age issues. This approach may contain risks which, whilst aiming to improve survival opportunities, may limit the possibilities for sustained, equitable development by a) further de-stabilising the relations between men and women, b) over-burdening women and dis-empowering men and c) decreasing the chances for personal, social and national stability and security.

2.6 Methods: Community Perspectives

As stated above, a full understanding of community perspectives was impossible with the limited time and resources available. Nevertheless, to build overall understanding, and to test the hypothesis, a series of methods were used:

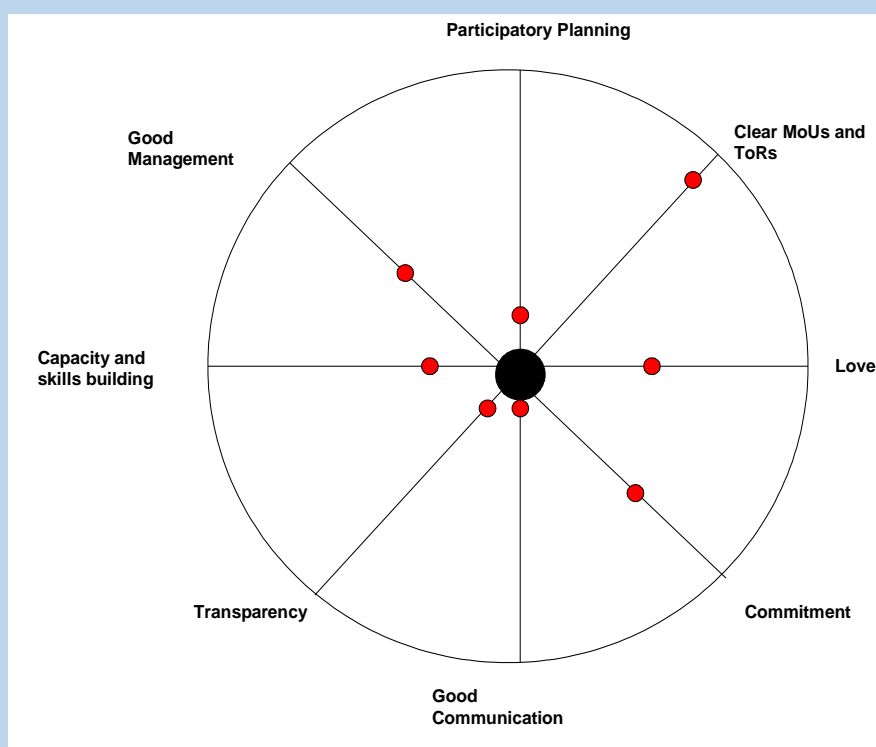
Semi-structured interviews: These were conducted with all participants. A set of guideline question formats were drawn up by the review team: different sets of questions for different types of stakeholder.

Context analysis: Our own, and participants, observations and understanding on the contexts visited were collected. Local statistical demographic and service information and, where possible, change-over-time data were amassed. Very few offices or agencies have this kind of information to hand about the areas in which they work. As elsewhere, where data exist, they are often inadequately disaggregated. More study/research (qualitative and quantitative) is needed in order to establish a full baseline on gender equality and empowerment.

Participatory Interest Group Discussions: These were used in the communities with different groups based on sex, age, occupation etc.. The team leader used two, simple participatory tools (Symbol Ranking and Spokes), where appropriate

Box 1: example of a Spokes Tool

Spokes is a very simple activity which can be used to explore any number of different themes and topics. Following discussion on a topic, characteristics of an issue are agreed upon and symbols for these are arranged around the outside of a circle. These are then joined to a central point by lines drawn on the ground, or by sticks etc., to form a wheel. The centre represents “us”, or “now”, and the symbols around the edge of the wheel represent things we want to achieve. Participants are asked to discuss together and mark along each spoke where they think they are now, in relation to the things they want to achieve. It is important that participants do not try to give percentage values to the distances they are marking. The marks should show the value in spatial terms and show also the achievement of one issue relative to another. Participants generally find this a very accessible tool which gives them plenty of space to think and discuss with each other, whilst keeping their focus on the issues under discussion. The example below shows a spokes wheel relating to goals around partnership and where participants felt they had reached in terms of achieving those goals:



Spokes allows for comparison between what we want to achieve or the ultimate goal of our activities, (the edge of the circle) and where we are now (the markers). A second set of markers can be used to show what the situation was like 5 years ago or even longer. In this way we are gaining people’s opinions on what has changed over time, and the nature of that change. It also allows people to compare visually, and discuss, which characteristics they think are the most important.

Source: Brocklesby, M.A. and Crawford, S. CR2 Tools for Community Empowerment, Copyright, CR2

In-depth meetings and case studies: With key stakeholders in local government, civil society and the communities, and individuals met through interest groups, to gain deeper understanding of particular life pathways and issues

Within the field contexts, qualitative, participatory meetings have given a “quick and dirty”, snapshot picture of **community perspectives** on the current situation and recent changes (positive and negative). Understanding gained is indicative, not representative, but has proven to be enough, in combination with literature review and key stakeholder discussions, to allow assessment of gender-work priorities.

Workshop on ToC and strategy: A participatory, half-day workshop was facilitated by the review team, at the DFID offices, with a number of key stakeholders based in Kampala. A draft ToC was presented and discussed.

An indicative workplan was submitted before work began. The actual itinerary is included as annex 2 to this Inception report.

2.7 Methods: Review of Secondary Data

The team reviewed literature on the DFID programme, and other donor programmes, provided by DFID and available on the internet. We also conducted an extensive web-trawl. We are grateful to Dr. Alice Welbourn who made a collection of e-documents available.

During the visit in Uganda, there was little time available to consult stakeholders in Kampala. We were, however, able to gain much from the feedback workshop held with DFID and other donors (see annexes).

2.8 Limitations to the Review

The review was slightly constrained by a delayed start and by the absence of some key stakeholders who had other commitments. Nevertheless, in the relatively short time available, the two-member review team managed to meet a wide number of stakeholders and cover a sufficient range of issues. We were fortunate to have 8 full days in the field (a 10 day visit, with 2 travel days).

We were, at times, limited by being dependent on participants to provide translation during Participatory Interest Group Discussions (PIGDs). This is far from ideal: it can lead to bias as the person translating has too much control over the flow of conversation. Both members of the review team have long experience of survey and research and could watch out for and, we believe, largely overcome these difficulties.

We were highly dependent on people working in the areas we visited to facilitate our access to communities and interest groups. This worked best in Amudaat: the NGO ZOA, which works closely with local government, was requested by the Chief Executive Officer (CEO) to help us. ZOA was able to arrange a number of meetings for us, accompanied us and hosted us throughout our visit. In other areas, UN agencies and staff were also very helpful.

3 SITUATION ANALYSIS: GENDER EQUALITY, WOMEN'S AND GIRLS' EMPOWERMENT (AND MEN AND BOYS)

Key Findings:

- *Karamoja is entrenched in social dislocation and “cultural depression”.*
- *Traditional ways of being, and traditional livelihood strategies are no longer functional – yet there is little, apart from aid-dependency, to replace them.*
- *People have lost their traditional roles and their purpose.*
- *Inequitable power relations and discriminatory cultural norms are the foundations for gender inequality in Karamoja. The values, attitudes and beliefs of the people in Karamoja have led to disempowerment of men and boys, girls and women and have failed to protect human rights for women, girls, men and boys, throughout the region.*

3.1 Background

In this section we describe the context in which gender equality and women's and girls' empowerment need to be strengthened in Karamoja. Findings are drawn from available literature and from the consultations and participatory enquiry carried out as part of the 10-day field visit to Moroto, Nakapiripirit, Amudaat and Kaboong, in November 2015. The principles and framework, set out in Section 2, inform our analysis of gender issues in Karamoja. This means that we seek to balance our interpretations of the situation with people's own perceptions of the gender situation. Focus on women's and men's own perspectives has meant that our analysis is, at times, different from that put forward by staff of the development agencies. A major concern, underpinning all our assessment of the situation in Karamoja, is that a vast number of people in Karamoja are suffering from a strong sense of social dislocation and cultural dislocation:

Box 2: Cultural Depression in Karamoja

Cultural depression has been used to describe people's and societies affected by major disruption to the norms and values which have underpinned their existence (see, for example, Korhonen, M., 2005; Dyer, C, 2006 and Crawford, S, 2008) . These disruptions may be caused by conflict (as in Cyprus after 1974 or Syria today), by natural disasters (for example, for some communities after the Tsunami of 2004), or by political manipulation and exploitation (such as the Bantu discrimination against the Forest People's in Cameroon, or the colonial powers against the aboriginal peoples in Australia and North America, or white racist oppression in South Africa). The disruption caused is not the same as “breaks with tradition” – such as giving up FGM/C – decided on, collectively, by a society. Where the choice to renounce certain cultural norms and practices is made consciously and with minimum force (although law may be applied to support the process of change), change in social norms can be empowering. But, where norms and values are smashed, without anything positive – in terms of values and life opportunities – to replace them, the effect on individuals, and on the collective culture, can be disastrous. Destruction of social values in this way has a high degree of association with increased alcohol dependency and mis-use, violence, economic disempowerment, lack of self-esteem and cultural belief and increasing powerlessness and social lethargy. This is the situation which has developed in Karamoja, with the destruction of traditional, pastoralist lifestyles and livelihoods. Traditional roles – for men and women – have been rendered unviable, but people have little sense of a new purpose with which to replace them.

Source: Crawford, S. for this report

3.2 Gender issues across Uganda¹⁶

Uganda ranked 58th out of 145 countries in the 2015 Gender Gender Gap Report¹⁷. Gender inequality is still persistent across Uganda – particularly in health, education attainment, and economic empowerment.

Gender inequality persists in economic participation: there is parity in labour force participation between women and men (a female to male ratio of 0.96), but there are marked differentials in gender representation in senior managerial positions and earned incomes. 83% of the female working population is engaged in agriculture, and yet women own only 16% of registered land.

Fewer girls complete primary school and enrol for secondary education: Like most African countries, Uganda has met the MDG target of gender parity in primary school enrolment. The gender gap in primary school completion however remains wide with 58% girls completing primary school in 2013 compared with 70% of boys. The gender gap is also visible at secondary level (a female to male ratio of 0.89) and widens at tertiary level (a female to male ratio of 0.27)⁵. Despite equity in primary school enrolment, the poor education outcomes experienced by women, particularly, have direct implications for their livelihoods, the health of their children, and the economic growth of Uganda as a whole.

Uganda still has a high prevalence of child early and forced marriage and teenage pregnancy: Girls not Brides report that nearly 1 in every 2 girls in Uganda is married before the legal age of marriage in North-East Uganda is 16.9¹⁸ and the Uganda Demographic and Health Survey (UDHS - 2011) estimates that 17% of girls aged 15 - 19 have already given birth. Compared with women who marry later, girls who marry before the age of 18 are less likely to complete primary school, more likely to experience unwanted pregnancies, and face greater risk of sexual and reproductive health morbidities and maternal mortality.

An unacceptable number of women die daily from child-birth related complications and women have limited control over their sexual and reproductive health choices. This translates into poor maternal health, high fertility, and early teenage pregnancies. The total fertility rate for Ugandan women is 6.2 children, one of the highest in the world, and far from the Ministry of Health (MoH) target of 4 children. The maternal mortality ratio is 438 per 100,000 births, which is far behind the MDG target of 131 by 2015.

Entrenched social norms continue to reinforce discrimination and violence: There is a high cultural acceptance of violence as a normal method of resolving conflict and as a typical part of parenting and teaching a child. Traditional beliefs that men have a right to control or discipline women through physical means make women vulnerable to violence by intimate partners. According to the UDHS (2011), 58% of Ugandan women and 44% of men find wife beating justified in certain circumstances. Up to 56% of Ugandan women have experienced physical violence and 28% have experienced sexual violence; yet there are few supportive services. According to the UDHS (2011), 13% of Gender Based Violence (GBV) survivors have ever reported the case to police, 4% to a doctor or medical personnel and 3% to a social service organisation. This indicates that many

¹⁶ For a recent analysis of Gender in Uganda, including discussion of “women”, “equality” and “empowerment”, see Gibson, S., Kabuchu, H. and Watkins, F., (2014) Gender Equality in Uganda: A situation Analysis and Scoping Report for the Gender Development Partners Group, Coffey (for DFID and Irish Aid), UK

¹⁷ World Economic Forum (2015) The Global Gender Gap Report 2015

¹⁸ Republic of Uganda and UNICEF (2015) The National Strategy to End Child Marriage and Teenage Pregnancy 2014/15 – 2019/20

women suffer in silence. Among the key traditional forms of GBV in Uganda is the practice of Female Genital Mutilation/Cutting (FGM/C). The prevalence of FGM/C in Uganda is reportedly low (1.4% of women aged 14 – 49¹⁹), but, in the areas it exists it is known to be greatly under-reported. Knowledge of the law against FGM/C is widespread, and this has led to greater secrecy around it²⁰. The Karamoja region recorded the highest percentage of FGM/C – at 5%. This is concentrated in particular regions and amongst particular tribes, particularly in the North-East of Uganda, bordering Kenya. We shall show, however, that this figure is likely to be an under-representation of the true magnitude of the problem.

3.3 Background to gender inequality in Karamoja

Karamoja sub-region is located in the north eastern region of Uganda, and it comprises seven (7) Districts: Nakapiripiriti, Moroto, Kotido, Kaabong, Napak, Amdaat and Abim Districts. The sub-region is characterized by semi-arid conditions with highly variable climate characterized by sporadic rainfall and high temperatures all year round. The annual rainfall generally ranges between 350-1000 mm. Intermittent variability of rainfall in Karamoja often produces negative effects on agricultural production; with crop production being a high risk activity in the region with intermittent dependence on food aid. Livestock herding is affected by variability on water and forage resources, as well as pest and disease prevalence in the region. The dry spells and drought patterns in the sub-region often elicit a food insecurity situation and have led to extensive provision of food aid. However, in the recent past, most of the drought events in Karamoja are largely artificial owing to development policies that favour settlement at the expense of pastoralism (Levine, 2010). The sub-region is part of the greater ‘cattle corridor’ of Uganda that stretches from south western, through the central to north eastern parts of the country.

As stated in Section 3 of this report, the history and environment of Karamoja mean that the majority of people – women, girls, men and boys are living with high levels of vulnerability. Over a century of cyclical conflict, and marginalisation from central government strategies, have left the Karamoja population at severe disadvantage. Colonial, and post-colonial political and economic policies towards pastoralists did little to deter the traditional cattle-raiding strategies of the Karamajong and Pokot, but increased rigidity of political and territorial boundaries and consequent tensions between political and cultural identities, have played a primary role in changes in the structure and function of traditional livelihood strategies in Karamoja²¹. For over 40 years, there has been a growing dependency on food-aid in Karamoja. Recent intensified environmental degradation – owing to climate change – means that this dependency continues, despite new food-for-work approaches geared to encourage people to “give back” in return for food aid, rather than simply receiving a hand-out.

Overall, the Gender Gap indicators which rank Uganda 58th out of 145 countries²², are worse in Karamoja. It is reported, for example, that only c. 6% of primary school children are girls (Uganda, as a whole, has reached parity for primary enrolment, but with 53% of girls completing compared with 78% of boys). In comparison with boys and men in Uganda as a whole, boys and men in Karamoja are at a disadvantage, with few opportunities for education or viable livelihood strategies. Since girls

¹⁹ UDHS 2011

²⁰ A decree against FGM/C was passed in 2010, with a maximum penalty of life imprisonment. Several charges have been brought.

²¹ Gray, S. (2000) A Memory of Loss

²² World economic Forum (2015) The Gender Gap Report 2015

and women in Karamoja are disadvantaged in relation to boys and men, this places them fairly much “at the bottom of the pile”.

In recent years, to address the need for development, and to promote greater gender equality and equity, donor and government focus has been on working with women: for greater livelihood opportunities and, by extension, improved family health and opportunities for children. As the discussion, below, will show, this has definitely improved survival chances in the region – but this comes at a considerable cost.

Table 1, below, presents an annotated dashboard of key gender indicators across Karamoja. These are then discussed, using understanding gathered through community consultations.

Table 2: Annotated dashboard of Key Gender Issues

For the districts of: Abim, Amudaat, Kaabong, Kotido, Moroto, Nakapiririt and Napak

Topic	Facts and Figures	Comments
Total Population	988,429	Government of Uganda, National Population and Housing Census, 2014, Revised Results.
Percentage living in poverty	Between 76 and 82	Government and independent sources
Percentage with access to safe water	46	2008 Government figures
Percentage living in lowest wealth quintile	79.2	Uganda DHS 2011 (source for all following statistics)
Birth registration; percentage	11.1	
Education	Highest proportion of females and males with no education in country	Low rates of education – tallies with what people say about the lack of value given to education. Girls and women are most disadvantaged, but men too. Very low rates at secondary school: indicate small number of families valuing education – percentages then very similar for boys and girls.
Percentage of men with no education	45.3	
Percentage of women with no education	58.1	
Boys’ primary school attendance: percentage	53.9	
Girls’ primary school attendance: percentage	40.3	
Secondary school attendance: percentage	7.2 boys, 7.5 girls	
Percentage women’s (15 – 14) literacy	5.5	Able to read one complete sentence
Percentage men’s (15 – 49) literacy	18.5	
Percentage employed (15 – 49) at some time in last week	Women 85.3; men 88.7	Mostly in agricultural work – does not tally with observation and people’s comments (high unemployment)
Women living with co-wives in household: percentage	51.6	More research is needed to determine the (dis)advantages of

		this
Median age at first marriage	c. 18.4 for women, c. 20 for men	Use of median obscures the fact of high numbers of under-age marriages. Median age of first sexual experience given as slightly lower
Percentage of women child-bearing between 15 – 19 years old	29.7	Again, confusing when viewed in relation to “median” figures, above
Percentage married women using contraception	7.8	Ties in with the comments of women in communities that men do not approve of contraception
Percentage of home births without skilled assistance	71.3	Low rate of births with skilled assistance
Percentage of women reporting difficulty in accessing healthcare	87	Difficulties include: lack of permissions, company, long distance, but especially -- costs
Under-five mortality rate	153	High, and highest in whole country
Percentage of women in Karamoja reporting having FGM/C	4.8	Because of knowledge of the law, and awareness of outsiders views, these figures cannot be believed. WE think the rate is still quite high amongst communities which have the tradition
Percentage seeking treatment for childhood diarrhoea in clinic	93	High percentage: suggests people can get to clinics for some things. But people’s definition of “clinic” may include pharmacies
Percentage disposing of childhood stools safely	40.6	Parasites etc. in stools increasingly being identified as major contributors to stunting and as barriers to child development
Percentage breastfeeding for a median of 23 months	99.9	High
Percentage of women with any degree of anaemia	86.6	High
Knowledge of existence of HIV: percentage	Universal	High: but figures for knowledge of existence – but depressing figures for complete understanding of the issue, especially since the age range is 15 – 49. 49 year olds would have been young adults in the early days of the epidemic
Percentage of people having comprehensive knowledge on HIV	20.3 for women, 43.9 for men	
Proportion of people feeling a woman is justified in negotiating safer sex	Less than half of women; two-thirds of men	
Percentage of people self-reporting on STIs	c. 1 for women; c. 2.5 for men	Very low indeed
Percentage of women reporting some decision-making power over their own earnings	Over 90	Very high – presumably affected by cash-for-work programmes and traditional gender-segregated livelihood responsibilities
Percentage of women saying	56.7	High

they own a house alone, or jointly with spouse		
Percentage of women having control over land	Fewer than 50	Notable empowerment/lack of empowerment issue: inheritance etc.
Percentage of women saying they participate in key household decision-making	69.2	High
Percentage of people thinking wife-beating is sometimes justified	43.9 of women; 42.7 of men	Major equity issue
Percentage of women saying they have ever experienced physical violence since age 15	49	These figures are unlikely to be reliable. Too many variables: what people are willing to report, what they consider to be violence etc. However, high figure for men is indicative of a society living in , and beyond, conflict,
Percentage of men saying they have ever experienced physical violence since age 15	71.9	
Percentage of women saying they have ever experience sexual violence	17.2	

3.4 Key Issues in Karamoja

Power and politics:

Gender inequalities stem from inequity in power relations and the politics which govern the way that people relate to each other. This understanding forms the basis of our presentation of gender issues in Karamoja.

The issues outlined here do not give a complete picture of all issues affecting gender equality and women's and girls' empowerment in Karamoja. The issues noted here, are those which stood out most clearly from the field visits and consultations. It was not possible to conduct a full Community Perspectives Study (something for which we make a recommendation). Findings are based on the few community-level consultations we were able to have in the 4 districts (Moroto, Nakapiripirit, Amudaat and Kaboong) over the 8 days in Karamoja. Consultations and in-depth interviews were held with different interest groups (women, men in-school girls and boys, ex-FGM/C practitioners, local officials and development agency staff)²³. This was supported by a review of available literature. The issues are outlined here, followed by key learnings and recommendations for action.

1. Low enrolment of both boys and girls in school and low retention of girls in school

Everyone in official positions, or development agencies stated that Karamajong and the Pokot do not value education. In particular, they are said not to value it for girls:

"When a father looks at a daughter he thinks 'cows'; as soon as she is married, she will bring cows and wealth into the family" (Ex-cutter, Amudaat)

That few children participate in school is blamed on the culture: where boys are sent off to herd cattle and girls help with all household chores until they are old enough to be married, possibly after

²³ See section 2 and Annex 3

undergoing FGM/C. This may be between 9 and 12 years of age – so many girls drop out of school after primary 2. Men now often have undefined roles in the household, with fewer and fewer cattle to look after and, within households all responsibilities left to the women. Boys and girls therefore tend only to enrol in school if either of their parents is educated, or if the mother is working hard to keep her children in school.

"Our culture here is so deep rooted that girls are seen as assets in the households. As soon as a girl is old enough she is married off and bride wealth brought to her parents. On the other hand, boys should marry early and bring grandchildren to the household. So no need to keep them much longer in school which will not bring immediate benefits to a household" (Elder at a meeting at Katikkekile Sub county).

"Forced/early marriages and mutilation are still being practiced in the communities of Tapac and Katikkekire. Girls are pulled out of school and taken for confirmation at the church, soon after confirmation a girl of 12 years is given away in marriage. The cutters now use razor blades and pretend to be celebrating a birth or birthday when actually they have mutilated a girl and soon after the girl is given away for marriage". (Child protection officer, Katikkekile Sub county).

The majority of the community people and district stakeholders we talked to recommended the enhancement and strengthening of education for girls and boys, and an education that empowers all with skills that are relevant to the Karamajong. The protection officer proposed a model where a protection centre is both a rescue and protection centre but also a school. He mentioned that once girls have been rescued and protected they return to their communities and are married off soon afterwards. So there is a need to keep girls longer at a centre, while they receive an education and learn marketable skills.

People in the communities do not see any quick benefits from educating a girl. Many brand girls who have gone to school as prostitutes and not "marriageable material". Some girls who have received an education have done so by finding their own school fees and school requirements. Parents may not extend any support, especially when they know that government is supporting the girls. One girl, in Naoi village in Rupa sub-county was very willing to have her story and details taken down by the team so that the world would hear the difficulties faced by girls in Karamoja:

Box 3: A girl's struggle for education

I am 21 years old and I sat for my senior four exams recently and am waiting for my results next year. I did not start school until I was 14 years old. I did not go to P.1, instead I started in P.2. My parents were not interested in my education. I went on my own initiative and so I did not get any support from my parents. Fortunately, I have been earning money at a stone quarry and so was able to stay in school until I sat for my primary 7 exams. I passed so well with 21 aggregates, a second grade, and was admitted at Kangole Girls secondary school. During my long p.7 vacation, I went away to Nakabath -- a mining area near the border with Kenya -- to work. I earned between 100 to 200 thousand Uganda shillings every month and was able to buy all the requirements for boarding school, including school fees of 350 thousand shillings. I sat for my senior four and got 52 points with good aggregates in biology and agriculture; I got admitted to the Primary Teachers college, but I couldn't even afford to pick up my admission letter because I needed money to get the letter. I didn't have any money because I used all the savings to look after my father and pay hospital bills when he was admitted to hospital for 6 months. I went back to work soon after we got back from hospital and paid fees to re-sit my senior 4. I'm confident that I will pass and I'm looking forward to

becoming a midwife. My father is not happy with me because he says I'm old enough now and should get married to bring him some wealth. The community members say I'm a prostitute because I have been to school and have been exposed to worldly treasures. I'm looking for work, even if it is cleaning someone's home, because I do not want to go back to the stone mining area. The Pokot are very aggressive and ruthless people, there are a lot of fights there at the stone quarry and some girls are killed because they refuse to have sexual relations with the men. The work is also too heavy and my chest constantly hurts me. I am still single and will not marry until I realise my dream. I don't care that my parents are not supporting me, I will find work and will support myself. Two of my younger sisters are already married; one is 18 and the other 17 years. I'm protecting the youngest by paying fees for her at the nearest primary school; she is 13 years and is in P.3. I'm her only supporter. I have paid 30,000 shs for fees and 15,000 for uniform. Please tell the world what we are going through and get the district to be more transparent with scholarships. We, in this community, do not have any bursaries. Please also develop programmes that target the change of attitude of parents, they must change and embrace education for girls."

Source: Fieldwork, Rupa sub-county

2. Heavy women's workload

Women's workload is a challenge mentioned by all women, and recognised as discriminatory by district officials and all development workers consulted. In general, women in the region carry the entire burden of the households and the communities. Women look for dead wood to fence up the 'manyattas' (compounds), women tend to the household needs including food, water and fuel wood. If the children are attending school, women pay for all the school dues, women go out to work and do the public works where the work-for-food programme is implemented (at least 57% of participants are women). When women are considered by their husbands to have "failed" in these duties, they are likely to be beaten.

In all the discussions that we had with officials, development workers and women, the complaint was that men only sit, or lie down under trees, and do not give any support whatsoever to the women (men in the communities in Karamoja do not see it this way; they say they sit because they have nothing else to do). Most of the development programmes are targeting women, which is good but they are not in any way supporting the redistribution of the workload between men and women. The FAO engagement in developing and introducing labour-saving technologies – for example oxen, and time-saving technologies (like providing water-sources nearer to the households) are useful interventions which are decreasing the time-on-task by women. But this just means that women are given more time for other productive work, not leisure. In Rupa community the women complained of poor health resulting from work for food on public works – which, to them, neither improve their workload nor improve household food security.

Box 4: Women's workload

"You work so hard, and it is very hard and heavy work of digging holes for tree planting and water conservation points. You work for 13 days and wait; you don't get paid till after 45 days. You get paid 50 kgs of maize flour and you start paying back the flour at every point where you got a debt because everyone in the community knows you have received your flour. So almost as soon as you get the flour, you haven't got it any more. There has been drought in the area for four years and 50 kgs cannot help and yet you have to work so hard because men are not working. After your 13 days at the public works you go and do some stone mining again; it's heavy and hurting your chest. You go to the forest to find charcoal, firewood for sale or brew local beer for sale. Sometimes you find the children lying down in the house very hungry and also find your husband lying down hungry. He

asks for some of the money to go drinking and some of the money you get to use for food for the children. It is too much work for us women. But the men are not ready to help. It is our work. The men's work was to keep the community and the animals secure and safe. But now the area is safe, so they don't have anything to do. They won't go off and find work like we do."

Source: Fieldwork, woman in Rupa sub county community women's group meeting.

3. Neglected Young People with nothing to do

Everyone consulted, from within and outwith the region, said that young people – both male and female – in Karamoja, are the most vulnerable and disadvantaged people in the communities. Young men and women are most affected by food insecurity, because they are supposedly the young and energetic ones, and therefore have to find food for their parents and siblings. Young men do not have any skills because they do not have an education. Young women, if still not married, are following in the footsteps of their mothers: they hold the burden of all household chores; are responsible for firewood collection and finding for food, looking after the sick, looking after children and cooking while the mothers are out working to earn some money or food. The majority of young people are reportedly unemployed and some of the elders are complaining that the youth are unruly because of the freedoms brought by human rights training and awareness of Karamoja youth of young people in other places.

There is a good deal of evidence to show that having nothing to do is leading to an increase in petty crime. This also ties in with an increasing dependence on alcohol (see 5, below). The work by Stepping Stones²⁴ (see Box 5, below) showed that, with the right forms of encouragement, and positive enquiry, young men were able to open up about being involved in petty crime and to discuss ways in which they can move away from this:

Box 5: Stepping Stones for Peace and Prosperity

In 2009, responding to the issue of increasingly disaffected young men who had been involved in violent conflict, the Stepping Stones package was adapted for use with younger and older men and women in Karamoja. Qualitative evaluation showed that the 9-month course was extremely well-received by participants, many of whom felt that it was essential to go through the course *before* embarking on skills or vocational training courses. A number of the young men involved felt able to open up about crime they were involved in, and they developed new self-esteem and ability to reflect honestly and openly on themselves and the lives they were leading. At the time, the pilot was not pursued: after 9 months, and despite the very positive qualitative findings, quantitative survey was not conclusive as to whether the programme would have long-term effect. We believe that the nature of the quantitative evaluation (time and kind) had some limitations, and that the possibilities for using a Stepping Stones type of approach need now to be re-visited.

Source: www.stepsstonesfeedback.org; A, Welbourn, pers. comm

²⁴ Stepping Stones is a participatory training package on gender, HIV, communication and relationships skills. It was originally designed to enhance communication across ages and genders, to reduce gender-based violence and related vulnerabilities to living with or acquiring HIV in communities. Originally published in 1995, it is now in use in many countries and has been adapted for use, for example, in conflict resolution, in post-humanitarian reconciliation settings, with children and with armed forces.

See www.stepsstonesfeedback.org and www.salamandertrust.net

There are other positive developments: Restless Development, an NGO that engages youth²⁵, is working for young people's voice and agency. The approach is formation of one mixed group (half young men and half young women) and one group with only young women (many young women are affected by early pregnancies and marriages and so there is affirmative action to have more participate) in each community. The groups participate in informal training on: life skills, agribusiness skills, income generating activities and formation of Village Saving and Loans Associations (VSLA's). Restless Development has also put together a group of 40 young people who are researching on youth and development issues and, in turn, are influencing development programmes in their areas. Some of these young people are becoming youth leaders. Seventy-two youth from the districts participated in politics during the ruling party primary elections, including 12 young women. One young woman is a representative of her sub-county, Tapac, at the district level. She was unopposed. The district speaker for Napak is a product of the youth groups and two of the youth from Lutome and Nadungete are representatives at the district youth council.

FAO are promoting and supporting the development of Young Farmer Field schools and empowering them with skills and training on critical areas such as household relations, peer to peer engagement and relations with the wider communities. UN Women and Concern Worldwide are also promoting life skills for young people at the youth centres.

The lack of purpose experienced by young people in Karamoja is a critical issue which has far-reaching implications; depression is both individual and cultural. It is discussed further in "lessons", below.

4. Gender Based Violence, FGM/C and "Courtship"

a) Gender-Based Violence (GBV)

GBV is endemic in the region²⁶. It is exacerbated by a) the dislocation of society, b) loss of cultural identity and purpose and c) misuse of alcohol (see below). Nevertheless, GBV is a "traditional" part of society in Karamoja, with some older women claiming that the proof of a husband's love was in the fact that he hit ("disciplined") his wife²⁷. This is in spite of the efforts made, through the legal structure, to protect people against gender-based and partner violence.

Box 6: Partner Violence

In November 2009 Parliament passed the country's first bill criminalizing **domestic violence**, the Domestic Violence Act, which was signed into law in 2010. The bill provides a thorough definition of domestic violence that includes physical, sexual, emotional, verbal, psychological, and economic violence as well as harassment. In addition, the bill provides protection orders for abused women, which had not previously existed in Ugandan law. However, whilst rape is a criminal offence in Uganda under Chapter 14 of the Penal Code, spousal rape is not currently recognised as a criminal offence. According to the US Department of State's human rights report for 2012, the 2010 law is not effectively enforced; most rapes go unreported, and police lack the resources and capacity to investigate cases of rape. According to the 2011 DHS, 51% of women reported having experienced some form of sexual and/or physical violence in their lifetime. Among ever-married women, the

²⁵ The concept of "youth" is flexible and may mean anyone up to the age of 35. Restless tends to work with the c. 18 to c. 30 age group. See their website for reports on their work: www.restelessdevelopment.org

²⁶ And across Uganda as a whole

²⁷ Welbourn, A., *Pers. Comm.*

victim's husband or partner was the perpetrator in more than 55% of these cases, reflecting a widely held belief that spousal rape is a husband's prerogative. Many males also report domestic violence, though more research is needed before this can be understood fully (is the violence against men caused by women or by other family members? What is the nature of violence against males?
Source: Uganda SIGI Report 2015, and Authors

Violence is reported in various forms and by all respondents that were met by the team. Violence ranges from children being hit at home for disobedience, and boys and girls being forced into labour to provide for their families, to child early and forced marriages(CEFM), women battering, fighting at mining sites, defilement and rape (shockingly, one of the development officials met qualified this as 'cultural rape'), to Female Genital Mutilation/Cutting, denying children an education, and denying women the right to reproductive health -- especially in making choices on family size. One woman reported that:

"If a husband notices that his wife has had an implant [for contraceptive purposes] he will bite it out of her arm!". (Woman in Amudaat)

"You, the woman, make the decision to space your children and how many you can have. You do this without the consent or knowledge of the man because you will be responsible for feeding and providing all the needs for the children. However, if he gets to know you are accessing the service [contraception] you will be beaten, some women have been killed in the process". (Young woman in Amudaat)

b) FGM/C is a social issue, and an abuse of rights.

FGM/C is about power and politics²⁸. It is not only about control of women and their sexuality, it is about what it means to be a female human being, and to be a full part of society.

"We believed: how can I live as a girl and a woman and not be cut? To go through cutting shows we are brave, as a woman should be – just like a man has to be brave against enemies. Not being cut means you are a coward. An un-cut girl is not brave, she is like a cheeky child".

FGM/C is about the relationships between women and men and how cultural expectations for being a woman or a man are passed on from generation to generation.

FGM/C carried out in Karamoja is said to be of types 1 and 2²⁹.

Box 7: How FGM/C is carried out in Amudaat, Sex and Childbirth

In Amudaat, ZOA set up a meeting for us with three women who had careers as "Cutters" (women who carried out FGM/C). All the women have now given up cutting – having been persuaded to do so by the teachings of the local churches and by organisations like ZOA. *"The church told us about how bad it would be if someone died in our hands"*. All the women said that no girl had ever died when they cut them, but that it does happen. If the knife cuts down to the pubic bone, it is very dangerous. One woman said that her mother had been a cutter too. When the woman was a girl and was cut, she bled a lot and was unconscious and had to be taken to hospital. She said: *"The scar*

²⁸ Gender and age politics – the relationships between men and women of different ages in society, and the relative authority that different groups have.

²⁹ Though, nowadays, this typology can be nearly meaningless as communities adapt the ways in which they carry out FGM/C and name these adaptations as they will (see Crawford, S. and Ali, S., 2015) A Situational Analysis of FGM/C in Somalia).

became hard and, when I got married, I had to be opened for my husband. To do that, they get a sheep or goat horn, and they make it smooth – then they push and push it into the girl, until she is open. I had to be cut open when I first gave birth. I became a cutter too, and I know what it is like”. The women told us that the Sebeh and the Pokot cut differently – the Pokot “take everything. We got an arrow or a nail and flattened it and curved it. Then we scoop everything out”. The women said that, nowadays, not every Pokot family cuts their daughters. Now, there is maybe only one cutter in the area. They think the church has been most influential in getting people to stop.
Source: fieldwork, Amudaat, 3 women who used to carry out FGM/C

All FGM/C causes physical, psychological, emotional, sexual, spiritual and social damage. Health consequences include pain and trauma, as well as risks of haemorrhage, infection and sometimes death³⁰. There is evidence of increased risk of complications at childbirth, putting mothers and newborns at risk. FGM/C also has economic consequences for the affected families and communities and can prevent girls from accessing formal education and development. FGM/C is a social issue, but it has often been ignored, even in the most obvious situations where it damages health. The same damages can also be attributed to CEFM.

To date, there is not enough research or evaluation to show the full costs of FGM/C and CEFM, but we know that the physical and psychological damage done to girls and women places a burden on national health and social welfare services, and that this burden is transferred across generations because of the impact on babies of difficult birthing and low birth weight, associated with pregnancy under 16. In Karamoja, as in many other areas, FGM/C and CEFM are closely inter-linked:

“Girls are valued for the chance that they may be married to a wealthy man. They are cut between 9 and 12 years of age, then given in marriage straight away.” (Sister Magdalene, Head of Kalas Girls’ School, Amudaat)

FGM/C and CEFM break the ‘Golden Thread’ which links girls’ early childhood development, education, employment and full life opportunities.

The diagram below shows how the harm caused by FGM/C and Child Marriage is inter-linked. It shows that both practices can lead to profound damage to girls and women and can result in inter-generational poverty and disadvantage.

³⁰ See, for example, Crawford, S. (2013)

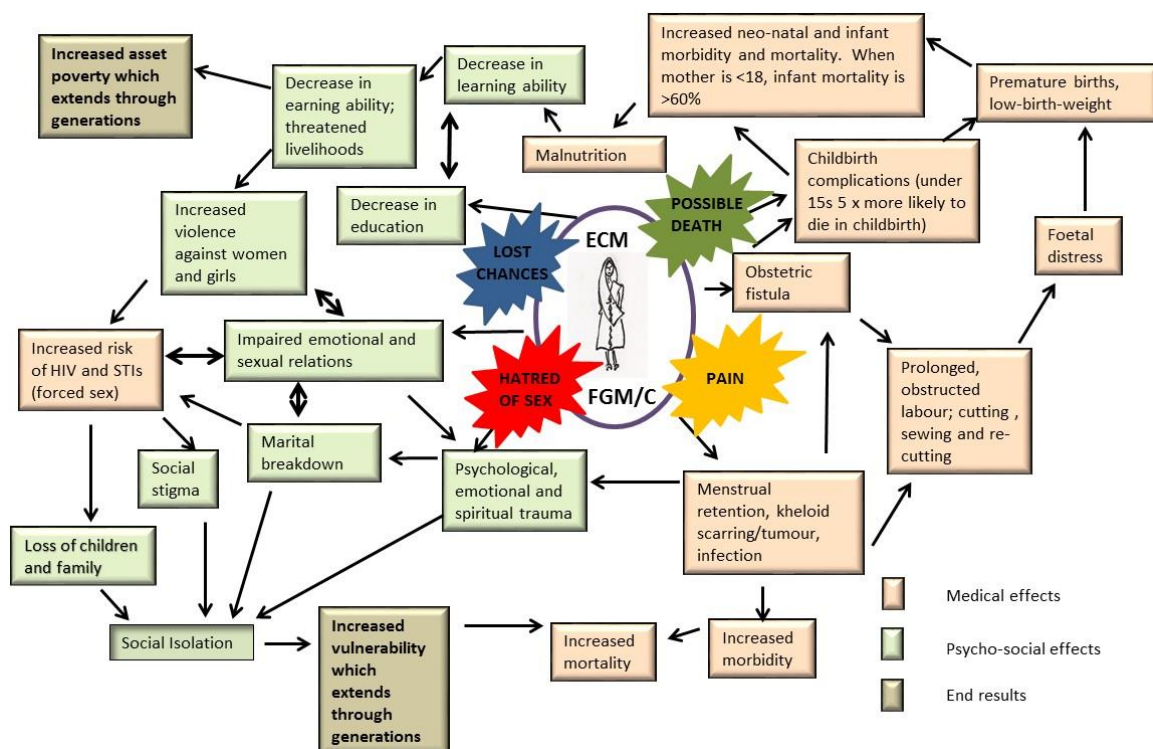


Figure 4 : Adapted from: Crawford S., 2013, *Towards Ending FGM/C in Africa and Beyond: A scoping study*, DFID

In Amudaat, a number of people consulted, particularly young men in Nakasepan community, claimed that FGM/C is a thing of the past:

"Oh no, we don't have FGM/C any more. No, that stopped about ten years ago. There is no FGM/C now in our community. It is better because non-cut women can give birth more easily, and there are fewer complications ... What are relationships between a man and a non-cut woman like? Well, non-cut women have more enthusiasm for sex than those who are cut". (Young man, 17, in his community but visiting from secondary school across the border in Kenya).

Conversely, other people told us that FGM/C continues, but that people's knowledge of the law, and awareness of the anti-FGM/C teachings from the church, mean that FGM/C has gone underground and is carried out in secret. Often, girls are taken over the border to Kenya, to be cut there³¹. Others told us using razor blades instead of the traditional cutting tools helps to hide the practice. Or families may pretend it is a birth or confirmation ceremony they are celebrating, rather than an FGM/C initiation ceremony.

All young people consulted, said that FGM/C is not a good thing. For example:

Box 8: Young Boys in Kalas Boys School, Amudaat

As part of an activity with 10 boys in Kalas school (aged c. 12 – 16), we asked them to identify the characteristics of the type of girl they would like to marry. Hard-working, honest with money, non-drinking and educated were agreed by all. So was that the girl should not be cut. We asked why this was so and the boys said that they have seen how their mothers have suffered in giving birth. We

³¹ Which is why ending FGM/C cannot be done only in one area – it takes a wider approach. See recommendations.

discussed the complications and the fact that women can bleed to death. Some boys said that, since you don't know what has been used to do the cutting, you can end up marrying someone who is infected with a disease. Finally, one boy said that a cut woman *"has no network"*. After some laughter, this was explained by the group to mean that she has no sexual feelings and is not interested in sexual relationships.

Source: fieldwork, Kalas Boys' school

We asked the older women about how a newly married couple manages sex when they girl has been cut;

"It seems like the men enjoy trying to penetrate a cut woman. On the wedding night, a man might have told his brother that he 'could not pass' and that they have 'wasted their cows'. So the women told the husband's mother and she got the horn, and made it smooth with a knife. They put butter on the horn and used it to stretch the girl open. She cried a lot, but she got used to it – just like I did". (Woman who used to carry out FGM/C, Amudaat).³²

We also asked the older women what they considered to be the advantages of FGM/C:

Box 9: Older Women's Views on Advantages of FGM/C

The women said *"it was all about cows"*. A father cut his daughters because he knew he would get lots of cows for them. Girls were happy, because they knew there would be a celebration and they encouraged each other to be brave when going through the cutting. *"A man would give more money for a cut girl because she knows how to behave. During the initiation and cutting, there was a passing out ceremony. The Father removed the veil from over the girl and poured butter over her. He demanded the girl's obedience and she had to obey, otherwise she would go mad. For us, as cutters, we got a lot of wealth. Life was sweet. When my Mother used to cut some 30 girls a day, there was milk and cows everywhere"*. The women said that, in the past, cutters were well-respected in the communities and well-paid: *"A cut was a cow or two goats, then you got more when the girl got married"*. They say that this has now changed: *"What is driving cuttings now is alcohol. The father still sees cows in front of his eyes, but the cutter sees money for alcohol. They now get paid in money, because it is easier to hide. Some women still do this; they drink and cut. They want money for beer and wine. They have not been saved"*.

Source: fieldwork, Amudaat

c) "Courtship" happens through rape

People refer to courtship-by-rape. Young men of warrior age (late adolescence and young adulthood) rape girls aged between 10 and 12 years as a way of "securing" them for marriage. Although the extent of this traditional practice is difficult to judge, rape is cited as common in Karamoja³³ and contributes to many girls being married off as early as 10. There are suggestions that, in some instances, girls younger than the official age of marriage (18) may collude in the practice – escaping to the bush with young men of their choice, so as to be allowed to marry them. Child and Early Forced Marriage, especially among the Pokot and Ik people, but generally practiced throughout the region, is very common. All communities visited said that this type of violence is a key cause for low completion rates for girls in school and non-attendance of school for girls and boys in the region.

³² During the consultations, it was difficult to know if the women were talking only about the past (their experiences when still cutting) or if this is still going on. Since "everyone" knows that FGM/C is illegal, no one talks about it, in this detail, as if it were still being carried out.

³³ See OECD (2015)

5. Misuse of alcohol and other substances

The loss of purpose, self-esteem and cultural pride, described in Box 1, above, have contributed to changes in Karamojan people's relationship with alcohol and other potentially harmful substances³⁴.

"In the old days, we all used to drink – at celebrations and on market day. The children would be given the beer residue mixed with milk. It was good food. Then, alcohol didn't do anyone any harm. Now, we drink to forget and we drink to fill our bellies. We drink because we have nothing else to do. We sit under trees and we drink. Women drink too. We drink and we get drunk. When we get drunk, we might get violent. Then we can sleep. The old alcohol wasn't bad, it still isn't so bad – but we drink all the time. The new alcohol though, that is dangerous. The young people drink because they have never known anything different. They aren't warriors any more. They are unemployed and they drink and they rape girls and get involved in petty crime. They get depressed and they don't listen." (Leader, Lorokumo village, Rupa).

There are suggestions that intensified alcohol consumption is leading to an increase in violence, not only by men, but also by women. The Foundation for Human Rights Initiative and Penal Reform International 2015 report on women prisoners in Uganda, identified alcohol consumption as a driver of violence by women, and a contributor to why many women are in jail.

Brewing and selling alcohol is a key livelihood strategy across Karamoja. The increased use of alcohol, and the detrimental effects of increased use are, as in other places, a symptom of wider social dislocation and cultural depression. Young and old people, male and female are affected. Many of the worst rights abuses of gender inequality are exacerbated by misuse of alcohol.

In Karamoja, the personal depression that goes along with alcohol misuse (alcohol is both a push and a pull factor for depression) is endemic, and the problem is growing amongst women and men. As in similar crises elsewhere, women are (initially at least) somewhat less affected than men. This is, in part, because the imperatives of childcare, and women's traditional roles as the ones who provide food in the family, force them to "keep going".

In some ways, when forced to take on even more responsibility to keep the family alive, women's personal sense of identity and purpose may be strengthened. However, this is not always enough: in the 10-day visit, we heard of two young mothers who had died from alcohol misuse. For men and boys, the situation may be worse. Men, traditionally, defined themselves, and were defined by women, as cattle-herding warriors. Without this, they have nothing. The warrior culture has gone and there is nothing to replace it. The personal depression suffered by men in these circumstances has turned, for many, into a personal and social paralysis and acedia, where alcohol helps to numb the pain and allows people to move beyond caring. For the younger men, drinking also numbs their anger and frustration at "being nobody, going nowhere".

³⁴ During the fieldwork for this report, we were constantly made aware, by people from outwith Karamoja and by Karamojans themselves, of how Karamojan people misuse alcohol. We were also told of the use of drugs.

6. Threats of radicalisation

The cultural depression described in Box 1, whilst currently leading to lethargy and lack of purpose, especially amongst young men, could, potentially, spark a highly volatile situation. In some, the lack of purpose leads to lethargy (“sitting under trees”); in others, it leads to a rise in petty crime, different forms of violence, self- and cultural-destruction through alcohol (see section 3.4) and a vacuum in personal and social purpose – ripe to be filled by any subversive, or extreme, ideologists who may choose to exploit it.

At present, the youth of Karamoja – especially the young men – are an open target for any influences which may give them direction and purpose. In today’s world, there is strong possibility that these influences may be negative and threatening to the state – the chances of radicalisation cannot be dismissed. At the very least, petty crime may well increase as youth finds the easiest way to get money to buy alcohol. At the worst, religion and ideology may be used in negative ways to spread insurrection. These contentions are supported by the findings of the recent Stepping Stones work (2014) on engaging men in Karamoja.

There is, as yet, insufficient understanding on how the processes of radicalisation work (and what research there is does not stem from, or work into, the development world). However, “unexpected” radicalisation has become a real issue in, for example, Egypt and the Yemen, and is, of course, of great concern in the West. More research is needed to determine the full extent of the problem, but there is a strong argument to say that it is obvious that more effort to engage young men in development and livelihoods processes is a) needed to promote gender equity and b) to help mitigate emerging risks.

7. Child Labour

Child labour was reported in all communities as an issue affecting boys and girls. All children are expected to work to help support the family and livelihoods. However, work becomes labour, and becomes a rights abuse, when it prevents children fulfilling their rights to education, leisure and protection – in the family and in the community. As elsewhere, it is more likely to be girls who are kept back from school to help with household chores and paid work centring round the household economy. They are sent out to sell water and firewood, they help to make and sell local brew and provide childcare. Young boys are expected to herd cattle, search for water and pasture for the animals over many miles in the forests. Both the boys and girls are vulnerable to attacks by raiders (some raiding is still happening) and warriors, respectively. Girls are particularly likely to be sexually assaulted, leading to early marriage to “save honour”.

8. Economic inequalities

In the traditional patterns of pastoralism amongst the Karamojong, status and wealth were expressed through ownership and good care of cattle and, by extension, a man’s control over his wife/wives and household. Cattle were the only form of wealth that counted, and the ability to protect cattle and homesteads was what defined a man’s sense of self-worth. The traditional forms of cattle-raiding (which extend to “raiding” of women – as in the courtship-by-rape example above) have been long-documented. So, too, has the effect that access to modern weapons had on this, consequent conflict, and eventual disarmament – from 2008/9 onwards³⁵

³⁵ See, for example, Gray.S. (2000)

Disparities in economic opportunity and control are major causes of gender inequalities in Karamoja region. They are visible at all levels (individual, household, community and society). Inequalities were reported over access to, and control over, household resources -- especially cattle, which are owned and controlled by men, employment -- where the majority of youth are unemployed and so cannot make decisions over productive resources and even use of the household or community resources. Inequalities in access and control were found to be reducing women's economic independence and reducing their capacity to act and take decisions in the households and at community level. However, while this is the truth according to women, it is not the way that men explained it. As the man in the following quote aimed to show, men are ambivalent about women sharing in decision-making:

"Now, yes, my wife is involved in all decisions. I can't even take a chicken to market and sell it without her permission!" (Man, Lorokumo village).

In the past, women had little or no power to join in directly in decisions to sell livestock – cattle were men's business. But, equally, men had little to do with small animals, like chickens. The man above is showing how disempowered he has become – economically and socially.

Lack of economic autonomy increases women's vulnerability to violence. Many women are even restricted in the extent to which they have any control over money and household incomes from work that women have done, themselves. Disputes over this control often lead to domestic violence – when a woman is "blamed" for wanting to control the household income and also "blamed" for being the bread-winner. Economic independence does not protect women from violence, but control over economic resources can enhance their capacity in making choices and getting away from violent situations. On the other hand, the way that women's economic empowerment and control is presently being promoted (see section 4) does not solve the underlying issue: that men, too, have no economic empowerment and feel useless (see below).

Men's feeling of uselessness appears to exacerbate their fears that the increased autonomy that women may feel through economic empowerment will also allow women to make their own choices about with whom to have sexual relations, where and when. Men in Lorokumo village, Moroto, are also afraid that, when women go to town to look for work, they meet danger:

"When the women go to town for work, they get raped and then they bring home diseases. Our mothers go the mines to mine gold – but when they are there, they meet with a new man, and then how will the family survive? Sometimes, it is better if the Mother and Father go off to the mine together to find work – but then what happens to the children?" (Man, Lorokumo, Rupa)

9. HIV/AIDS

Stigma against people living with HIV in Karamoja was reported by many respondents in Koboong and Moroto. Some of them reported experiences of discrimination following disclosure. One medical officer noted that many women face violence at disclosure because they are tested during pregnancy, and therefore discover their status before their husband does.

Information on HIV/AIDS is available but, because of high levels of non-literacy, men, boys, women and girls in Karamoja have restricted access to the information and little understanding of their rights. An increasing HIV prevalence was reported and men blamed women for spreading the disease because they go out to work and meet other men. Conversely, women blamed the men –

because they marry many women and go out with women who are not their wives much more than used to be the case:

"We are five women for one man. We used to have local herbs for other sexually transmitted disease BUT alas!! No herbs or cure for Aids, we have to suffer the consequences" HIV+ women in the group in Moroto)

Girls who go to school are labelled prostitutes and also blamed for spreading the disease.

The links between women's economic empowerment, and ability to protect themselves from HIV are now well-documented, as work in South Africa is demonstrating:

"In women, HIV risk is inexorably linked to women's experience of gender subordination including social and economic dependency on men". (Stepping Stones and Creating Futures, 2015³⁶)

10. Being part of a highly vulnerable community

In isolated and extremely poor communities, poor infrastructure and communications heighten inequalities and discriminations. The IK community in Kaboong district face the compound vulnerabilities of being a minority tribe of only 6000 people and living at the far end of the region, where there is little government investment for empowerment. The Ik have remained marginalized over decades, despite church involvement since the 1950s.

The men and women of the Ik community face total cultural depression, with almost the entire adult community using alcohol as a way to deal with the sense of exclusion (see below). The primary school in the IK community, Kamion Primary school, has only one assistant teacher who is Ik. The rest of the teachers are not able to communicate in the local language. Development staff met, feel that the Ik have good climate and have access to food. But the Ik, themselves, ranked hunger as the biggest challenge for them.

"We have good soil, and we know how to grow things. But the rains have come at the wrong time. We had to wait too long. We are hungry. We make honey, but we don't get enough for it. We have no way or where to store it. If there is building or other works to be done in the community, the contractors bring in outsiders to do it. And anyway, even if we work, they don't pay us properly". (Community meeting).

In school, teachers said that some very small children attend (although not officially enrolled) in order to get a plate of food at lunchtime.

There is now some new hope for the Ik: the government of Uganda has given the Ik a constituency and so, for the first time, they will have a member of parliament to advocate on their behalf at the national level. It remains to be seen what benefits this will bring.

³⁶file:///C:/Users/SC/Documents/UGANDA%20ONE/From%20Alice/Creating%20Futures%20Stepping%20Stones%2012%20Month%20Outcomes.pdf

3.5 Key Learnings

The context of gender inequalities and challenges to women's and girls', men's and boys' empowerment outlined above, have helped us to identify a number of key learnings:

- 1. In Karamoja, people are caught in social dislocation and cultural depression. These are in large part caused by the solutions which outsiders and government have tried to find to the “problem of Karamoja”.**

The factors outlined in section 3.4, above, all contribute to a growing sense of social dislocation and cultural depression in Karamoja. Karamojan people are treated as problematic people, rather than as people living with, and through, problems. Transition (to a “modern” society) is said, in the literature and in reports by people from outside the area, to be slow. But, Karamoja is going through a period of rapid transition away from a pastoral, cattle-wealth society towards something else. Rather than it being the people, themselves, who are the problem, we find that it is a combination of socio-political and environmental issues – none of which have been adequately resolved – which has created the bulk of the problems for Karamojan people.

Cows are still highly valued in Karamoja, and some cattle theft still continues. But the old ways of life – where raiding was an established livelihood strategy – are gone³⁷. Nevertheless, some of the values which underpinned “traditional” society prevail: men still value cattle ownership highly, they would still like to be warriors (brave, strong and powerful) and many women would still like their men to be so. Conflict, climate change, and political neglect in previous years, have made this impossible. Women and men also value the bravery with which girls faced FGM/C. One of the insults thrown at women who have not been cut, is that they are cowards:

“The women in the community insult us, they say we are cowards because we did not prove ourselves by going through the cutting”. (Woman in the Zebra Group of uncut spouses, Amudaat).

The loss of a sense of self-honour is exacerbated by the way in which people in Karamoja have become dependent on outsiders. As a society, people in Karamoja have become dependent on aid for survival (see below). This dependency on aid, with the loss of traditional ways of upholding cultural values, and the lack of any new ways of establishing individual and cultural value, are leading to a potentially volatile social situation (see 6., above).

- 2. In Karamoja, people are trapped in aid-dependency**

The food-aid and handouts which dominated the food and livelihood programmes and projects in Karamoja for the last 40 years, have mainly targeted women, girls and children. Food aid is given as an incentive to keep girls in school by providing school food, women are paid in terms of food for public works (see above) and there is food aid for malnourished children and lactating mothers. People appear to be ambivalent towards this type of aid. They both accept it readily – as a survival aid and as something that makes life easier – and they are distressed by it – because they know it takes away their autonomy and ability to fend for themselves. As soon as people re-experience the possibility of working for themselves, and engage in these processes, this is what they want:

Box 10: “We want to work for ourselves”

³⁷ For descriptions and analysis of raiding, and the way it changed over time, see, for example, Gray (2011) and Stites and Hauffman (2010).

During community consultations, we asked people what they would do if there was no food aid. People said they would just have to manage and some said it would be better if there was no aid. A young man in Amudaat said: *“Look, we know the aid can’t go on for ever. Now we are doing market gardening and learning how to grow crops [the farmer schools] we can look after ourselves. This is what we want to do, we don’t want to have to be dependent on handouts. But, for now, we can’t afford everything – so help us with seeds and equipment and training. But let us do things for ourselves”*. Everywhere we visited, people valued the skills that they were offered in trainings – but they felt there should be more practical assistance, helping them to get going in agri-business or other economic ventures. They feel that the food for work schemes are unfair – because they don’t give enough food and because it is always given a considerable time after the work is completed. But many felt that they do not have the power to complain.

Source: fieldwork

Women’s independence, gained in receiving food handouts and being in charge of food in the households, contributes to the loss of 'male power' and, subsequently, a rise in domestic violence. Food aid dependence is also escalating hunger in the households as many only wait for the aid, rather than engaging in other productive enterprises. The food which is meant for vulnerable people such as malnourished children and lactating mothers, is used as the major food source for the entire household. This has worsened the situation for all, because households have no source of income to buy food and people have resorted to drinking. Women seek alternative ways to feed their families – either by finding a new man or by giving away their daughters in early marriage.

3. Strengthening gender equality in Karamoja will only be achieved by working with men and boys as well as with women and girls.

The focus on women and girls in development, over recent years, has been necessary and valuable. However, as we stated at the beginning of this section, it comes at a cost. Improving gender relations and gender equality requires new, and strengthened, understanding between men and women, girls and boys, new understanding on desirable roles for men and women in society, and a strong sense of purpose for all people. Alongside health, education and economic assets, people need a strong sense of self-confidence and self-esteem. People need increased agency so that they will be able to make the social changes needed to gain empowerment. This may start with women and girls – because they have been at the bottom of the pile – but it, inevitably, must include men and boys as well. So far, as the next section will explore further, the concentration on women has put men at further disadvantage. Now, the focus needs to shift from seeing women as the “backbone” of society, to seeing men and women communicating and working together in new ways as the route to social and personal empowerment. These ideas are explored in section 6.

4. INVESTMENT IN KARAMOJA

“DFID has been leading the Karamoja Development Partners Group and has used this as an opportunity to both influence the design of the Karamoja Integrated Development Plan and build a strong relationship with the Government. As a part of the programme learning agenda, DFID is currently discussing the options for supporting the Office of the Prime Minister and Ministry of Karamoja Affairs in the development of the revised Karamoja Food Security Action Plan”. (Annual Review of the Enhancing Resilience in Karamoja programme, 2015)

4.1 Key Investment

We were not able to gain a complete understanding on humanitarian and development investment across the whole of Karamoja. We got an overview of initiatives in the four districts visited. This was gained through site visits, discussions with government officers (including the Chief Executive Officers or their deputies), discussions with staff from other organisations, district plans etc.

In this section, we look briefly at the programmes currently supported (or just completed) by DFID. And we discuss the UN Joint Programmes on GBV and FGM/C. Many of the gender issues, which emerge from review of these programmes, have already been addressed in section 3. They also inform development of the Theory of Change (section 5) and the recommendations made in section 6.

Building Resilience

The major part of DFID investment in Karamoja is into building resilience to food insecurities, environmental change and climate change. The Enhancing resilience programme (see box below) was designed as a strategic response to food-security and survival needs in a changing environment.

Box 11: Enhancing Resilience in Karamoja Programme (ERKP)

DFID's key investment in Karamoja is the Enhancing resilience in Karamoja programme (2013 – 2016). The £43 million programme, focuses on nutrition for survival and child development, strengthening farming skills and opportunities, providing food-for-works and developing early-warning systems to protect against climate change and environmental degradation. The programme is implemented through UNICEF, FAO, WFP, and with the recent addition of GIZ (for water and WASH). Annual review of the programme in 2015, highlighted many achievements, including: 272,852 people were supported to cope with the effects of climate change and levels of acute malnutrition were stabilised. Over 9,600 children have received treatment for severe acute malnutrition (approx. 60% of the annual caseload) and over 66,876 children and pregnant and lactating women have received treatment for moderate acute malnutrition (approx. 49% of the annual caseload). Over 180,000 people are being supported with seasonal food transfers and to create community assets by the WFP public works programme, the campaign to vaccinate 1,500,000 head of livestock started in September 2015; the Agro-pastoral field schools are now established and providing a platform for 11,122 people to learn about improved agriculture technologies and practice. The Karamoja Nutrition Strategy has been released by UNICEF. UN Partners work on early warning systems.

A number of **challenges** were noted: The evidence base around what works in Karamoja is very weak. The population, environment and society in Karamoja is undergoing radical change and aspirations of the people are changing and while some will benefit many will struggle. While the UN Monitoring and Evaluation systems are well set up for process monitoring, they are less focused on

impact monitoring and evaluation of programme success. Karamoja is an operating environment where corruption is endemic. However, building a relationship with UN agencies where corruption management can be openly discussed, reported and properly budgeted for is a challenge. The incentives for accessing nutrition services are complicated and change when people's livelihoods strategies change. Making services work for mobile people in Karamoja is difficult and requires a fundamental mind shift away from the humanitarian approaches. Supporting the development of social protection systems which can stimulate and strengthen the development of better markets in Karamoja is a key challenge. Developing and delivering early warning messages to communities is also challenging in the face of highly uncertain weather forecasts and changing livelihood patterns. *Source: Annual review of ERKP, 2015.*

Interestingly, none of the challenges mentioned in the Annual Review relate to gender issues. Yet, these were the challenges most often mentioned in the communities – where women talked of the difficulties of ensuring that food aid is eaten by the right people and about how burdened they are with heavy labour and “late” remuneration with food. During our consultations, it was the gender issues of food aid (hand-outs³⁸ and food-for-work), more than any others, which came across as a major barrier to achieving gender equality. Although women saw the survival need of food-aid approaches, they did not, in any way, see them as a form of empowerment. While men were happy to have the food coming into the house, some men said that the public works programme was useless – because it did not give them any work. Since “food is women’s business” (said by several men talked to), we interpreted their attitude to mean that working for food (not cash) is demeaning.

Social Assistance

DFID is also currently supporting the SAGE programme, which aims to promote social equality through implementation of a social protection programme. In the first phase, the aim was to reach the poorest and most vulnerable families and to provide pensions for senior citizens.

Box 11: Social Assistance Grants for Empowerment (SAGE)

The Ugandan Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development (MGLSD) began implementation of the Expanding Social Protection (ESP) Programme in June 2010. The goal of the programme is to reduce chronic poverty and improve life chances for poor men, women and children in Uganda. The purpose is to embed a national social protection system. The ESP is designed around two components: 1) developing a social protection policy and fiscal framework and 2) SAGE which is piloting two different cash transfers, the Senior Citizen’s Grant and the Vulnerable Families Grant (VFG). Recognising the importance of addressing gender issues in the implementation of the ESP, a Social Protection Gender Task Team has been established by the MGLSD. In Karamoja, VFG have now been stopped. They were not operating in Karamoja. The ESP is not designed explicitly to address gender issues, but appears to be achieving significant change in the lives of beneficiaries, their children, and their grandchildren, particularly in the area of livelihoods. In this way, the programme has also achieved some equity gains, in that, in general, these benefits disproportionately accrue to women, both because more women are reached by the programme, and because they started from such a low base. Despite a lack of concerted attention to or support for personal empowerment, women are generally feeling more confident to voice their opinions in household discussions. There is also some limited evidence of increased influence on household decision-making. Whether the programme is contributing to long-term social (norm) change, requires investigation and research.

³⁸ “Hand-outs” is a loaded comment. We are using the term here to refer to the food given to the poorest and most vulnerable families, to mothers etc. , and as food -for-work.

Source: Calder, R., and Nakafeero, A. (2012) Uganda's Social Protection Programme, A Gender Situational Analysis

Calder and Nakafeero point to the possibility that pensions for senior citizens may be giving them more social power. Certainly, older folk have reported the self-esteem they feel when they are able to contribute to the household, buy necessities for grand-children etc. However, as the table below shows, new vulnerabilities may arise for older people, especially women, when they have money (theft, exploitation etc.). Overall, the vast majority of people we consulted feel that pensions for senior citizens are fair. But they also feel that more needs to be done to ensure that older people can stay safe in getting and managing their pensions. Calder, R. has noted that, receipt of a pension may free-up some older women to stop carrying out FGM/C (cutter, see Section 3)³⁹. This may be true for the older women concerned. But evidence elsewhere suggests that the “gap” when older women leave the profession is easily filled by younger women who have already been trained.

DFID's other major investments in Karamoja have been in the Youth Development Programme -- skills and Vocational Education and Training (VET) for 2100 youth across Karamoja -- and in contribution to the national malaria control programme. Until 2015, DFID was also donor to the Joint Programme on Gender Equality. Through DFID-London funds have also been given to the UN Joint Programme on FGM/C.

United Nations Joint Programme on Gender Equality (UNJPGE)

Until June 2015, DFID funded the UNJPGE. The programme was designed to enhance gender equality in access to services and opportunities in targeted districts. A number of UN agencies were involved in the programme, with UN Women being the lead. The achievements of the programme are outlined in the box, below.

Box 12: The United Nations Joint Programme on Gender Equality (UNJPGE)

The UNJPGE was a nearly £13 million programme which ran from 2010 until 2015. The key expected results of the programme were i) preparation and near finalisation of parliamentary bills benefiting girls and women; ii) 80% school completion rates for girls; iii) at least 15% of Ugandan women that experience Sexual or gender-based Violence (SGBV) seek help from the recognised authorities; iv) new SGBV survivors' centres established and running; v) 5,000 SGBV survivors getting services in DFID-funded SGBV centres. These results were amended from the original programme design which was over-ambitious. Major achievements of the programme have been in raising awareness of GBV with all sectors of Ugandan society and improving attitudes around gender equity. Government – at national and local levels – now takes GBV issues seriously, and local capacities – in legal and health services, and local authorities – have been strengthened to deal with cases of GBV. Five fully functional SGBV survival shelters were established – at or near supporting health services. Significant impacts have also been made on improvements to policy, planning and resources for protection against GBV. GBV is now addressed holistically in local and national GBV committees: issues such as FGM/C, CEFM and Adolescent Sexual and Reproductive Health (ASRH) are integrated into the discussions and strategic planning. Since mid-2015, the GBV Centres have continued to function – with local support and “holding” finance from DFID. The are too be incorporated in planning for the new SURGE programme, including the Mifumi-run GBV Centre in Moroto.

Source: UNJPGE Annual Review 2013 and Programme Completion Review (2015), SURGE Business Case and R. Ondeko, Senior Humanitarian and GBV Coordinator, UNFPA, Uganda.

³⁹ Calder, R. (2012)

The UNJPGE has been successful in bringing GBV and, by extension, women's and girls' rights, to the forefront of the development agenda in Uganda and increasing attention to protection from GBV in regulatory and policy frameworks and documents. However, since the programme is widely spread, across the six districts of implementation, it is difficult to assess whether there is strong diffusion of messages at local levels and the extent to which national policy will be understood and implemented across the country and across regions.

The United Nations Joint Programmes on GBV and FGM/C (UNJPGBV and UNJPFM/C)

The UN programmes on GBV and FGM/C have been running in Uganda since 2008. UNJPGBV is largely funded by the Norwegian government and is in a total of 11 districts in four different regions. Through the DFID flagship programme (Towards Ending FGM/C in Africa and beyond) DFID-UK is a major donor to the global UNJPFM/C, and therefore has investment in the Uganda programme. The main in-country donor into end-FGM/C (through the UNJPFM/C) is France (since 2013). The only geographical point of overlap with UNJPFM/C in Karamoja, is in the Moroto district, where both programmes are operational. Working with the Ministry of Gender, the programmes have supported important changes in both policy and practice: including the FGM/C Act of 2010 and development of the GBV policy and National Action Plan. It is hoped that the GBV policy will be adopted by April 2016 and the National Action Plan will then be implemented. Although the programmes operate separately (largely through local government), there is some linkage and cross-sharing. For example, district level SASA! Training, through Raising Voices⁴⁰ under the UNJGBV, also included end-FGM/C staff from across the six UNJPFM/C districts in Karamoja.

Importantly, the UNJPGBV has supported the set-up of the National Gender Based Violence Data base (NGBVD), which was launched in July 2015. NGBVD Standard Operating Procedures (SOPs) have also been developed, printed and disseminated. The NGBVD includes tools for collecting FGM/C data. Collection of data has been rolled out to districts including the 6 districts where FGM/C is practised and data can be accessed online. Data on FGM/C from the data base were shared with stakeholders during the review and planning meeting held in October 2015 and at the National FGM/C Alliance and Symposium meeting.

UNJPFM/C has also been active in involving religious institutions in advocacy to end Harmful Traditional Practices:

Box 13: Involvement of Religious Organisations in ending CEFM and FGM/C

Over the last couple of years, there has been increasing realisation that working with religious organisations to end FGM/C and CEFM, can have hugely positive effects. In Ethiopia, for example, the involvement of the inter-faith organisation has catalysed popular engagement to end Harmful Traditional Practices. In 2015, the UNJPFM/C in Uganda increased its involvement and engagement of religious institutions, especially the Church of Uganda in Sebei and the Diocese of Karamoja. Church structures and biblical teachings against FGM are used. Sebei diocese organised a Marathon in Sebei region attracting over 200 runners and 5000 participants. This resulted the commitment of the Archbishop of the Church of Uganda, The Bishop of Sebei Diocese and UNFPA representative to support initiatives on FGM abandonment. In Amudaat, ZOA and partner organisations liaise with the

⁴⁰ See www.raisingvoices.org/sasa/

church authorities. Many local people say that involvement of the church and mosques will be the best way to get people to commit to ending FGM/C and CEFM. Certainly, there is hardly anyone on Karamoja (and Uganda as a whole) who does not have some contact with the church or mosque, and the credibility of messages and advice, given through religious institutions, is very strong.

Source: End Child Marriage Programme, Amhara, Quarterly Reports; UNJPFGMC Annual report 2015

It is difficult to draw lines between the work of the UNJPGE, UNPJGBV and UNJPFGM/C programmes, since all have, or are, working on over-lapping themes – even if their operations are in different districts. Aside from the changes noted in the policy and regulatory environment, the establishment of Survivor Shelters (in Karamoja and other regions) is said to have been very important – offering safe spaces for women and girls and demonstrating government and community commitment to protecting women and girls.

The box, below, indicates the importance of safe spaces in the approach to ending GBV, CEFM and FGM/C.

Box 14: Safe Spaces for Women and Children

Five fully functional SGBV survival shelters were established under the UNJPGE programme. These shelters are managed by local authorities and are situated at, or near, supporting health services. Since mid-2015, the GBV Centres have continued to function – with local support and “holding” finance from DFID. By mid-2015, the shelters had assisted 3,636 survivors. A number of these are girls who had run to the shelter to protect themselves from FGM/C or CEFM. In Amudaat, the Kalas School for Girls and the Kalas School for Boys both provide shelter for children seeking protection from child labour violence, FGM/C or CEFM. The UNICEF remain in school campaign in 2012 led to an increase in the number of children seeking sanctuary in the Kalas schools. Children can board at the schools also during the holidays. Older children may go back to their families for visits but, as the Head teacher of the Girls’ School said: “If the girls fear that their parents are planning to cut them, they have been trained to run back to school. The schools work hard to protect the children – but there are still dangers; parents arrive at the school boundaries, hoping to lure their children away; girls and boys have to collect firewood, sometimes at some distance from the school, where they could be snatched and taken back to their villages; during the holidays, there is little productive for the children to do. The teachers have thought about skills training, but have no funds to do this. And, most seriously, none of the teachers speaks Pokot.

Source: UNFPA reports and field visits in Amudaat

4.2 Gender issues in current DFID investment

The table on the following pages highlights the key gender issues associated with DFID’s main investment in Karamoja (see also sections 3 and 6).

Table 2 Gender Issues in DFID investment in Karamoja

Programme	Life-span	Value	Main Partners	Main Components/outputs	Gender Issues
Enhancing Resilience in Karamoja	2013 -2016	£45 million	UNICEF (nutrition services), WFP (supplementary feeding and public works), FAO (livestock, farmer field-schools, early-warning systems, water resource mapping, and GIZ (water and WASH)	<p>1. Access to high impact nutrition services – Scaling-up nutrition programmes targeting malnourished children under five, pregnant and lactating women.</p> <p>2. Food and livelihoods security – Supporting food security and livelihoods for vulnerable households through: public works, livelihood development programmes, livestock services and water resource planning. Farmer-field schools: crops, cereal banking, apiary, agro-forestry</p> <p>3. Early warning systems – Building and improving early warning and response systems for nutrition, drought and animal disease.</p> <p>The programme is reporting many successes and achievements.</p>	<p>Nutrition services: main recipients are women and infants, based on need. BUT, when women bring food into the household it is used by all family members and as a sign of status (feeding visitors. Women may be subject to Domestic Violence if they do not provide food. Some food being eaten by people not targeted. People see need for hand-outs but also do not like them.</p> <p>Public works: 57% done by women, Women over-burdened. Work is hard and causes pain. Work for 15 days, receive food after 45: goes to pay off debts. Seen as unfair.</p> <p>Farmer schools: Appreciated by men and women. Although roles still gendered (“women can’t make fences”) encourages sharing and mutual responsibility. People like the autonomy and small market opps. and want more of this, especially youth. Livestock is popular. 3 groups led by women and are <u>strong</u>.</p> <p>Livestock services: Appreciated now by men and women and will have added benefit if women are able to rear more small animals.</p> <p>No particular attention paid to disability/gender and disability issues. Services are particularly difficult to access for mobile people.</p>
Expanding Social Protection	2010 – 2015 extended till June 2016 (now	£14 million	Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development;	<p>Pensions to over-60 year olds in Moroto, Nakapiripirit, Amudaat and Napak.</p> <p>Reported successes,</p>	<p>Pension to over-60s undoubtedly of benefit and considered fair by most people. BUT: some problems/corruption with people registering (age not known and lack of ID cards), lack of mobility to collect own money (so stolen by “helper”),</p>

	being re-tendered)		Maxwell Stamp PLC	including roll-out of approved national Social Protection Policy.	<p>non-literacy etc. Older women most vulnerable to exploitation. Potential to increase older people's decision-making – but not supported currently.</p> <p>Second phase: will cover all Karamoja, but only target 100 people per district (oldest, and no one with govt. pension). MAY favour women – but few employees of either sex in Karamoja.</p> <p>Restriction of grants to older people (the SAGE programme originally had grants to vulnerable families, means that some very needy families are missed).</p>
Youth Development Programme	2013 - 2015	c. £600,000	Ministry of Education and Sports TVET Colleges	<p>Vocational training for 2100 youths across Karamoja. (The YDP, along with NUYEP, focus on youth skills in Northern Uganda through Technical and Vocational Education Training (TVET) colleges and Enterprise Uganda's (EUG) 'BEST' entrepreneurial training package. The Youth Development Programme targets marginalised and disadvantaged youth (18 – 35) through both economic interventions such as literacy, numeracy and vocational skills training and citizenship interventions such as psychosocial support, life skills and self-empowerment sessions.</p> <p>Final evaluation is taking place.</p>	<p>(No opportunity to speak with youth in the programme).</p> <p>There is a strong need to develop professional skills amongst youth in Karamoja. But, many young people, especially girls, do not have the school qualifications which would allow them to join VET programmes. Special courses and entry requirements are needed. All courses must be a) responsive to developing markets, b) linked to job opportunities – for men and women.</p> <p>There are possibilities to link VET training more strongly with the private sector – setting up apprenticeships and learning schemes. Equal opportunities are needed for men and women – with particular attention to ensuring women gain access to decision-making skills and experience.</p> <p>Inclusion – especially of women living with disabilities is an issue, as is the potential of violence in the workplace</p> <p>There will be greater returns as VET and skills training are preceded by courses to shape self-confidence and self-esteem (see section 6).</p>

Control of Malaria	2013 - 2016	£38,544,999 across Uganda	MoH UNICEF	Contribution to national efforts for malaria control. Provision of 1.5 million Insecticide treated bed nets to hospitals, expanding household spraying and training of health workers on better use of malaria kits and treatment of fever in children. Will prevent at least 13,845 child deaths.	Focus on pregnant women and young children. Reduces loss of school hours and maternal-care hours due to illness. More messages are directed at women – men, as usual, harder to engage.
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4.3 Pipeline possibilities

SURGE

As part of the new Uganda-wide, DFID-funded programme of Support to Uganda's Response on Gender Equality (SURGE) Programme, CEDOVIP and Raising Voices SASA! Approach to ending GBV will be piloted in two districts, including Moroto in Karamoja.

Box 15: SASA!

SASA! Was designed to address a core driver of violence against women and HIV: the imbalance of power between women and men, girls and boys. Documented in a comprehensive and easy-to-use Activist Kit, SASA! inspires and enables communities to rethink and reshape social norms.

- SASA! is about power: SASA! is special in its focus on unpacking power, both its positive and negative uses, shifting away from the traditional focus on "gender" towards the heart of the problem.
- SASA! walks communities through a process of change: SASA! evolves step-by-step, avoiding the chronic cycle of awareness-raising.
- SASA! involves everyone! SASA! engages a critical mass of people across all levels of society in order to create social norm change.
- SASA! is personal: It is more than just a programme or a job. SASA! helps staff and community members to reflect on their own lives and relationships before trying to influence others.
- SASA! works! SASA! is helping to create happier, healthier, safer relationships between men and women around the world.

Sasa is a Kiswahili word that means now. Now is the time to prevent violence against women and its connection to HIV/AIDS. We all have the power to act!

Source: extracted from <http://raisingvoices.org/sasa/>

SASA! is a programme which proving to be successful in other places (e.g Kenya) and in Uganda. However, under SURGE, it will only be operating in one district in Karamoja. This severely limits the impacts of any successes that might be achieved. In the recommendations, in section 6, we outline how value for money might be increased by a) expanding the SASA! Approach and b) linking it to other community-based initiatives, for example Stepping Stones for Peace and prosperity and 12+, and setting up models to compare between different approaches to ending GBV, FGM/C and CEFM.

SURGE will also support Mifumi in provision of shelters and protection services for those affected by GBV. Again, this needs to be linked into a wider, gendered approach for social protection to get the most value from expected achievements.

Appointment of the DFID Education Advisor

Appointment of the new DFID Education Advisor will, hopefully, open up new possibilities for investment in the education sector in Karamoja, and new budgets.

4.4 Donor harmonisation and partnership

As noted (over the last decades), working for the social changes which will enable gender equality and empowerment requires harmonised and inter-linked work across all sectors. Many donors are redesigning/ have recently redesigned programmes in Karamoja (including USAID, Irish Aid, BMZ, EU and World Bank). This presents an opportunity for improving aid effectiveness and relationships with Government. The Karamoja Development Partners Group is playing a key role in this process. Beyond this group it will also be important to bring the World Bank into the discussion.

Across the board, there is a strong focus on ending GBV and harmful traditional practices (FGM/C and CEFM) which place barriers on girls' and women's development. This focus provides one entry point to address the root drivers of gender inequality in Karamoja. The vast problems of structural poverty, caused by long-term conflict, environmental degradation, climate change and (previous) patchy political commitment to development of Karamoja, are now under-pinned by cultural depression. Cultural depression, itself, is perpetuated in part because traditional male and female roles no longer function. Investment must now move beyond making more space for women, and increasing their economic opportunities, to assisting all people to find new and productive roles. As government, donors and organisations all know, this is only achievable through harmonised and complementary programmes. As the last two decades attest, however, this is not so easy to achieve.

5. AN OVER-ARCHING THEORY OF CHANGE ON GENDER EQUALITY AND WOMEN'S AND GIRLS' EMPOWERMENT (AND MEN AND BOYS)

5.1 Background to the ToC

The ToRs for the review called for development a ToC for the promotion of gender equality and women's and girls' empowerment. The ToC we present here has been derived from all components of the review. It was presented to a group of stakeholders in a meeting at DFID at the end of the review visit and, after discussion, met with general agreement.

The ToC is, necessarily, highly complex: it is about fulfilment of rights, and change in social norms and society as a whole. As we have shown throughout this report, achieving gender equality requires broad and deep social change. It requires shifts in power relations, and this needs commitment and action from people at all levels of society. This means change must take place at community, society-wide and political and regulatory levels (focused, catalytic and enabling environment), and this is shown on the ToC. Changes may be triggered by action at practical levels – such as promoting education for girls, and skills for all. But gender equality also requires changes in “hearts and minds” – changes in the way being men or women, boys or girls are is conceptualised, and how different genders and ages are valued and treated.

The thinking behind the ToC has developed out of recent work to build ToCs for fulfilment of rights, social norms change and social change. It stems from the approaches developed in DFID work, since that beginning of the millennium, which recognised the need to work at all levels (enabling environment, bringing in a wide audience, and also having a focus in the communities) in order to great environments where rights could be fulfilled. The ToC presented here draws on recent work to develop ToCs for social change to end FGM/C in Africa and Beyond, to end child marriage in Ethiopia and for an FGC free Sudan⁴¹.

In designing the ToC we have taken a fifteen year window to reach impact. This is not to deny achievements that will be made along the way (immediate change is by 2020) and medium-term change between 8-10 years from now. But, in the design of many programmes which are based on social norms and social change, “within one generation” is thought to be a reasonable target for achieving sustainable and institutionalised social changes. In spite of the view put forward by one high-ranking official, who said that there will never be equality between men and women, we have set an aspiration of achieving the vision of gender equality and women's and girls' empowerment in Karamoja, by 2040.

The ToC diagram is given on the next page. In the diagram, each box “hovers” over a coloured bar, indicating whether it is a focused, catalytic or enabling environment concern. We also outline basic assumptions and risks, and give a SWOT analysis.

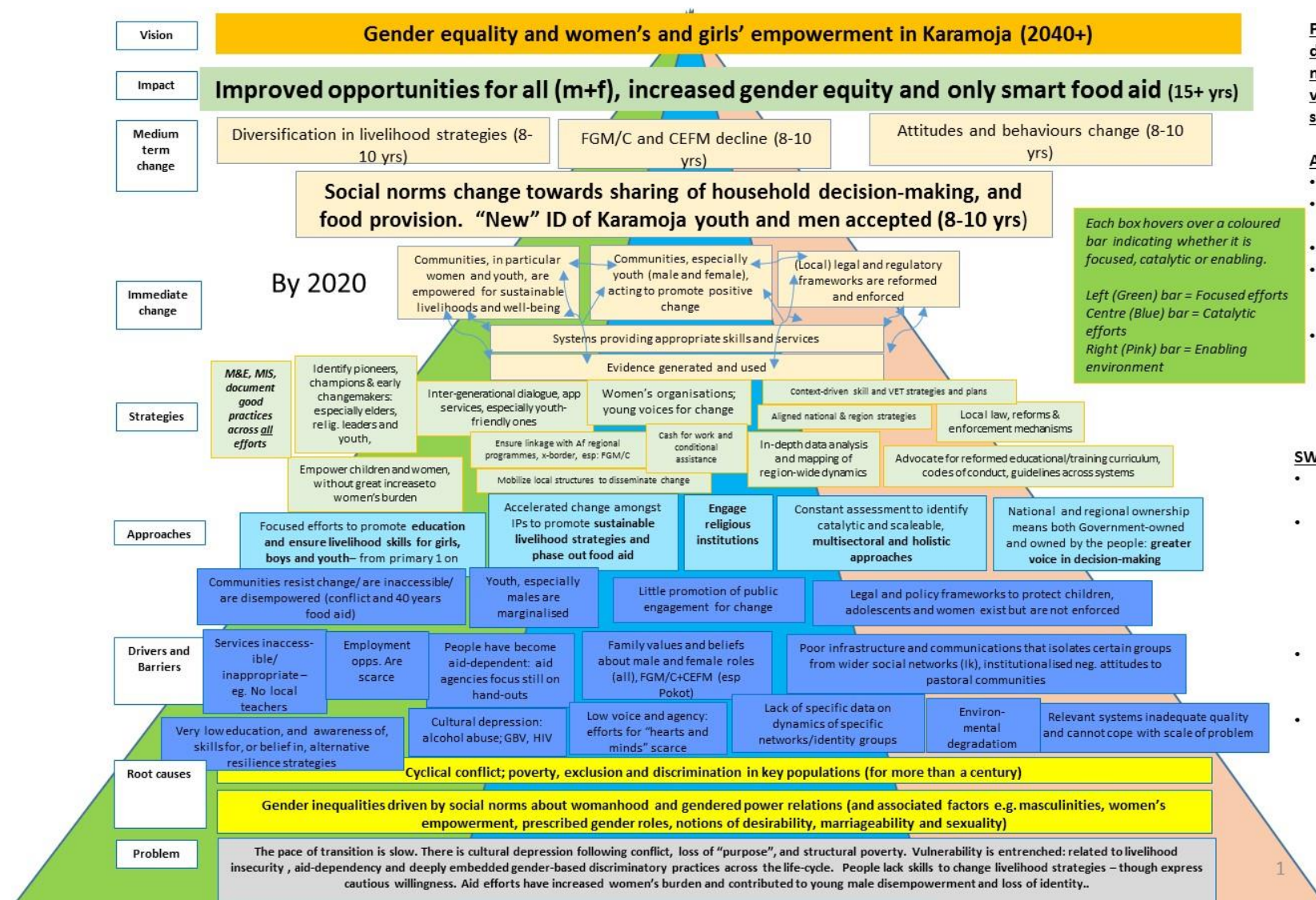
⁴¹ See the Business Cases for the Towards Ending FGM/C in Africa and Beyond and Sudan Free from FGC Programmes, available on Development Tracker at: <https://devtracker.dfid.gov.uk/projects/GB-1-202112/documents/> and <https://devtracker.dfid.gov.uk/search?query=Sudan+Female+Genital+Cutting>, respectively

5.2 Including men and boys and the most vulnerable people

The ToC is based on:

- a) Respect for the rights principles of inter-dependence of rights, non-discrimination, participation and fulfilment of obligations (by all parties)
- b) The need to promote justice, equity and dignity **for all**, including men and boys. Without this, gender equality is not achievable.
- c) All interventions need to ensure efforts are made to include the poorest and most marginalised people.

Fig 6 An over-arching Theory of Change for Gender Equality and Women's and Girls' Empowerment (Men and Boys) in Karamoja



Programming Principles: Right-based development, Gender equality & mainstreaming, Equity and inclusion of most vulnerable and marginalised, Environmental sustainability

Assumptions and risks:

- Stability can be maintained
- Political willingness to invest in region (GoU and donors)
- Regional and x-border support can be built
- Karamoja people can be encouraged to join development efforts and develop own initiatives (evidence for this exists)
- UN agencies able to coordinate for food aid phase-out and increased development approach

SWOT Analysis in Karamoja:

- **Strengths:** Stability, national law and policies, regional strategies, plenty of IPs,
- **Weaknesses:** Unelaborated development focus (food-aid based) lack of strong coordination/follow-up, competing/overlapping initiatives, lack of in-depth analysis on districts, lack of connectivity between outputs
- **Opportunities:** Growing willingness to focus on development and gender issues; possibility of youth mobilization; committed local leaders
- **Threats:** Karamoja still seen as "difficult"; men seen as problem (not part of solution) danger of "losing" this generation of young men. Alcohol abuse, GBV, increasing HIV not seen as symptoms linked to cultural depression: danger of radicalisation and insurrection

5.3 Components of the TOC

a) Problem

Currently, the rate of transition from a conflict-driven to a productive, reconstructing society, is slow. Although there is now peace, traditional life-styles and socially ascribed roles are no longer functional – but there is nothing to replace them.

Karamoja is trapped in cultural depression (see section 3) and, for many people, this is also a personal depression. Lack of purpose, and lack of livelihood opportunities, are leading to increasing dependence on alcohol – both as a means of making a livelihood and as a way of escaping the need to do so. People are living in structural poverty. Vulnerability is deeply entrenched and relates to lack of education, livelihood insecurity, and deeply embedded gender-based discriminatory practices across the life-cycle.

People do not have the skills or political power to change their livelihood strategies – though, once given the opportunity to do so, many express their willingness to adopt new ways of providing for themselves, their families and communities. The region is highly aid-dependent. Food aid has been provided, to help people survive – over the last forty years. Although there are now some efforts to make “hand-out” assistance more productive – e.g. food-for-work and (in 2016) work for cash, these have not yet fostered enthusiasm and optimism. Aid programme to date have increased women’s workloads and have contributed to young men’s disempowerment and loss of identity.

b) Root Causes

The region has been subject to cyclical conflict for more than a century. Poverty, exclusion, discrimination is structural. Key populations are isolated and marginalised. The region as a whole has not, until recently, received political commitment to aid development. The state, as elsewhere, has difficulty in making provision for pastoralist peoples and, in the past, there have been considerable tensions between the people’s interests and those of the state. Gender inequalities are driven by social norms about what it means to be a man or a woman. Gendered power relations are based on inequitable ideas about the relative value and status of men and women, boys and girls, ideas on masculinities, women’s empowerment, desirability, marriageability and sexuality.

c) Drivers and barriers

The aid-dependency which has developed is a major barrier to change – even though many people express dissatisfaction with “hand-out development”. There has been little promotion, from aid agencies or government, of the need for public engagement for change – for participation and agency in working for the future. This means that communities may be resistant to change. Except where concerned with particular issues, for example FGM/C, little is done to win hearts and minds and to empower people to participate in change. Depression and the use of alcohol may also discourage people from engaging in positive change efforts.

Education levels are very low (with only c. 6% of girls completing primary school, and literacy levels very low). Education is not valued by parents in Karamoja. The opportunity costs of sending children through school are considered to be too high. This is not surprising as the quality of education on offer is low – teachers are not keen to work in Karamoja, and there may not even be a teacher in school who can speak the local language. Young people who do gain educational qualifications may not have the opportunities, or money, to turn their qualifications into job skills. There are schemes from government which could support young people from Karamoja to become teachers – even if

their grades are not as high as usually required. But people do not know about these, and even if they did, would not know how to apply.

Health services exist across the region – though some people have to travel far to reach them. Cultural attitudes mean that many women still “prefer” to give birth at home, or are not taken to health services by their family members. Where FGM/C is carried out, women suffer from many health problems.

There is not enough research or understanding to have a full picture of all groups and networks of people in Karamoja. More needs to be done to build the evidence-base so as to facilitate development planning. For example, a more in-depth review is needed to explore how FGM/C is changing and community links across the Uganda-Kenya border for FGM/C and marriage. There is also need for further research on markets and saleable skills and, fundamentally, on what can be done to lift Karamoja out of cultural depression.

Continued strengthening of resilience to environmental degradation and climate change is vital, as are improved communications and access to information. Legal and policy frameworks to protect children, adolescents and women exist, but they are not reliably implemented and relevant systems cannot cope with the scale of the problems.

d) Approaches

Enabling:

Promote national, regional and local ownership of, and engagement in, the design and implementation of development initiatives. People, of all ages, need to be more strongly involved in decision-making around interventions. Although people are living in structural poverty, many express very strong views on what is needed to promote development.

Catalytic:

Research and networking to identify appropriate, scale-able, multi-sectoral approaches to social (norm) change. Gain engagement of and support from religious institutions – church and mosque – which already hold the trust of the majority of the population.

Encourage accelerated change amongst Implementing Partners --- to promote sustainable livelihood strategies and phase out food aid. Focus on approaches that will encourage partnership between men and women and allow people a sense of autonomy, purpose and agency.

Focused:

Promote education: for all young people. Develop programmes of skills training, with guaranteed market opportunities – for young women and young men. Precede these with programmes to enhance self-esteem and agency.

Continue to strengthen approaches to resilience and agricultural opportunity.

e) Strategies

Responsibilities for strategy development and implementation will be done in relation to government policy and planning.

Evidence and Learning:

- Developing strong research, MIS, M&E and learning. Systems developed need to feed into national data-bases – progress towards fulfilment of rights needs to be measured qualitatively as well as quantitatively.
- Designing and implementing systems of user-friendly participatory monitoring and evaluation so that people in Karamoja can be part of building the evidence base and learning.
- Disseminating information on processes, and results, widely: locally, regionally, nationally and internationally.

Encouraging active voice:

- Working with civil society to develop programmes for citizen's voice, including women's organisations and the voices of children and young people. Identifying pioneers and champions: elders, religious leaders and youth.
- Supporting Community-Based Organisations, especially those which have been "self-starters" – such as the Chemomor Spouses against FGM/C group in Amudaat, will provide models which can be adapted and replicated.
- Ensure linkage with relevant Africa-region programmes (such as the Towards Ending FGM/C in Africa and Beyond). Interventions need to be issue-based, not geography-based.
- Promote community-wide and inter-community dialogue, and lesson-learning and sharing

Education, skills and employment:

- Reforming education and health training curricula (teachers and schools) to include gender issues, including GBV, FGM/C and CEFM and emphasis on social norms change.
- Promoting completion of primary education for girls and boys: with conditional assistance where needed.
- Supporting, progression to secondary schools and professional training (by access to government schemes) and encouraging return to work in Karamoja.
- Reforming codes of conduct and guidelines to mainstream gender issues.
- Designing and implementing skills and employment/market orientated training, with an emphasis on building self-esteem before skills training and opening receptivity to new ideas and livelihoods strategies; focus on young people (men and women).
- Strengthening cash-for-work approaches: ensuring that women are not over-burdened and opportunities are opened for all.
- Encouraging private sector investment and opening job and market opportunities for people in Karamoja.

Legal and Regulatory Environment:

- Developing and implementing systems for in-depth data-mapping of region-wide socio-political and demographic dynamics. Include data collection on migration.
- Developing local laws and enforcement mechanisms; ensuring implementation of the law with justice (e.g. Full knowledge of FGM/C and CEFM issues to accompany implementation of law).
- Reforming policy on climate change, resilience, migration, gender mainstreaming and child protection, based on solid evidence and understanding of the changing dynamics in Karamoja.
- Ensuring harmonisation between national and regional policy and gender-budgeting.

Health and Sexual and Reproductive Health:

- Designing and implementing specific programmes to end GBV, FGM/C and CEFM, building model approaches and working with civil society, yet ensuring replicability.
- Providing appropriate and accessible SRH services for young people; including young people's voices.
- Strengthening provision of health services which meet rights standards (available, accessible and affordable, acceptable quality and adapted to local contexts), including on HIV prevention and care and encouraging men's engagement.
- Ensuring access to water and sanitation (WASH).

Highly Vulnerable People

- Developing and implementing model approaches to reach highly vulnerable groups – such as isolated communities like the Ik, migrant and mobile populations, female mine workers etc.

Immediate Change

If there is progress with the strategies listed above, we would expect to see immediate, positive change by 2020. *Inter alia:*

- People in targeted communities, particularly young men and women, are empowered for sustainable livelihoods and well-being.
- Some people, especially, but not only, young men and women, have taken up active roles to promote change in their communities. They are working to encourage change in social norms away from Harmful Traditional Practices (GBV, FGM/C and CEFM) and are role models for new enterprise in subsistence gardening, agri-business etc.
- A number of young women and men have been supported through teacher training and are returning to schools in Karamoja.
- Targets for food security and livelihoods for vulnerable households through: public works, livelihood development programmes, livestock services and water resource planning, have been reached.
- Early warning systems established and fully functional.
- Targeted child protection services have been strengthened.
- Gender-budgeting has been strengthened in line with national policy.

Medium-Term Change

Medium-term changes (8-10 years) will include;

- Trends towards Karamoja-wide diversification in livelihood strategies: positive strategies geared to a growing market, and opening equitable opportunities for women and men.
- Reduction in GBV, FGM/C and CEFM: in the first years of programming we would expect to see a rise in reported cases of GBV, and more openness in discussion on FGM/C (not, simply, a denial of its existence). Within 8-10 years, communities will be making meaningful commitment to ending FGM/C and CEFM. This may be demonstrated through family and community reports of reduced incidence, and school reports of increased retention of girls in school (past primary 2/3).
- Other evidence in change in attitudes and practices relating to gender equality and women's and girls' empowerment (not forgetting men and boys) will be apparent. This will include greater involvement of women in decision-making for a; change in attitudes to young girls in the household; improved inter-generational understanding and communication.
- Reduction in misuse of alcohol: based on research and evidence.
- Evidence of social norms change towards sharing of household decision-making and food provision – with far greater ability to depend on production rather than food-aid. A new, positive

identity for Karamoja men and boys is beginning to develop: with valued roles being in sharing in food production and provision of money for household consumption, education and improved inter-gender and inter-generational dialogue.

Impact

- Trends towards social norms change and social change will continue, leading to improved opportunities for men, women, boys and girls.
- Only “smart” food aid will be acceptable – conditional and/or only in times of extreme need, if early warning systems fail.
- Food-aid dependency will no longer be the norm.
- Reduction in prevalence of GBV, FGM/C and CEFM.
- The cycle of cultural and personal depression is broken.

Vision

Gender equality and women’s and girls’ empowerment will be achieved by 2040+. This will mean that there is a balance within society between the socio-political power of men and women and that boys and girls are growing up in the knowledge that livelihood opportunities are not constrained by gender. The vision is to have reached parity in primary school completion and advancement to secondary school. The 2040 target is aspirational – but it is based on the conviction that, once past the “take-off” point, change can happen rapidly. Whether this speed of change is possible will depend on external factors – such as speed and severity of climate change and environmental degradation, and on internal factors – such as political will and commitment to development in Karamoja, and the Karamoja people’s willingness and ability to change and build resilience through new, and positive, livelihood strategies.

6 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Building a different resilience

The major part of DFID investment in Karamoja is into building resilience to food insecurities, environmental change and climate change. Yet, several of the interventions which are supported, provide only survival and basic subsistence needs. To enhance women's and girls' overall empowerment, and gender equality, **a more strategic approach is needed**. Simply addressing practical needs – even if these go beyond basic food and agricultural skills needs – will not, automatically, lead to a shift away from gender inequality. As we have shown, they may (and do) place added burdens on women: food aid does not go to the right mouths; it is used to repay debt and – by men in the household – to build social obligations and status. In these ways, food aid contributes to upholding the *status quo* of gendered power relations. The other side of this is that, although current interventions may increase equality of access to resources (for women), they do not, necessarily increase equity: they increase women's workload, and do little to encourage positive productive activities amongst men. This does not increase equity.

Development policy, over recent decades, has sought to build immediate resilience to threats to survival and a more sustainable, long-term resilience to drought and climate change. Recent agricultural, cash-for-work and VET developments have expanded opportunities for Karamojan people but, we argue, have done so at the expense of deep-rooted resilienties, built up over time with the Karamojan cattle-culture, and at the expense of Karamojan people's identity and purpose. Karamoja could not have continued as it was – even without outside influences which exacerbated the conflict⁴². Policies – both internal and on the donor agenda – focus on sedentarism and the role of women in production. But so-far these policies are failing to create a space in which Karamojan identity can evolve, and social norms can change, in line with a modern economy – but preserving what is good about “the old”.

An assumption has been made – by governments and donors – that it is necessary to encourage the move away from pastoralist livelihood strategies. We have shown that the values of a “cattle-culture” are still highly important to people in Karamoja, and that “transition” away from them is not going smoothly, and that many regret the loss of a pastoralist way of life. We have, however, also suggested that there is a tension between the pastoralist traditions and government and donor policy on gender empowerment and equality. With exceptions, pastoralist societies are not known for a tendency towards gender equality⁴³. To governments, pastoralists are always a problem – they tend to be “outside” the state, sometimes in opposition to it, and difficult to control⁴⁴. It is also difficult for governments to fulfil their obligations in providing basic services for pastoralist peoples – though there are now several examples where, for education, this has been successful⁴⁵.

Box 16: Investment in Livestock

Government policy in Uganda, provides for less than 5% into livestock. Some investment, such as the veterinary services funded through DFID via FAO (in August 2015), are popular and look set to have a marked impact. The need to link services with agricultural production and markets is recognised. Investment into livestock needs to be carefully thought through. Men are generally uninterested in

⁴² The effect of arms import is well-documented. See for example Gray (2012)

⁴³ There are many anthropological/ethnographic texts which make this clear – though a number were written before much attention was given to gender issues by anthropologists, so there is little explicit discussion of gender issues and much is written from a male perspective

⁴⁴ Nelson, C. (1973); Powell Cole, D. (1975)

⁴⁵ See, for example: pubs.iied.org/pdfs/10021IIED.pdf; www.cedol.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/02/63-65-2010.pdf

the small livestock programmes which are targeted at women, though these are popular with women as they increase autonomy and can bring cash into the household. An attempt to introduce pigs, however, in Amudaat, failed miserably as neither men nor women considered these to be worthwhile animals. Recent work to improve the health of cattle and to encourage people to see their use in sedentary agriculture – rather than primarily a symbol of wealth, is promising. Resistances are being met – as Pokot men feel that it is cruel to make their animals work the plough – but with sensitivity may be overcome, and may represent a model of how traditional and modern livelihood approaches can be combined, preserving a sense of cultural history and purpose. This will, however, take sustained input over a number of years.

Source: *fieldwork in Amudat*

There are few voices contesting the drive towards settled agriculture in favour of pastoral livestock care. Levine (2010) is strong amongst them:

“The current automatic reaction of giving food aid to herders whenever the rains are poor is not only unnecessary in most cases but also has powerful negative consequences. It supports the prevailing erroneous notion of “the Karamojong” as a problem and of pastoral-based livelihoods as unviable, and takes away from local communities the social responsibilities for protecting the economically dependent. This is very much against the interests of the populations concerned.”⁴⁶

Levine’s analysis is persuasive: he argues that a pastoral strategy fits the environment, can build resilience and will be able to cope with climate change. Levine contends that, with inputs geared to increase pastoral efficiency, effectiveness and marketability of products, the pastoral lifestyle is viable. However, Levine’s assessment lacks any gender analysis or attention to women’s and girls’ empowerment. We agree with much of what Levine puts forward, yet we think that further research into promotion of active and equitable roles for women, within a broadly pastoral system, is needed.

6.2 Cash or Food

Cash for work schemes may offer greater opportunities for promoting equity at the same time as greater equality of access to resources. Unconditional and Conditional Cash Transfers (UCTs and CCTs) have also been shown to work in different areas, and with differing effectiveness⁴⁷. As, for example, Baird, Chirwa and de Hoop found in Malawi, both UCTs and CCTs can have beneficial effects on the empowerment of adolescent girls:

“Overall, the results presented here [in Zomba, Malawi] indicate that cash transfers targeted at adolescent girls and young women can empower them in significant ways in the short-run – at least in this or similar settings. [They] can alter social patterns that cause sub-optimal investments in the human capital of young women and [...] can improve both their standing within the household and their day-to-day functioning”⁴⁸

But, as with food aid, there is still much that can go wrong, and results are not always those which might be expected. As Baird *et al* point out, we do not yet have enough evidence to know what happens over the longer term: are positive gains sustained over time? We do know that conditional food transfers rarely work long term to sustain girls’ empowerment – with, for example, girls being removed from schooling as soon as the transfers stop. In Ethiopia, programmes have sought to overcome this by providing school necessities (underpants, soap, notebook etc.) for the most

⁴⁶ Levine, S. (2010)

⁴⁷ See, for example, Baird, S. et al 2013a

⁴⁸ Baird et al, 2013b

marginalized girls, and savings and credit schemes (economic incentives) for their parents. In East and West Gojam, Amhara, this appears to be having positive benefits in ensuring that girls can stay in school, at least throughout primary⁴⁹.

Conditional Cash Transfers which work to raise girls' access to schooling, tend to do so in societies where education is already valued. It is not clear that this is yet the case in Karamoja, as the testimony of the girl who had put herself through secondary school showed (see Section 3). This is another indicator of the fact that gender issues in Karamoja cannot be addressed without a **broad and deep, strategic approach to empowerment and gender equality**. For all gender issues, whether these are around distribution of food and cash in the family, education and skills opportunities, violence (especially FGM/C and GBV), etc., we need a **strategic approach to tackle power relations at all levels**. And this requires that norms and values be addressed, sensitively, at all levels. Power needs to "shift": between individuals in the family, families in communities, communities in the wider society, between people and authorities and people and government (between individuals, groups and institutions).

Taking a strategic approach to empowerment and gender equality is different from ensuring that gender is mainstreamed into every intervention. It goes beyond asking the question: "does this design/ plan/ intervention include attention to gender issues, by seeing the need to promote equitable change in gender-power relations as the basis for all policy and programming.

6.3 Gender equality needs a holistic approach

The social norms and strategies which uphold gender inequalities, limit women's and girls' empowerment and disempower men, are inter-related and inter-dependent. They are mutually reinforcing. Vulnerabilities resulting from differential social power are systemic. If we are able to remove gender barriers in one area of life, this will only be a step towards increasing gender equality, not gender equality itself. If the step is not institutionalised, and supported, by change in other areas and sectors, the impact will be limited. This means we need to look for the links between sectors, and the chains of effects, which need to be addressed in order to reduce the impact of gender-based inequalities. One example is that if we break the chain that links FGM/C, CEFM and drop-out from education, we greatly increase the chances for women's and families' health and livelihood opportunity. Another example is that the evidence base highlighting the interaction between women's increased vulnerability to HIV, violence (GBV and Intimate Partner Violence) and food insecurity, is increasingly robust (Welbourn, 2012):

Box 17: GBV, food shortage and seasonality

Seasonal increases in GBV, accompanying food shortages and periods of hunger, have been noted since the 1990s (Welbourn, A. 1992), yet there is little evidence to suggest this evidence has been used in programming. In Karamoja, the link between food provision (or lack of it) by women, and violence, has long been documented. But there is little consideration of the seasonal escalation in violence, or the link between hunger, violence and the, anecdotally reported, increase in HIV transmission (which, of course, disproportionately affects women). Add to this the known correlation between excessive alcohol consumption and GBV, and the relational links become even more complex.

Source: Authors and A. Welbourn, pers. comm

⁴⁹ See, The End-Child Marriage programme, Amhara, an Ethiopian government programme funded by DFID until 2016-17

If we follow the links between FGM/C and CEFM, GBV, HIV and food insecurity (as in the causal net, figure 5 in section 3), and work to address these areas of linkage, we may get better value-for-money on investments to strengthen gender equality and (people's) empowerment. We argue that only if we look **holistically**, at the systems which link and perpetuate different aspects of gender inequality, will we be able to design interventions which fully promote gender equity, equality and empowerment.

6.2 Choosing entry points

To contribute towards achievement of the ToC outlined in section 5, DFID can work to its comparative advantage and experience to date in Karamoja, and Uganda more widely. In line with UK development policy DFID can continue to promote and develop partnerships with organisations working on other aspects of the ToC, to build the holistic approach.

Presently (including work which is now in the tendering process), DFID is working in Karamoja on:

- Economic empowerment (*support for public works and, from 2016, cash-for-work programmes; support to pensions for the over-60s*)
- Resilience to climate change (*£43 million, till 2017, Enhancing Resilience in Karamoja programme, implemented by UNICEF, WFP, FAO and GIZ*)
- Sexual and reproductive health and rights (*DFID central investments through the UNJP on FGM/C and CEFM*)
- Education and skills (*currently, largely through farmer-field-schools, and with intention to invest more in education*)
- Citizen's rights and voice – including the right to security and freedom from gender based violence (*Support to the UN Joint Programme on Gender Equality in Uganda ends with the year 2015 – 16. DFID is tendering for SURGE -- Support to Uganda's response on Gender Equality -- to start in 2016 and to include investment in Moroto*)

All work in which DFID is engaged needs to mainstream a gendered approach. A truly gendered approach seeks a) to increase people's agency and ability to work and provide for themselves and b) works to ensure balance in power between men and women. As stated in section 4, current programmes may a) place heavy work burdens on women and b) disempower men. Working for gender equality, multiple entry points are needed⁵⁰, and these need to be complementary and mutually reinforcing. This does not simply mean giving more attention to women and girls.

6.3 Recommendations

R1 Build the new, five-year programme with a focus on changing gender-power relations and building new resiliences. A move away from food aid will be difficult, though an increasing number of organisations are now working towards cash transfers instead. With the understanding that there will always be emergency need for food aid, the focus needs to be on re-building purpose and identity in the region, combining aspects of the traditional with the new. Action research to, for example, understand how livestock production can best be combined with sedentary agriculture in a market economy, is vital. Set definite goals for the end all but absolute emergency food aid.

⁵⁰ See Eyben, J. (2011) and Gibson, S. et al, (2014)

R2 Invest in in-depth socio-political research to support the development of programming. We do not know enough about the changing dynamics of Karamoja society or the relative value of different approaches to development. We do know that current programming does not mesh with people's ideas of what they want from development, nor entirely with what we know works to promote gender equality. "Quick and dirty" and long-term in-depth quantitative and qualitative research are needed to feed into national MIS systems, provide the evidence base for planning and programming and underpin monitoring, evaluation and learning. Under the evidence and learning component of ERKP, DFID is working with USAID around the development of a common research platform for Karamoja. This will support joint (between Development Partners and Government) learning and monitoring and evaluation. This is an important step towards improving the evidence base and aid effectiveness in Karamoja.

R3 Include components to end FGM/C and CEFM and to reduce Gender- and Age-Based Violence These are "hot" topics, for which there is strong national and global support. As stated in section 3, FGM/C and CEFM have profound effects on girls' ability to gain education and, more fundamentally, on their lives, livelihoods and well-being. There is now, across the 29 countries in Africa where FGM/C is carried out, and beyond, a real possibility that FGM/C can end within a generation. Many communities are now renouncing FGM/C, and laws against it are being passed and enforced – including in Uganda. **In Uganda, work to end FGM/C –and with it CEFM – is a high win strategy which will support all other work towards gender equality and empowerment.** In the newly-tendered SURGE programme, there will be work in Morot with CEDIVIP (using the SASA! Methodology) and Mifumi (providing shelters, car and protection against GBV). There is excellent opportunity to link this work with other model approaches to ending FGM/C and CEFM – with organisations such as ZOA, and with religious organisation, church and mosque, for example. Working in only one district is not enough. Highest concentrations of FGM are in Amudaat – with links across the Kenyan border. A widespread, approach to ending FGM/C will give best value for money and chance of success – linking with other, East Africa Region initiatives (Girl Hub, UNJP on FGM/C, the Towards Ending FGM/C in Africa and Beyond research component etc.).

R4 Work with women, girls, men and boys in the promotion of gender equality and empowerment. Focus not only on survival, but also on getting rid of cultural depression and creating a sense of new and positive identities in Karamoja. In the process, more action-research is needed to understand how best, in Karamoja, to work on issues such as alcohol misuse. In some programmes, the focus may still be on girls and women, but the context in Karamoja requires sensitive work to **promote positive masculinities as well as work to empower girls and women. In all programming, ensure that there is a focus on social norms change and the needed steps towards wider social change** (see section 2).

R5 Continue to invest heavily in building resilience in Karamoja. Resilience to climate change and environmental degradation is crucial for survival. For gender equality and empowerment, so is resilience to the changing dynamics in Karamoja society – which have led to the end of traditional life-styles and livelihoods. Resilience – for men and women, girls and boys – is needed against a wide range of environmental, social and political vulnerabilities.

R6 Strengthen the move away from "hand-outs" towards development of opportunities in productive work and employment opportunities. The proposed move towards cash-for-work is stated as priority for people in Karamoja. However, it needs to be accompanied by other interventions – promoting men's and women's productive work and employment, so that cash

entering the household is spent in ways that benefit all family members. We consider skills and training to be very important, including ensuring **that information on existing schemes and possibilities is shared**. The government has a number of training schemes (such as positive discrimination re entrance requirements) which could support people from Karamoja, if they were known about.

R7 Where food-aid and hand-outs are imperative, make efforts to increase the conditionality.

Giving school-feeding usually does not have a lasting effect (school attendance stops when food incentives stop) but can be a helpful trigger in the short-term. Provision of basic requirements, such as underpants, soap, sanitary pads etc., have proven to be effective in getting girls into school in other countries. Girls are more likely to stay in school if these programmes are supported by community mobilisation and dialogue⁵¹.

R8 Model approaches to conditional and unconditional cash transfers. The SAGE pension scheme is one model – and has provided learning on the difficulties in ensuring that transfers are understood and get to the right places. Since no one – recipients or donors – believes that food aid or food-for-work are sustainable solutions to the problem, there is scope to experiment with cash transfers **as a stepping stone** to skills training and employment.

R9 Create more opportunities for youth and men in work programmes and reduce women's workloads. The current approach to food-for-work places a heavy burden on women and exacerbates men's feelings of uselessness. It will not be easy to develop programmes which support men in new roles at the same time as championing women's empowerment, but it is a crucial part of improving the relationships between men and women -- working together for development.

R10 Invest in the education sector, to provide quality education which meets rights standards, through promotion of girls' and boys' completion of primary school. All stakeholders consulted feel that education is the key to gender equality and empowerment in Karamoja. The gains to be made through promotion of education will be optimised if the run in conjunction with programmes to develop self-esteem and skills amongst young adolescents, and programmes to end FGM/C and CEFM (see below).

R11 Model approaches to support young people's, especially girls', completion of secondary school and progress through professional training. Working with the District Education Offices, assist young people to get access to bursaries for secondary school and professional training. It is of particular importance to support young people to become teachers, and to attract them back to work in Karamoja.

R12 Support women's organisations and women's and youth representation across all areas of programming. The importance of strong women's organisations in all aspects of gender empowerment is well-attested. Work with local authorities to promote voice and representation. Work with Restless development, and partners, to promote youth voices and research by young people for young people – to contribute to appropriate programming. Use these organisations to monitor and report on gender budgeting and budget use.

⁵¹ See, for example, the End Child Marriage Programme in Amhara, Ethiopia.

R13 Expand investment in end-FGM/C, CEFM and GBV programmes. As stated in section 3, FGM/C and CEFM have profound effects on girls' ability to gain education and, more fundamentally, on their lives, livelihoods and well-being. There is now, across the 29 countries in Africa where FGM/C is carried out, and beyond, a real possibility that FGM/C can end within a generation. Many communities are now renouncing FGM/C, and laws against it are being passed and enforced – including in Uganda. **In Uganda, work to end FGM/C –and with it CEFM – is a high win strategy which will support all other work towards gender equality and empowerment.** In the newly-tendered SURGE programme, there will be work in Morot with CEDIVIP (using the SASA! Methodology) and Mifumi (providing shelters, car and protection against GBV). There is excellent opportunity to link this work with other model approaches to ending FGM/C and CEFM – with organisations such as ZOA, and with religious organisation, church and mosque, for example. Working in only one district is not enough. Highest concentrations of FGM are in Amudaat – with links across the Kenyan border. A widespread, approach to ending FGM/C will give best value for money and chance of success – linking with other, East Africa Region initiatives (Girl Hub, UNJP on FGM/C, the Towards Ending FGM/C in Africa and Beyond research component etc.).

R14 Explore possibilities for adapting and using the 12+ Rwanda approach to building self-esteem and self-confidence; social, health and economic assets. In Rwanda, 12+ is a programme which will, eventually, reach all 11-year old girls in the country:

Box 18: The 12+ Programme in Rwanda

The overall aim of the 12+ programme is to empower 92,000 11-year old girls in Rwanda, over a period of 3.5 years (2012 – 2016). The expected programme results are: increased self-esteem amongst girls participating in the programme; improvements in the social, health and economic assets of 92,000 girls, including friendships, increased self-confidence and social status, increased knowledge on Sexual and Reproductive Health and HIV, delayed sexual debut, knowledge on money and saving; support for girls' participation in the programme across the communities; less tolerance, amongst girls, for gender based violence (GBV), and implementation of girl-focused policies at national level. The programme is owned and managed by the Ministry of Health (MoH) and implemented by three contracted Implementing Agencies. These are Imbuto Foundation, World Relief Rwanda and Caritas.

Groups of 25 girls are formed and meet weekly over a ten-month period; each group is facilitated by two young women (aged between 18 and 25). The groups follow a standardised course of active learning ("the Content") which is aimed at increasing the girls' assets. The 12+ Programme is an innovative example of growing global efforts to address the rights and needs of adolescent girls. It follows from the Government of Rwanda's demonstrated commitment to rights and gender equality, and is fully in-line with the UK government's development priorities.

Source: 12+ Annual review 2015-16, DFID

Now working with its second cohort of 12+ girls, the Rwanda programme is highly successful and is demonstrating wide-reaching achievements towards social change. These include girls' empowerment and communities acting, independently of the programme, to support them. The programme is acting as a catalyst for changing values in society and increased dialogue between generations. 12+ is now considering how, in the future, boys can also benefit from a similar programme. There is very high demand, from children, parents and communities, for the programme to reach all 11-year olds, as people see the benefits unfolding.

We think there would be great value in adapting the 12+ approach for use with boys and girls in Karamoja. The programme is (relatively) simple in concept and content – especially now that there is a model on which to base replication. It offers huge possibilities for a value-for-money approach to reaching youth in Karamoja.

R15 Re-visit the Stepping Stones and Appreciative Enquiry approach for Peace and Prosperity and engaging men in Karamoja.

An adaptation of the original Stepping Stones HIV-prevention and gender equality package has been created and piloted in Karamoja.

Box 19: Stepping Stones in Karamoja

2015 saw the publication of Stepping Stones for Peace and Prosperity, the manual was adapted for use in Karamoja in Uganda by Strategies for Hope and Salamander Trust. This adaptation was commissioned by the World Bank LOGICA Project and piloted NESSA Uganda. The programme aimed to enable men, women, young women and young men to find and develop their positive attributes and to change their attitudes and behaviours in relation to GBV and inter-gender relations. The qualitative evaluation was entirely positive, but – as is often the case – quantitative evaluation was less conclusive. Following the workshop, women reported that men had changed entirely – instead of sitting under trees, they were now engaging in livelihoods work, sharing decision-making and had grown in confidence and self-esteem. Other reported results included: people feeling safe and secure in their homes at night, decrease in domestic violence, reduction in disputes and other alcohol-related problems, some instances of domestic task-sharing by men, communications between men and women improved and increased respect for elders in the community.

Source: www.Salamandertrust.net and A. Welbourn, pers. comm

Young people consulted after the programme felt that the Stepping Stones approach would be a useful foundation before skills/VET courses – as it would allow them to engage better and gain more from the course. In spite of the successes of the pilot, funding was not forthcoming. We believe that the current crisis of cultural depression, and disengagement of men – especially young men, means that approaches such as Stepping Stones are vital. This is not only to build partnership for development, but also to avoid the possibilities of dissidence and insurrection.

Stepping Stones also works closely with CEDOVIP in other areas, and it would be useful to model the relative merits of the 9-month Stepping Stones approach against the 3-year SASA! Approach.

ANNEX 1 TERMS OF REFERENCE

Support for strategic review and planning to strengthen DFID's work on gender equality and women's and girls' empowerment in Karamoja region

Objective

Support DFID Uganda to review and strengthen its support to gender focused empowerment in Karamoja sub region.

Recipient

The principle recipient of this work will be the DFID Uganda country office.

Scope of Work

The assignment consists of two key activities:

1) Produce an up-to-date situation analysis of the current context for promoting development and resilience in Karamoja with respect to the empowerment of women and girls; and men and boys. For the two groups please include assessment of the evidence⁵² that demonstrates the factors that help or inhibit improvements in the following areas:

1 Where Karamoja specific evidence is available – please focus on this.

Where it is not please use evidence from similar contexts to demonstrate the potential issues that may be faced in Karamoja.

- i. Economic empowerment
- ii. Resilience to climate change
- iii. Sexual and reproductive health and rights
- iv. Education and skills
- v. Citizen's rights and voice – including the right to security and freedom from gender based violence

2) Assess how and to what extent DFID's programmes in Karamoja are likely to affect the factors above and if / how the programmes adopt strategies to address them.

3) Based on the situation analysis above, support DFID Uganda to develop an evidence-based Theory of Change and a strategy for promoting gender based empowerment in Karamoja.

The Gender Strategy will help us maximise the potential for greater synergy and cohesion on gender equality within DFID's existing programmes in Karamoja, as well as design new approaches to addressing gender inequality in the region. It will also inform DFID's contribution to the Karamoja Development Plan.

Methodology

The situation analysis will be drawn from existing literature and selected interviews with key informants in Kampala and Karamoja. Based on this analysis, the service provider will produce a situation analysis report on the five themes outlined above. These will be used to guide discussion with DFID staff.

⁵² Where Karamoja specific evidence is available – please focus on this.

Based on findings from the situation analysis, the service provider will facilitate a workshop with DFID staff to develop a Theory of Change (ToC) for promoting gender equality and empowerment for each of the five key themes. In examining the key issues laid out (around sexual and reproductive health and rights, education and skills, resilience to climate change, economic empowerment, rights and voice), the ToC should take account of social relations, economic relations, rights and norms as well as power relations and the institutional under-pinning of gender inequality in these areas.

Having guided the country team through developing a ToC for each of the key five issues, the consultant will also facilitate development of a strategy for linking/drawing on synergy between interventions across the UK's development programme in Uganda.

The Consultant will report to and be guided by the DFID Uganda Social Development and Livelihoods Advisers.

The Recipient will provide inputs on relevant literature and key informants. However, the service is responsible to ensure an adequate range of relevant research and to make all their own logistical arrangements.

As part of the Governance process a small peer review committee will be formed consisting of key GoU stakeholders (3), DFID Uganda Advisers (2) and key development partners (3).

This group will be asked to review the inception report and will be invited to participate in the end ToC workshop.

Timing & Deliverables

The consultancy will be concluded by October 30th 2015. The service provider will be provided with up to 30 days of time to deliver this work. The deliverables include:

- i. Inception report outlining methodology and work-plan (within 7 days of start of contract);
- ii. Situation analysis report outlining the factors that help or inhibit development and resilience in Karamoja with respect to the empowerment of women and girls; and men and boys;
- iii. Report to show extent DFID's programmes in Karamoja affect and address: Economic empowerment; Resilience to climate change; Sexual and reproductive health and rights; Education and skills; Citizen's rights and voice
- iv. Workshop for DFID staff and key stakeholders to develop and agree the ToC and assessment of DFID programmes (deliverables including facilitation, programme, handouts, and workshop report).
- v. Final report giving an overview of the research findings and recommendations for DFID to strengthen its gender focus in Karamoja.

The contract with the consultant will be output based and work will be paid for on successful completion of deliverables.

Reporting

The consultant will report to the Social Development Adviser i-among@dfid.gov.uk and the Livelihoods Adviser b-cattermoul@dfid.gov.uk

Background to ToR

1. DFID Uganda has substantial investments in the Karamoja sub-region of Uganda which have totalled approximately £15 million per year over the past 5 years. The nature of DFID's engagement in Karamoja has been defined by its individual programmes rather than an overarching development vision.

2. DFID Uganda programming in Karamoja includes:

a. Enhancing Resilience in Karamoja Programme (£38.5 million 2013-2016), including:

i. FAO (livestock, farmer field-schools, early warning, water resource mapping);

ii. UNICEF (Nutrition services);

iii. WFP (Supplementary feeding and Public Works)

b. Expanding Social Protection (£14 million 2010 -2015) covering grants to senior citizens (over 60) in Moroto, Amudat, Nakapiripirit, Napak

c. Youth Development Programme (YDP) (aprx. £600,000 2013-2015) including 2100 youths across Karamoja given vocational training

d. Contributing to the control of Malaria (2013-2016)

3. Over the course of 2015-2016 DFID Uganda will be reviewing its strategy for engagement in Karamoja. An outcome of this strategy will be a stronger convergence across DFID's own programmes and between DFID programmes and other key donor programmes (EU, USAID, Irish Aid and World Bank). DFID is also working with the Office of the Prime Minister to ensure that our programmes strengthen the outcomes of the Karamoja Integrated Development Programme (KIDP).

Gender and development in Uganda

4. Uganda ranked 88th out of 142 countries in the 2014 Gender Inequality Index with a score of 0.68212. The index benchmarks national gender gaps on economic, political, education and health criteria, and provides country rankings that allow for effective comparisons across regions and income groups. Uganda ranked lowest in the East African region compared to Rwanda which ranked 7th with a score of 0.785; Kenya 37th with a score of 0.726 and Tanzania 47th with a score of 0.718. Gender inequality is still persistent in Uganda – particularly in health, education attainment, and economic empowerment. The highest possible score is 1 (equality) and the lowest is 0 (inequality).

5. Gender inequality persists in economic participation: Although there is parity in labour force participation between women and men (a female to male ratio of 0.96), there are marked differentials in gender representation in senior managerial positions and earned incomes. Women occupy only 20% of senior managerial jobs and earn less than half the earnings of their male counterparts in aggregate terms. 83% of the female working population is engaged in agriculture, and yet women own only 16% of registered land.

6. Fewer girls complete primary school and enrol for secondary education: Like most African countries, Uganda has met the MDG target of gender parity in primary school enrolment. The gender gap in primary school completion however remains wide with 58% girls completing primary school in 2013 compared to 70% of boys. Uganda has a long way before it reaches the global

average of 89% female primary completion.⁴ The gender gap also becomes visible at secondary level (a female to male ratio of 0.89) and widens at tertiary level (a female to male ratio of 0.27)⁵. Despite equity in primary school enrolment, the poor education outcomes experienced by women particularly have direct implications for their livelihoods, the health of their children, and the economic growth of Uganda as a whole.

7. An unacceptable number of women die daily from child-birth related complications: Women have limited control over their sexual and reproductive health choices. This translates into poor maternal health, high fertility, and early teenage pregnancies among others. The total fertility rate for Ugandan women is 6.2 children, one of the highest in the world, and far from the Ministry of Health (MoH) target of 4 children. The maternal mortality ratio is 438 per 100,000 births, which is far behind the MDG target of 131 by 2015⁶.

8. Uganda still has a high prevalence of child early and forced marriage and teenage pregnancy: According to the Gender Inequality Index, 22% of girls aged 15 -19 in Uganda are married and the Uganda Demographic and Health Survey (UDHS - 2011) estimates that 17% of girls aged 15 - 19 have already given birth. Compared to women who marry later, girls who marry before the age of 18 are less likely to complete primary school, more likely to experience unwanted pregnancies, and face greater risk of sexual and reproductive health morbidities and maternal mortality.

9. Entrenched social norms continue to reinforce discrimination and violence: There is a high cultural acceptance of violence as a normal method of resolving conflict and as a typical part of parenting and teaching a child. Traditional beliefs that men have a right to control or discipline women through physical means make women vulnerable to violence by intimate partners. According to the UDHS (2011), 58% of Ugandan women and 44% of men find wife beating justified in certain circumstances.

10. Violence against women and girls is still prevalent: Violence against women and girls is one of the widespread human rights violations in Uganda. Up to 56% of Ugandan women have experienced physical violence and 28% have experienced sexual violence; yet there are few supportive services. According to the UDHS (2011), 13% of Gender Based Violence (GBV) survivors have ever reported the case to police, 4% to a doctor or medical personnel and 3% to a social service organisation. This indicates that many women suffer in silence. Among the key traditional forms of GBV in Uganda is the practice of Female Genital Mutilation (FGM). Although the prevalence of FGM in Uganda is low, reported by less than 1% of women aged 14 – 49, the practice is still unacceptable where it exists. The Karamoja region recorded the highest percentage of female circumcision (5%).

UK Government commitments on gender

11. The UK Ministers for Development have made gender equality and women and girls' empowerment a key priority, for development and in international relations. DFID launched its Strategic Vision for Women and Girls in 2011 and the newly appointed Ministers re-iterated their commitment to achieving this vision.

12. The UK Government development programme in Uganda contributes to meeting some specific interests of women and girls (through a targeted gender programme and through a mainstreaming approach). It does so, however, through a disperse set of outputs across a range of projects and programmes. Although DFID has a range of programmes in Karamoja, we do not have a consistent strategy for promoting gender equality and empowerment of girls and women across in Karamoja.

Moreover, we do not have a cross-programme analysis to indicate whether or not our programmes contribute to gender equality in the region.

13. It is now timely to review the current situation facing girls and women in Karamoja, the key obstacles and challenges to meeting their development needs and opportunities to address these

Footnotes

2 The highest possible score is 1 (equality) and the lowest is 0 (inequality).

3 National Planning Authority; 2013; A study to evaluate the extent to which gender issues were addressed during the implementation of the NDP

4 WB Little Data Book on Gender, 2013

5 Gender Inequality Index, 2014

6 MGLSD, 2014; National Report on implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action

ANNEX 2: ITINERARY

Date	Activity	SEC	MK
2 Nov	Stakeholder meetings and field visits planning		✓ 1 day Uganda
3,4,5 Nov	Literature Review	✓ 3 days UK	✓ 1 day Uganda
7 Nov	Sec travels to Uganda		
8th Nov pm	Review Team meeting		
9, 10, 11	Meetings Kampala	✓	✓
13 – 19 Nov	Karamoja field visits	✓	✓
20 – 22 Nov	Kampala analysis and prep of workshop	✓	✓
23 Nov	Workshop	✓	✓
24 Nov	DFID close-out and SEC leaves	✓	✓
27 Nov – 3 Dec	Report preparation	✓ 5 days	✓ 2 days
TBC	Response to comments	✓	✓
TBC	Finalisation of report	✓ 2 days	✓

ANNEX 4: LIST OF PERSONS MET

Date	Name	Organization
	Kampala	
10 th Nov.2015	Irene Among	Dfid Uganda
	Ben Cattermoul	Dfid Uganda - SAGE
11 th Nov. 2015	Joyce Peter Amodoi	Office of the Prime Minister; Programme Officer Karamoja
11 th Nov.2015	SAGE Secretariat	
	Stephen Kasaija	SAGE (Social Assistance Grants)
	Juliet Attenborough	SAGE Policy Support Advisor
	Jane Namuddu	SAGE M and E coordinator
	Lydia Nabiryo	SAGE Policy and Advocacy Officer
	Beatrice Okillan	SAGE Policy and Learning Manager
	Bernie Coyler	SAGE Team leader
13 th Nov. 2015	Moroto UN Staff	
	Emmanuel Bryma	Moroto Human Rights
	Rebecca Kwagala	UNICEF
	Lokiru Michael	UNFAO
	Aknter Hamid	FAO
	Martin Orau	UN WOMEN
	Tom Ahimbisibwe	WFP
	Stephen Mucunguzi	UNFPA
	Moroto District staff and NGO staff	
	Maggie Lolem	Acting District Community Development Officer
	Akello Annet Sarah	Senior Human Resource Officer for CAO
	Denis Aka	Programmes Manager; Restless Development
	Thomas Odelok	Karamoja Womens Organisation (KAWOU)
	Moroto - Katiekire sub county Leadership	
	Lotee John Baptist	Area Councilor
	Akol Lilly	Youth Leader
	Lolem Mark	Child Protection
	Lolem Mark	Youth Councilor
	Namuya Francesca .N	ACDO
	Obalim Fred	CDO
	Nakiru Ketemontim	Councilor
	Loduk Moses	LC 1 Chairperson
	Nakapiripirit District, WFP, District and NGOs	
16 th Nov. 2015	James Apungure	WFP field Monitor
	James Odongo	WFP Senior Programme Assistant
	Bako Florence	District Community Development Officer
	Robert Elkwap	Samaritans Purse
	Geoffrey Luwum	Samaritans Purse

	Katol Setimo. O	Probation Officer Nakapiripirit District
	Dr. Ariong. S. P.	Vet Officer Nakapiripirit District
	Awes Sylvester	Happy Cow
16 th Nov. 2015	Community meeting in Rupa sub county	Several community members
	Dr. Peter Lokwang	In- Charge Tokora health Centre
	Lucy Atim	Team leader Adre Food Consult
	Aketch Margaret	Field Officer Andre Food Consult
17 th Nov.2015	Amudat district	
	Abdulnol Muwonge	Chief Administrative Officer
	Alosikin Merab	Senior Programme Officer ZOA
	Christine Weight	Programme Advisor ZOA
	Rien Hendritis	Trainee ZOA
	Etolu Martin	Programme Manager ZOA
18 th Nov. 2015	Female members of Nakiroro Field Farmers School group in Amudat	
	Girls at Kalas Girls Primary School (12 girls in group, names available)	
	Kaboong District	
19 th Nov.2015	Samuel Opwonya	WFP Snr. Logistics Assistant
20 th Nov.2015	Imen Elizabeth	FMA WFP
	Samuel Opwonya	WFP
	Irene Angeyo	FMA
	Moses Cherop	Head of Office CUAMM
	Christine Namukasa	Nutrition Adviser CUAMM
	Patrick Baraza	Team leader Community Action For Health (CAFH)
	Daniel Akol	Nutritionist (CAFH)
	Violet Ddungu	Nutritionist (CAFH)
	James Opio	World Vision
	Michael Echodu	World Vision
23 rd Nov.2015	DFID Offices TOC meeting	
	Irene Among	DFID
	Amber. L. Kenny	USAID
	Soledad Rogers	USAID
	Kare Kyampaire	USAID
	Lydia Nandawula	DFID
	Aine Doody	DFA/Irish Aid
	Alice. M. Kituuka	WYG
	Maria Kwesiga	WYG
	Patricia Elotu	WFP
	Patience Masike	WFP
	Stella Teraka	FAO
03 rd Mar 2016	Tele-conference	
	Roselidah Ondeko	UNFPA

ANNEX 4: REFERENCES CITED IN THE TEXT

- 28 Too Many (2013) Country Profile – FGM in Uganda. 28 Too Many
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