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**Gender and Work Challenges in the Informal Sector of Uganda. A Study of
Disabled Men and Women in Mubende and Mityana Districts**

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**A dissertation submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree
of Master of Social Science in Social Planning and Administration**

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2007**

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Signature: _____ Date: December 2007 _____

Dedication

To my dearest sister Dr Charlotte Karungi Mafumbo who, not only inspires me in each and every step that she takes in her life but also led me to greater academic heights. Charlotte has constantly helped me achieve all my goals. Words cannot express how grateful I am for all her support.

University of Cape Town

Plagiarism Declaration

I, Helen Lwemamu, declare that the work that gave rise to this thesis is my own original work. Where work from other scholars is used, it has been clearly referenced. This work has neither been submitted, nor is being submitted concurrently to any institution for any degree.

Signed : _____

Helen Lwemamu

Date: _____

University of Cape Town

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Abstract

Compared to disciplines like gender and health, fewer studies have been done on disabled men and women's participation in the informal sector. This may be explained by the fact that for a long time, few disabled men and women in Uganda engaged or participated openly in income generating activities (IGAs). Many started getting involved in the 1990's and as the available literature shows, those who have done so are very enthusiastic and this has encouraged others.

This study focuses on the gender and work challenges disabled men and women encounter in the informal sector of Uganda.

The study is based on a review of existing literature and actual fieldwork carried out in the Mubende and Mityana districts of Uganda. It seeks to: (a) explore the types of business activities in which disabled men and women are engaged; (b) explore the nature of work challenges disabled men and women encounter in the informal sector and the nature of strategies they utilize to overcome these challenges; (c) ascertain the benefits that disabled men and women have gained in respect of participation in the informal sector; (d) establish the policies and laws that govern disabled men and women with regard to their work in the informal sector; and (e) establish how resources are allocated by various governmental and non-governmental Organisations among disabled men and women in Mubende and Mityana districts.

The study was carried out in Mubende and Mityana district, the central region of the densely populated disabled men and women. In this study In-depth interviews and focus group methods were used to collect qualitative data.

Evidence from the study confirms that disabled men and women were engaged in similar IGAs although a few of them were engaged in different IGAs. The similarity in IGAs was likely to be a result of the limited range of IGAs that disabled men and women could engage in considering the nature of their impairments, limited finances and the limited skills that they had. The visually and hearing impaired men and women were mainly involved in a single IGA in the informal sector and most of the physically disabled men and women were engaged in multiple IGAs. This was linked to visually and hearing impaired men and women

lacking or having insufficient capital and skills to engage in multiple IGAs, as compared to physically disabled men and women.

The similarity in most of the disabled men and women's IGAs shows that gender did not have a significant impact in their IGAs. However, the differences in some of the types of IGAs that disabled men and women were engaged show that to some extent, the gender differences between disabled men and women impact on the IGAs they engage in. The fact that focus group participants were able to engage in IGAs is evidence that their impairments do not preclude them from participating in IGAs but it hugely disadvantages them in society. This explains the various challenges they encountered in their IGAs.

The various challenges related to disabled men and women's IGAs are a stumbling block to their benefiting from their IGAs. Some of the challenges were similar across all types of impairment; and others were different depending on the type of impairment. These challenges would be difficult to address or may worsen to a great extent due to: the socio-economic burden of family members who cannot support themselves but rely on the heads of the households who may not only be single but disabled; societal and institutional barriers; and discriminatory practices towards disabled men and women.

In trying to counter the challenges disabled men and women encountered in their IGAs, stakeholders like government and NGOs, through local organisations, allocated socio-economic resources to disabled men and women, although government's input was barely recognised by focus group participants. Even the long term initiatives such as laws, policies and programmes which government put in place with the hope of benefiting and reducing the challenges disabled men and women encountered in their IGAs were not transformed into practical reality.

In order to overcome challenges disabled men and women encounter in their IGAs, the study confirms a growing need for government and NGOs not only to mainstream disability in the allocation of resources for IGAs but also a need for a comprehensive legal framework aiming at increasing disabled men and women's access to economic opportunities in the informal sector of Uganda.

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List of Acronyms

| | |
|--------|--|
| ADD | Action on Disability and Development |
| AIDS | Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome |
| CBOs | Community Based Organisations |
| CBR | Community based rehabilitation activities |
| DAA | Disability Advocacy in Action |
| DPDU | Draft Policy on Disability in Uganda |
| DGCD | Directorate of Gender and Community Development |
| DPO | Disabled People's Organisations |
| DPSA | Disabled People South Africa |
| DWNRO | Disability Women's Network and Resource Organisation in Uganda |
| F | Female |
| HIV | Human Immune Virus |
| IGAs | Income Generating Activities |
| ILO | International Labour Organisation |
| KDPA | Kassanda Disabled People's Association |
| M | Male |
| MFDG | Mityana Foundation for Disadvantaged Groups |
| MFIs | Micro Finance Institutions |
| MGLSD | Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development |
| MP | Member of Parliament |
| MUDIPU | Mubende District Disabled Persons Union |
| NGOs | Non Governmental Organisations |
| NUDIPU | National Union of Disabled Persons of Uganda. |
| NUWODU | National Women with Disabilities of Uganda |
| PEAP | Poverty Eradication Action Plan |
| PRSP | Poverty Reduction Strategy Plan |
| PWDs | People With Disabilities |
| STIs | Sexually Transmitted Infections |
| UNAB | Uganda National Association of the Blind |
| UNAPD | Uganda National Action on Physical Disability |

| | |
|-------|---|
| UNAD | Uganda National Association of the Deaf |
| UNISE | Uganda National Institute for Special Education |
| WID | Women in Development |
| WWD | Women with Disabilities |
| YWDs | Youth with Disabilities |

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CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.0 Introduction

The focus of my research is on gender, disability and the informal sector. It is strongly influenced by my undergraduate training in development studies and my engagement in community development activities, in particular research and empowering rural communities in social and economic aspects. As a scholar interested in the economic empowerment of the disadvantaged in society, I became interested in a descriptive study of the gender differences and work challenges of disabled people operating in the informal sector of Uganda.

People with Disabilities (PWDs) are important human resources all over the world and they have similar basic needs and rights to other people in society. There is marginalisation of and discrimination against PWDs both in their families and in the community. Children with disabilities are denied education because they are stigmatised as incompetent human beings, which results in adult illiteracy among PWDs and lack of basic skills to work. Consequently, they lack the capacity to compete for jobs and they become unemployed. This in turn leads to PWDs being discriminated against in society and in the formal and informal sectors.

PWDs operating in Uganda's informal sector face a number of challenges, which include: lack of skilled labour and knowledge; lack of appropriate equipment to ease their work; and oppression from customs officials and tax collectors (Becker 2004, Pinder 1995 and WID 1994). Consequently, these PWDs generate insufficient income to sustain themselves.

Like able bodied people, PWDs also have gender issues that affect their relations in society. Whereas disabled men and women are disadvantaged, disabled women are further disadvantaged because of the combined discrimination based on gender stereotypes and disability (Traustadottir 1990 and WWDA 2005). Furthermore, the field of disability has not yet recognised the combined discrimination of gender and disability experienced by disabled women, hence policies and programmes have not been designed to meet the specific needs of women with disabilities worldwide (Traustadottir 1990). As a result, disabled women are not in a position to exercise their

human rights such as the right to employment, the right to control resources, and entitlement to capital and skills (Disabled women 1995, Driedger, Feika & Batres 1991 and WWDA 1998). However, those who are able to break free from the constraints do manage to join the informal sector and work in large and small markets, mostly at a basic survival level (ILO 2001 and ILO 2000).

Men and women with disabilities carry out different kinds of activities in the informal sector related to the gender roles assigned to them by the society in which they live. Due to advocacy initiatives by feminist organisations, governmental and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) of PWDs, disabled men and women are increasingly engaging in similar activities in the informal sector. Women with disabilities are now involved in work that was previously male dominated and vice versa. However, men with disabilities still dominate in carpentry work, the retail trade, brick making and shoe shining, while women with disabilities are still dominant in work related to their gender roles, such as handcrafts, poultry keeping and food vending (Lwanga-Ntale 2003 and Whyte & Muyinda 2001).

International law recognises the importance of PWDs and, as such, international charters, conventions and protocols on disability have been developed that address the key issues of PWDs. These international instruments aim at promoting their full participation in all aspects and sectors of society, particularly in the world of work. They include the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and the 2000 Beijing Declaration on the Rights of People with Disabilities. The rights of disabled women in Africa are included in the 1981 protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights. However, the impact of such efforts is not always well documented (Becker 2004), and there is a general weakness in some of these conventions of not explicitly referring to PWDs as a minority group.

Given the above brief description of disabled men and women in the world today, it should be noted that as the world becomes more and more integrated in all spheres of development, disabled men and women are becoming an integral part of the global economy. In this respect, the study presents the types of activities in which disabled men and women are engaged in the informal sector, the work challenges they encounter, the legislative and policy framework for disabled men and women in

the informal sector, and how resources have been allocated to them in Mubende district in Uganda. Mubende district is the poorest district in the Central region of the country, with a very high population of PWDs.

1.1 Theoretical Framework

My research is guided by the social development approach, legislation/policy on disabled men and women, existing theories on gender and the social model of disability. I conceptualise gender and disability as social constructs that are explained by their stereotypes of masculine and feminine traits, and specific impairment categories.

Whereas contemporary feminist theorists focus on disabled men and women as being without gender (Meekosha 2004 and Philipott 1994), post-modern feminist theorists contest this view and insist that disabled men and women have gender differences, although they do not experience the same degree and type of gender expectations with regard to specific impairments (Gerschick 2000). My research recognises the limited amount of literature available regarding the gender differences disabled men and women experience, specifically in the informal sector. This approach on the one hand offers contemporary feminist theorists an opportunity to argue that there are no gender differences among disabled men and women or that gender has little bearing on disabled men and women. On the other hand, it gives me an opportunity to argue that there are gender dimensions among disabled men and women, which is the key concern of this research. This is demonstrated by exploring and investigating the gender differences in the income generating activities (IGAs) disabled men and women are engaged in, challenges they encounter and resources they acquire while working in the informal sector.

From a liberal feminist point of view, it can be argued that society has not given disabled men and women equal opportunities like the able-bodied to participate in the informal sector. This can be redressed by bringing about reforms in laws and policies and by removing barriers that hinder disabled men and women from participating freely and effectively in the informal sector.

Related to the above, this study is based on the social model of disability, which looks beyond a person's impairment and views society and institutions as discriminative and responsible for the

barriers that prevent disabled men and women from participating in the informal sector. It is through these social constraints that disabled men and women are stereotyped as a homogenous group, dependent, helpless, unworthy and ignorant, and thereby unable to fully participate in the informal sector (Barnes & Mercer 1995, Disabled People of South Africa 2001, Mitra 2005 and Silvers, Wasserman & Mahowald 1998). This model is applicable in analysing the challenges and barriers disabled men and women encounter in their IGAs in the informal sector.

My research recognises social development as a discipline that promotes the socio-economic welfare of people and seeks to link social welfare programmes directly with economic development efforts (Midgley 1995). The study uses the institutional perspective,¹ a comprehensive and pragmatic approach to social development, to mobilise a variety of programmes and policies that can enhance disabled men and women's welfare within the context of a dynamic process of economic development. Adopting a social development approach, institutions (NGOs for and of disabled men and women and government) engage disabled men and women in various socio-economic programmes that offer them resources to improve their social and economic welfare.

The 2006 National Policy on Disability in Uganda identifies and is guided by various UN charters, international conventions and their protocol that advocate for human rights for disabled men and women. I conceptualise the National Policy on Disability as a driving force in improving the social welfare of disabled men and women. The policy calls for the Ugandan government to *give priority to PWDs to enable them to take charge of their lives by removing barriers that hinder their full participation in all areas*. Through capacity building, accessibility, participation and awareness raising with regard to disabled men and women, I recognise that policy intervention can impact on the social economic welfare of disabled men and women, leading to sustainable and gender responsive development. Given the theoretical framework above, questions and issues addressed throughout this study are approached from a gendered perspective.

¹ The institutional approach comprises different social institutions, including the state, NGOs, civil society, the market and communities that can be mobilised to promote the attainment of social development goals.

1.2 Problem Statement

In spite of being disadvantaged in society, PWDs have joined the informal sector in varying capacities in an attempt to earn a living. However, little is known about the conditions under which PWDs join and remain in the informal sector; how they acquire capital and other resources, for instance, equipment like wheelchairs, braille and crutches; which businesses they engage in; and the gender related difficulties they face. Although some studies indicate that there are no gender differences among PWDs (Meekosha 2004 and Swain, Finkelstein, French & Oliver 1993) this assertion needs to be re-examined, given that women and men with disabilities have different needs and concerns and are engaged in different activities in the informal sector (Albu 2005, Gerschick 2000 and Lwanga-Ntale 2003). This study will therefore examine the gender dynamics among PWDs involved in the informal sector, the challenges they face and the opportunities for enhancing their potential.

1.3 Research Questions

- What are the differences, if any, in the types of business activities disabled men and women are engaged in, in the informal sector in Uganda?
- What challenges do men and women with disability encounter in their work in the informal sector?
- What adaptive strategies have they utilised to overcome these work-related challenges?
- What benefits, if any, have men and women with disabilities gained through their participation in the informal sector?
- What policies and laws govern disabled men and women with regard to their work in the informal sector?
- What criteria have been utilised by the Ugandan government and NGOs in the allocation of resources for IGAs to the disabled in Mubende district?
- What recommendations can be made to promote the productive participation of disabled men and women in the informal sector?

1.4 Goal and Objectives of the Study

The goal of the study is to explore and describe the gender and work challenges disabled men and women encounter in the informal sector in the Mubende and Mityana districts of Uganda.

The study is directed towards achieving the following research objectives:

- To explore the differences in the types of business activities in which disabled men and women are engaged;
- To explore the nature of work challenges disabled men and women encounter in the informal sector;
- To explore the nature of adaptive strategies they utilise to overcome these challenges;
- To ascertain the benefits that disabled men and women have gained in respect of participation in the informal sector;
- To establish the policies and laws that govern disabled men and women with regard to their work in the informal sector;
- To establish the criteria used in the allocation of resources for IGAs by the support system in Mubende district, Uganda; and
- To make recommendations that will promote the productive participation of disabled men and women in the informal sector.

1.5 Significance of the Study

The study is timely and salient because, among similar studies done, much focus has been placed on men and women and the informal sector, but the gender differences in relation to the business activities PWDs are engaged in, in the informal sector seem to have been left uninvestigated. Even when studies are done on disabled men and women, much attention has been on their health and formal employment, as opposed to their employment in the informal sector.

This study will provide information that may be useful for service delivery and as a basis for policy formulation and/or policy modification by government, NGOs dealing with PWDs, current and prospective donor agencies, Community Based Organisations (CBOs), planners and policy makers. The study may also provide knowledge for academics and researchers concerned with the field of

disability. The findings of this study will also add to the available data bank of information on PWDs and the informal sector, which is vital for institutional and personal libraries.

With the aid of the researcher, physically disabled women who were interviewed during the current study wrote and submitted a proposal on behalf of their fellow physically disabled women seeking funding from the Canadian Embassy. The funding was granted.

1.6 Research Design and Methodology

This exploratory study adopts a qualitative approach. It is applied research and encompasses an analysis of secondary data and field data collection with the use of qualitative research methods: four focus groups and 15 in-depth interviews with PWDs and key informants, respectively. These methods were used to gather information from key informants and disabled men and women regarding the differences, if any, in the types of business activities disabled men and women were involved in, the work challenges they encountered and the criteria that were used by stakeholders in the allocation of resources to disabled men and women in the informal sector.

The researcher uses an inductive approach to the analysis of the data whereby there were no preconceived notions, and flexibility in the study was maintained. Emphasis was on developing and building inductively based new interpretations of data (Babbie & Mouton 1998).

The study was carried out in Mubende and Mityana districts, the poorest district in the Central region of Uganda, which has a very high population of PWDs. The overall methodological framework, research process and research design are fully described in chapter three.

1.7 Definition of Terms

Impairment

Impairment is any loss or abnormality in any psychological or anatomical structure or function. An impairment is what causes a disability (United Nations Enable 2003, Brunhns et al. 1995 and Wendell 1996).

Disability

The study uses the social model of disability definition whereby disability is considered purely as a socially imposed restriction associated with the complex system of constraints imposed on people with impairments by discriminatory societies and which requires social change (DPSA 2001, Mitra 2005 and Silvers, Wasserman & Mahowald 1998).

Gender

According to the World Bank (2001), gender refers to socially constructed roles and socially learned behaviours and expectations associated with females and males. Meenu (1992) refers to gender as socially constructed and culturally variable roles that women and men play in their lives. For the purposes of this study, gender refers to the socially constructed or cultural roles and socially learned behaviours of men and women in their daily lives.

Informal sector

The informal sector comprises a wide range of economic activities that take place through the market, operate outside the scope of employment law (lack job security, pensions, holidays and benefits), may not conform to official legislation and are unrecorded in official statistics of the country. (Two approaches to define the informal sector, the definitional and the behavioural approaches, are explained in section 2.1.3 of Chapter 2.)

1.8 Outline of the Report

This study investigates the gender and work challenges of disabled men and women in the informal sector of Uganda. It is organised into five chapters.

Chapter 1: Introduction

The first chapter presents the general introduction to the study. It highlights dominant disability issues in gender and the informal sector and the policy-related initiatives to address the broad range of concerns about disability and employment internationally. The chapter further highlights the theoretical framework and the background of the research problem. It goes on to state the goals and objectives of the study, and the reasons for studying gender and work challenges in the informal sector, and concludes with a discussion of the research design and methodology.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Literature about the informal sector, disability, gender and disability, work challenges disabled men and women encounter in their IGAs, how resources are allocated to disabled men and women in their IGAs, and the legislative and policy framework among PWDs is fully reviewed and addressed in chapter two

Chapter 3: Research Design and Methodology

Chapter three addresses the research design and methodology of the research study. The study area, data collection methods and instruments, data management and analysis procedures, and limitations of the study are broadly presented in this chapter.

Chapter 4: Discussion and Analysis of Findings

This chapter presents the research findings and the analytical discussions regarding differences in types of IGAs among focus group participants, challenges focus group participants encounter in the informal sector, the type of and criteria for resource allocation among focus group participants, and the participants' perceptions of government policies and laws that address PWDs.

Chapter 5: Conclusions and Recommendations

The study ends with the conclusions of the study and recommendations.

The study commences in the following chapter with an overview of the material relating to disabled men and women in the informal sector, including a study of the literature dealing with gender and disability, work challenges disabled men and women encounter in their IGAs, how resources are allocated to disabled men and women in their IGAs, and the legislative and policy framework surrounding disabled men and women in the informal sector of Uganda.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

The literature on disabled men and women in the informal sector is limited. Most of the literature is located in the health sector and covers how disability incapacitates people and how it affects provision of services. The literature that covers how the energies of disabled men and women are not put to productive use and how they are prohibited from employment in the formal sector is generalised, and in some cases it merely focuses on particular cases. In this chapter, literature on six main themes is reviewed. A review of the literature on the informal sector provides the necessary background to appreciating the challenges that disabled men and women face in the informal sector. Secondly, a review of the literature on disability discusses the different types of impairments, and the perceptions of able bodied people regarding disabled men and women are presented. Literature on gender and disability enables an examination of the differences in the types of IGAs performed by disabled men and women in the informal sector. A review of the policies and legislation regarding disabled men and women with a specific focus on their economic development is presented. Literature on the criteria used by CBOs, government and NGOs in the allocation of resources among disabled men and women is discussed. In the final section of the chapter, the work challenges disabled men and women encounter in transacting their IGAs in the informal sector are presented.

2.1 The Informal Sector

2.1.1 Introduction

An informal sector exists in every country worldwide, and due to its rapid growth in developing countries, it has stimulated interest among academics, researchers and policy makers. This has led to different schools of thought on the informal sector, differing primarily with respect to their views on the size, causes and outcomes of the sector and its role in economic growth. They also differ with respect to how they view the linkage between the formal and informal sectors. In this section, I will present an overview of the informal sector. This will include the size and characteristics of the informal sector and its linkage to the formal sector, the role the informal sector plays in the Ugandan economy, and how it is beneficial to the empowerment of disabled men and women.

2.1.2 Historical Development of the Informal Sector

In the mid-1960s, the optimism about the prospects for economic growth in developing countries began to give way to concerns about persistent widespread unemployment. Reflecting this concern, the International Labour Organisation (ILO) mounted a series of large multi-disciplinary “employment missions” to various developing countries. The first of these was to Kenya in 1972. The Kenya employment mission, through its field work and in its official report, recognised that the traditional sector² had not just persisted, but expanded to include profitable and efficient enterprises, as well as marginal activities. To highlight this fact, the Kenya mission chose to use the term “informal sector” rather than “traditional sector” for the range of small-scale and unregistered economic activities that were emerging (ILO 2002).

Unemployment is one of the major causes of the existence and the persistence of the informal economy. As explained by Mulinge and Munyae 1998 (cited in Manona 2001), the emergence of the informal sector in African and other developing countries can, in the main, be attributed to the incapacity of the formal sector economy to create sufficient jobs to absorb the available labour force.

2.1.3 Description of the Informal Sector

Various scholars and practitioners have come up with different theories to define and explain the informal sector. Two dominant theoretical approaches: the definitional and the behavioural theoretical approaches describe the informal sector. According to the definitional approach, the informal sector is a sector whose economic activities may not necessarily conform to enterprise norms or official legislation, and are unrecorded in official statistics of the country such as gross national product (GNP), gross domestic product (GDP) and/or the national income accounts. This theory is characterized by economic activities carried out for basic survival or minimal profit, or be outright profit-oriented. It may be home-based self-employment, or full-time or part-time wage employment (Farrell, Roman & Fleming 2000).

The behavioural approach (sometimes referred to as the legalistic definition) is based on whether or not the activity complies with the established judicial, regulatory and institutional framework of a country. This approach is criticized because it does not distinguish between activities that are extra-

² The traditional sector comprises petty traders, small producers and a range of casual jobs.

regulatory, such as a food kiosk without a permit, and those that are extra-legal or criminal activities such as drug trafficking (Kuchta-Helbling 1996 and Saavedra & Chong 1999). This makes the concept of the informal sector somewhat difficult to define.

Since the informal sector is elusive, it lies between the definitional and behavioural approach in Uganda. The informal sector comprises a wide range of economic activities that take place through the market, operate outside the scope of employment law (lack job security, pensions, holidays and benefits), may not conform to official legislation (such as lacking a business permit) and are unrecorded in official statistics of the country. The sector ranges from employed people to self-employed persons engaged in part-time, full-time or seasonal activities to supplement their income. The informal sector comprises agricultural and non-agricultural activities. Due to the diversity of this sector, I will discuss non-agricultural activities in the informal sector.

Size and Coverage of the Informal Sector

Scholars and practitioners generally agree that informal sector activities are expanding rapidly (Thomas 1992) and cover a wide range of labour market activities, especially in developing countries. However, they disagree on its actual size and how to measure it. Different measurement techniques yield huge size variances for the same country and time period (Farrell et al. 2000), thereby complicating developing general measurement techniques, testing hypotheses and generating theories about the causes of and solutions for the informal sector. The ILO (2000) estimates the size of the informal sector in terms of the economic sector to be 48% in North Africa, 78% in sub-Saharan Africa,³ 51% in Latin America and 65% in Asia. In Uganda, the informal sector is said to be the biggest employer in both the urban and rural area, with 90% of the private sector in the country being involved in the informal sector (Liimatainen 1998). According to a report released by the Global Entrepreneurship Monitor, Uganda has 3.3 million entrepreneurs in a population of 26 million, one of the highest ratios in the world (The New Vision, 2005). However, according to the fifteenth international conference of labour statisticians guidelines (1993), individual countries can

³ This percentage excludes South Africa, where black-owned businesses were prohibited during the apartheid era and have only recently begun to be recognised and reported.

decide what to include in the informal sector and whether (or not) to include agriculture and domestic services in this sector⁴ (Becker 2004 and Carr & Chen 2002).

There are two schools of thought with divergent views on the coverage of the informal sector. The first school states that, on the one hand, the informal sector is formed by the coping behaviour of individuals and families in an economic environment where earning opportunities are scarce. On the other hand, the informal sector is a product of the rational behaviour of entrepreneurs who desire to escape state regulations (UNESCO & ILO 2002). The second school of thought claims that the population employed in the informal sector can be classified into two categories: persons exclusively employed in the informal sector, and persons employed both in and outside the informal sector. The latter category may be further divided into two sub-categories: persons whose main job is in the informal sector, and persons who are employed in the formal sector, but whose second job is in the informal sector (MacGaffey & Bazenguissa-Ganga 2000 and UN 1983).

Characteristics of the Informal Sector

The characteristics of the informal sector vary within and between countries and regions (Kuchta-Helbling, 2000). Various scholars generally identify the following characteristics of the informal sector: unregistered businesses that avoid paying taxes; free entry and exit of people in economic activities in response to market demand; reliance on indigenous resources and manual labour; a mixture of small financially sustainable self-employed producers; family ownership (i.e. small and/or unregistered) and wage employment⁵ in informal jobs; little or no capital required; small scale operations; labour intensive and adaptive technology; skills acquired outside of the formal sector; unregulated and competitive markets; the earning of low incomes; and unstable employment⁶ (McLaughlin 1990, Naidoo, Van Aardt & Ligthelm 2004 and UNESCO & ILO 2002). However, it should be noted that even though socially undesirable activities like prostitution and drug trafficking have characteristics of the informal sector, they are not included in the informal sector, but are referred to as the "hidden" or "underground" economy (Xaba, Horn & Motala 2002). MacGaffey &

⁴ Often it is not clear what the data includes or excludes. Also, data on the informal sector (excluding agriculture) are often compared to data on the total workforce (including agriculture), resulting in an under-estimation of the significance of the informal sector (ILO 2002).

⁵ Informal wage employment comprises employees of informal enterprises as well as various types of informal wage workers who work for formal enterprises, households, or those who have no fixed employer. These include casual day labourers, domestic workers, industrial outworkers (notably home workers), undeclared workers, and part-time or temporary workers without secure contracts, worker benefits or social protection (WIEGO, 2004).

⁶ Since the study is in Uganda, the characteristics of the informal sector mentioned above apply to African countries and other developing countries.

Baenguissa-Ganga (2000) argue that some of these activities break the law, while others are legitimate in themselves, but are carried out in a manner that avoids taxation.

The characteristics of the informal sector greatly contribute to the concentration of informal workers in specific locations like markets, open-air markets in designated railway stations, subway stations, bus stops/lorry stations, construction sites, central business district or residential sports complexes, neighbourhoods, homes, workshops, on streets of cities, towns and villages, street corners or sidewalks, road sides and residential areas. These locations are not only convenient to customers, but they sometimes have access to services like electricity and water supply, and hence incur minimal transaction costs (Bigsten, Kimuyu & Lundval 2004, ILO 2002 and McLaughlin 1990).

Capecchi (1989) and Kaufmann and Kaliberda (1996) argue that in most developed countries the informal sector activities often fall between the formal and informal sector rather than being deeply entrenched in the informal sector. Giving examples of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, Kaufmann and Kaliberda (1996) and MacGaffey and Bazenguissa-Ganga (2000) show how informal sector transactions are legally recognised by the state and are visibly conducted within large states and privately owned firms. Similarly, Capecchi (1998) and Portes et al. (1998) assert that the successful export-oriented economies of Hong Kong and Italy have benefited from networks of small and informal producers who market their goods through specialised import-export houses. Like developed countries, in order for developing states to sufficiently benefit from the informal sector nationally and internationally, they should make provisions for the creation of an enabling environment for the growth of the informal sector rather than overlook it.

2.1.4 Description of the Formal Sector

The formal sector comprises government or private agencies and has well-defined management and administrative systems. The activities in the formal sector are governed by legislation, salaries that meet the minimum wage levels stipulated by law and quotas, written contracts, and benefits such as pensions and paid holidays. This sector comprises the mining industry; the manufacturing industry; the construction industry; transport and communications; and the health, agricultural, forestry and finance sectors (Journal for Disability and International Development 2006 and Naidoo, van Aardt & Ligthelm 2004).

2.1.5 Linkages between the Informal and Formal Sectors

Naidoo et al. (2004) and Skinner (2002) assert that there is a linkage⁷ between the formal and informal sectors in the production and consumption of goods and services. Liles (1992) further contends that this linkage can be understood in terms of the commodity chain or value chain approach whereby the labour and production processes have their end results as a finished commodity. Informal sector workers may produce different inputs in a production process and, in the long run, produce the final product, which is consumed by the formal sector, and vice versa. Bigsten et al. (2004) therefore assert that some of the high quality goods in the formal sector are supplied by informal sector enterprises, thereby providing an important interface between the two sectors.

Unlike the formal sector, the informal sector in developing countries does not enjoy significant benefits from the state, notably from institutions providing jurisdictional services such as protection against burglars and other policing; access to financial banking and other commercial services like accessing credit facilities, due to their uncertain legal status; and lack of credit-rating procedures relevant for further investments (Becker 2004, Bigsten et al. 2004 and Portes et al.).

Available literature, however, shows that informal sector workers enjoy benefits from the state. Private and public microfinance specialists, including free or peripatetic savings and credit collectors, moneylenders, revolving savings and credit associations, village banks, registered cooperatives and credit unions are known to facilitate the growth of both sectors. A case in point is Uganda, where micro credit institutions frequently provide credit facilities and seed money to informal sector workers to start up and boost their businesses. These services increase the growth and size of the informal sector, making it a fundamental development issue in Uganda as well as in other developing countries (Micro-finance 2003). It can therefore be argued that whereas the formal sector enjoys full benefits from the state, the informal sector enjoys partial benefits due to its characteristics such as being an unregistered business so as to avoid paying taxes.

Apart from the benefits that informal workers derive from microfinance institutions, they are generally faced with a limited market to sell their products, leading to underselling, and hence problems with loan repayment (Market Linkage 2005). Further to this is that financial arrangements vary in degree

⁷ Linkages are inputs and outputs that cross from the informal to the formal sector and vice versa.

of security of savings, insurance and pension deposits, and accessibility to the very poor or particularly disadvantaged people. Access may depend on references from reputable organisations, institutions or family members. In some cases, arrangements only exist between people of the same ethnic group, or mutual arrangements are segregated by sex, and women may be disadvantaged (Micro-finance 2003).

Despite the linkage between the informal and formal sectors, Marxists view the informal sector as subordinate to the formal sector (Skinner 2002 and Xaba, Horn & Motala 2002). They argue that when the informal sector interacts with the formal sector, informal sector workers experience increased levels of exploitation and this is witnessed when the formal sector workers sub-contract informal sector workers, as informal workers work at lower production costs (Liles 1992). This situation leaves informal sector workers in a state of vulnerability, poverty and exploitation. Marxists further state in their benign approach³ that the informal sector has the capacity to grow (independently), regardless of its interaction with the formal sector. Therefore if the informal sector is legalised and nurtured rather than suppressed, a burst of competitive energy will be released, living standards and international trade will rise, and developing countries could service their huge and debilitating external debts easily (De Soto 2000). What the Marxists do not take into consideration in their projection is the fact that the state has no way of obtaining revenue from the informal sector, so the question of legalisation cannot arise. Considering also that the informal sector is an amorphous entity and often survives in an informal way - at country borders, for example - the possibility of legalising it is far from possible. In fact, MacGaffey and Baenguissa-Ganga (2000) have demonstrated very ably how sometimes government members use proxies or their relatives to run informal businesses. It would therefore be self-defeating if they set up rules regulating such businesses.

Some of the striking similarities between the formal and informal sectors are cases where some employees are exploited for the benefit of firm owners. Bigsten et al. (2004) and Charmes, Vanek, Chen, Guerrero, Carre, Negrete, Unni, & Budlender (2002) argue that the formal and informal sectors deny their workers job security by denying them appointment letters, permanent positions,

³ Marxists believe that the formal sector exploits the informal sector and that the informal sector has the capacity to exist independently of the formal sector. In reality, the Marxists' approach is flawed, because the informal sector thrives on the inadequacies of the formal sector.

paid leave and the right to work overtime, thereby violating the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, article 23(1), which recognises the right to work, to freely choose employment, and to have just and favourable working conditions.

Since various members of the informal sector operate illegally and are unrecognised by the state, their activities in most cases are not included in official statistics, therefore they have little opportunity to voice their concerns to government. For this reason, government policies and regulatory institutions that affect the entire population are made without data on a substantial amount of economic activity. This leads to misguided policy responses, which affect both the disabled and able-bodied carrying out productive activities in the informal sector (Brunetii, Kisunko & Weber 1997).

2.1.6 Role of the Informal Sector in Uganda

In Uganda, the emergence and expansion of informal sector employment was intertwined with the country's post-independence decades of a politico-economic legacy that led to a shrinking of the formal sector under the dictatorships of Idi Amin (1971-1979) and Milton Obote (1980-1985). Population growth, retrenchment of civil servants, declining employment in agriculture and structural inadequacies such as poor infrastructure caused thousands of household income earners to seek survival strategies in the informal sector, popularly known as "Magendo". People in Uganda who entered the informal sector as a way of survival are mainly young graduates, illiterate people, children and marginalised groups like women and disabled men and women, both skilled and unskilled (Albu 2005, ILO 2004 and ILO 2002). These informal workers are engaged in varied activities in the informal sector, which include criminal, irregular and household activities.⁹

Despite the fact that governments in many developing countries frustrate the work of the informal sector, De Soto (2000) sees informal sector entrepreneurs as having huge potential to contribute to economic growth. He comments that if informal operators' entrepreneurial spirit were legalised and nurtured rather than fettered and suppressed, a burst of competitive energy would be released, living standards would start rising, international trade would increase and developing countries could service their huge and debilitating external debts more easily (De Soto 2000).

⁹ Criminal activities include trade in illegally produced goods and services such as narcotics. The irregular sector consists of legally produced goods and services that are not legally reported and thus escape taxation. Household production includes goods produced in the household sector. Activities in all three categories could fall under the definitional or the behavioural approach (ILO 2002).

With regard to the lower capital-labour ratio compared with the formal sector, the informal sector creates a wealth of jobs at a minimal capital cost with the ability to satisfy demands at an affordable cost¹⁰ to all classes of people (ILO 2000 and Xaba et al. 2002). This sector has therefore become an employment haven for thousands of Ugandan men and women. A case in point is the expansion of the education system in Uganda, which currently releases approximately 390,000 graduates every year, 2% of whom are absorbed in the formal sector or official job market (The New Vision 2005), leaving other graduates with no choice but to join the informal sector (The Monitor 2001). Today, 50% of all informal workers are involved in retail trading (Xaba et al. 2002).

The expansion of employment in the informal sector has further contributed to people's ability to rely on small savings made from their businesses, which not only leads to economic growth (ILO 2002 and Xaba et al. 2002), but has also contributed to the increase of the country's GDP, which has risen to 5.3% (The World Bank Group 2007). The informal sector is indeed relevant for countries with rapid population growth and education expansion, particularly where there is a huge unemployment gap and the formal sector is not expanding.

The informal sector has been lucrative to Ugandans in that those involved in it have copied by learning to be innovative, opening up small businesses rather than waiting for employment in the formal sector. The creativity of Ugandans flocking to and starting small businesses in the informal sector has encouraged the Ugandan government to support people involved in the informal sector. This is witnessed in the "Entandikwa"¹¹ project scheme and Poverty Alleviation Project (PAP) credit schemes run by the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development (MGLSD), whose target groups are women, youth and persons with disabilities.

Xaba et al. (2002) strongly assert that it is difficult to enter into the technical area of the informal sector (as in working in garages and in some factories and trades) without a rudimentary level of skill or training. Whereas some owners and participants in those informal sector activities might have

¹⁰ Products provided at affordable prices are not necessarily of a low quality, but are sometimes a result of the use of cheap labour, different materials and different technologies, thereby giving the poor an opportunity to consume goods and services that were initially exclusively consumed by the rich.

¹¹ Local word meaning a loan to start a business.

learned the skills from formal sector activity, it is also true that some of them might have learned their skills by participating in the informal sector or through traditional education as apprentices (ILO 2000). In addition, other informal sector participants are creative and have come up with new innovations, although some of these innovations have unfortunately either been bought by or simply taken and used by formal sector firms (Madziakapita 2003).

Gender and the Informal Sector

As the main actors in the informal sector, women are estimated to make up two-thirds of informal sector workers in Africa. Available data, though, does not accurately reflect the extent of women's involvement in the informal sector, because some of it is home-based, unpaid and hard to measure (Moser 1994, Wheat 1997 and Xaba et al. 2002).

The world survey on the role of women in development reflects that 81% of women and 68% of men in Uganda of working age are employed in the informal sector (ILO 2000), thereby reducing inequality in formal and informal work between men and women (Lanjouw & Feder 2001). The World Bank (2003) and Xaba et al. (2002) argue that there is a gender gap between women and men in the informal sector. Women are under-represented in high income activities and over-represented in low income activities such as sub-contracted work. The gender gap may be attributed to a number of factors, which include women lacking sufficient capital; their involvement in gender roles, for instance, child rearing and housework; and their lack of skills and knowledge (Baliddawa 2003, ILO 2002 and WWDA 1998). Fretwell and Colombano (2000) point out that skills and education have a positive rate of return and are essential to increased earnings and productivity. On the other hand, however, from a general point of view, irrespective of the gender gap between men and women in the informal sector, this sector is an important factor in the socio-economic empowerment of men and women in Uganda and worldwide today.

Disabled Men and Women and the Informal Sector

Little research has been done on disabled men and women in the informal sector. Where such information exists, it shows that there is minimal government intervention, and therefore disabled men and women have joined the informal sector through organisations that are often donor-funded and non-competitive (ILO 2002, Macgaffey & Bazenguissa-Gang 2000 and Xaba et al. 2002). These

organisations not only reduce the burden of the government with regard to aiding PWDs, but improve the income, standard of living and sense of self-worth of disabled men and women in any society.

From the literature reviewed on the informal sector, it can be established that despite its weaknesses and controversial roles in relation to the formal sector, the informal sector stands out vividly as the most important labour sponge in Africa's labour markets, which has economically empowered men and women in society. The limited literature that addresses the economic empowerment of the disabled men and women in the informal sector points to the need for further discussion about how they have joined the informal sector and the differences in the types of informal sector activities they are involved in today.

2.2 Disability

Disabled men and women are an important human resource all over the world and they possess similar basic needs and rights to other people in society.

Disability is a concept that has proved to be very controversial and difficult to define and measure, considering that it is an umbrella term that includes impairments, activity limitations and participation restrictions. Various conceptual models that include the social model, medical model, charity model and International Classification of Functioning, Disability and Health (ICF)¹² model have been developed to define disability. In this study, the social model is used to address disability.

The social model locates disability as a purely social construct (Brunhns, Murray, Nuukuawot & Kanguahi 1995 and Given 2005, Mitra 2005). It is perceived as a socially imposed restriction associated with the complex system of constraints imposed on people with impairments by discriminatory societies. For instance, a person with an impairment may not be able to find work, not because of an inability to work *per se*, but as a result of being discriminated against or because of the inaccessibility of work places (Barnes & Mercer 1995, Disabled People of South Africa 2001,

¹²In the charity model, persons with disabilities are to be pitied and helped by welfare approaches (Coleridge 1993 and Lwanga-Ntale 2004). The ICF model developed by the World Health Organisation is an integration of the medical and the social models (WHO 2001). This model starts with a health condition that gives rise to impairments, and then activity limitations and participation restrictions in situations like learning and applying knowledge, mobility, education, employment, and economic self-sufficiency (Mitra 2005).

Mitra 2005 and Silvers, Wasserman & Mahowald 1998). In comparison, in the medical model, disability is considered to be a problem of the individual that is directly caused by a disease, an injury or other health conditions, and that requires medical care in the form of treatment and rehabilitation (DPSA 2001, Mitra 2005 and Silvers et al. 1998). However, the medical definition of disability fails to distinguish between illness and disability, although Wendall (1996) argues that illness can be a preceding or chronic cause of disability, and disability can equally cause illness. She draws examples of diabetes that causes a variety of impairments, such as loss of limbs and blindness. On the other hand, some disabilities, like paraplegia and quadriplegia due to spinal cord injury, have significant tendencies to cause illness and health problems, for instance chronic pain, circulatory difficulties leading to skin breakdown and recurring bladder infections (Wendall 1996). Other scholars have also disagreed with the medical definition of disability, stating that this definition underestimates the proportion of disabled men and women and does not fully reflect the definition of disability, considering that a blind man or a paraplegic woman requires nothing special in the way of medical care (Wendall 1996). DPSA (2001) also contends that the medical model does not take into account the many social factors that may have an effect on “day-to-day activities.”

For the purposes of this research study, and to understand disability holistically, the social model is used to define and address disability. Disability is any condition that deprives a person from performing activities in a way that is either necessary for survival in a given society or necessary to participate in some major aspect of life in a given society, and requires rehabilitation.

With respect to various models, population estimates of disabled men and women derived from national censuses or national population surveys cannot be comparable across countries because different countries perceive and report disability in different ways. Studies show that some countries perceive and report disability in terms of diagnosis and screening, the medicalisation of problems, perceived standards of good health, and eligibility to public benefits based on disability. Not only do these factors explain why there is a higher reported disability prevalence in developed countries compared to developing countries,¹³ but they impede the collection of data, which may contribute to poor planning on the part of government policy makers (South Africa Government document 2005).

¹³ This research study does not involve people with minor injuries or diseases that may or may not lead to disability, for example, diabetes, meningitis and high blood pressure.

Whereas impairment can be permanent, temporary, episodic, intermittent and perceived, the exact population of disabled men and women cannot easily be established in Uganda and worldwide. According to World Health Organisation (1998) estimates, PWDs account for 10% of the total world population, with 80% living in developing countries (Handicap International 2004). With reference to the Ugandan population, which is 24,442,084, according to the Ugandan definition of disability, 4% are PWDs as compared to 3.3% using the international definition (Uganda Bureau of Statistics 2005), but estimates of people with specific disabilities suggest even larger numbers. The exact proportion of males to females varies across age groups, but has not been established.

2.2.1 Causes and Types of Impairments

Different scholars and scientists have advanced numerous causes of impairments. At the primary level, impairment is caused by peri-natal disturbances (mental retardation, somatic hereditary defects and non-genetic disorders) and post-natal paediatric handling and birth defects that are often a result of the mother being weakened by frequent child birth. Impairment is also caused by malnutrition in children (caused by poverty and diseases), inadequate immunisation programmes and alcoholism (Beresford 1996, Brunhns et al. 1995, ILO 2004, Lwanga-Ntale 2004, Republic of Uganda 2006 and Silvers et al. 1998). At the secondary level, impairment is caused by calamitous events such as hurricanes and earthquakes, drug abuse, wars and civil strife, landmines, trauma, injury and accidents (traffic, occupational and home accidents).¹⁴

Impairment takes different forms and is acquired at any time irrespective of gender, age, race and ethnicity. The most common forms include but are not limited to: physical, visual, mental, speech and hearing impairments (DPSA 2001 and Lwanga-Ntale 2003).

Physical Impairment

Physical impairment is mainly due to damage of muscles, nerves, skin or bones that causes paralysis or amputation of limbs. This leads to difficulties in movements and in performing the activities of daily living, but does not cause general weakness, or long-lasting or acute pain. Examples of physical disabilities include congenital abnormalities, cerebral paralysis, quadriplegia,

¹⁴ In a related case in Uganda, disability was caused indirectly by corruption, when ministers of health were involved in the buying of expired vaccination that were given to children and resulted in a large population being disabled (Human Rights Report, 1999).

paraplegia, hemiplegia and post-polio paralysis¹⁵ (Silvers et al. 1998 and Swain, Finkelstein, French, & Oliver 1993). In order to have an independent and secure living, physically disabled men and women use personal assistants or service dogs, and assistive devices such as wheelchairs, orthotics and prosthetics (splints, special shoes and artificial limbs), callipers, walking frames and crutches in their movements (Davies 1982, DPDU 2005 and Silvers et al. 1998).

Visual Impairment

Visual impairment ranges from low vision or partial vision to blindness (total loss of eyesight). People with partial vision or low vision are people with a limited degree and focus of sight that cannot easily be corrected with spectacles. They may have squints or tunnel vision, and need special lighting to be able to see, or may have blurred vision caused by cataracts or brain damage (DPSA 2001 and Given 2005). Blindness is caused by the mechanisms of the eyes or brain (Silvers et al. 1998). Visually impaired people may have difficulties in movement, performing daily activities, reading and writing. Therefore they usually need to use white canes, braille writing tools, specialised computers, specialised spectacles, service dogs or personal assistants to assist with reading, movement and driving, and as assistive devices for their daily activities (Brunhns et al. 1995, DPDU 2005 and DPSA 2001).

Hearing Impairment

Hearing impairment ranges from mild hearing impairment to severe or total difficulty in hearing. Mild hearing impairment includes hearing sounds faintly, hearing only certain frequencies and severe or total difficulty in hearing associated with inability to hear any sounds. Hearing impairment may lead to difficulties in learning a spoken language, problems with communication, decrease in language development, verbal expressions and behavioural problems due to frustrations and accidents. People with severe or total hearing impairment usually use sign language interpreters to break down communication barriers between the deaf and the hearing world, and those who have mild hearing disability or are hard of hearing usually need to use hearing aids to communicate. Telephone aids

¹⁵ Congenital abnormalities are abnormalities seen right from birth. Cerebral paralysis is loss of sensation or loss of ability to control movement, which is frequently caused by trauma at birth, mobility, vision, or sometimes learning impairment. It damages the brain, causing muscle unco-ordination. Quadriplegia is a substantial loss of function in all four limbs. Paraplegia is a substantial loss of function in the lower part of the body. Hemiplegia is a substantial loss of function on one side of the body (arm and leg), often due to a stroke or as a result of epilepsy. Post-polio paralysis is weakness in some muscles and under-development of some limbs.

that include an amplifying telephone handset are also fitted to the telephone to help the deaf (Brunhns et al. 1995, Davies 1982, DPDU 2005 and DPSA 2001).

Speech Impairment

Speech impairment is associated with difficulty in conveying messages or being understood, or being completely dumb, leading to the use of sign language in some cases. Children may be born dumb, or as they grow, they may fail to speak or convey messages clearly. Although the cause of speech disability is frequently unknown, it is sometimes associated with hearing loss, neurological disorders, brain injury, mental retardation, drug abuse, hypertension, physical impairments such as cleft lip or palate, and vocal abuse or misuse (Cohen 2006, Hamaguchi 2001 and Silvers et al. 1998).

Mental Illness

Mental illness may be caused by physical head trauma; cognitive, psychiatric and learning disabilities. These may be a result of spinal cord injury; and infectious diseases such as cerebral malaria, meningitis in its late stages and HIV/AIDS. Mentally disabled people therefore need health facilities, particular attention and care for secure living (CDC 1994, Fox 1994, Hales 1996 and US Department of Health 1994).

Intellectual / Learning Impairment

Learning impairment is caused by slowness in a child's growth and development as compared to his/her peers, leading to difficulties in learning, storing new information and sometimes adapting to new situations. Gates (2006) states that special communication boards and adapted computers are useful assistive devices for communication among intellectually impaired people (Gates 2006).

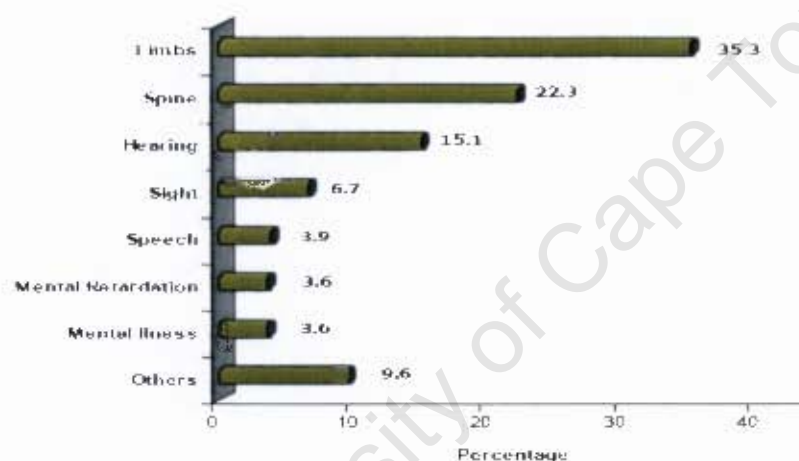
Multiple Impairment

Some people have more than one impairment or a combination of any of the above impairments. This situation is mainly experienced among poor social groups (Brunhns et al. 1995), and it requires the use of personal assistance and interpreters where necessary for those involved to live independently and participate fully in communities.

Some studies regard difficulty in learning, leprosy, rheumatism, old age, chronic illness (epilepsy) and numbness that is caused by lack of sensation as forms of impairment (DPDU 2005).

Figure 1, below, illustrates the percentage distribution of types of impairments by their nature in Uganda.

Figure 1: Percentage Distribution of Persons with Disabilities by Type¹⁶



Source: 2002 Uganda Population and Housing Census Main Report

Figure 1 illustrates that people with physical impairment constitute the largest proportion of disabled men and women (35%). The second largest proportion of disabled men and women consists of those with serious spine problems (22%). People with hearing impairments make up 15%, sight difficulties 6.7%, difficulty in speech 3.9%, mental retardation 6%, mental illness 3.6% and others 9.6%. It may be argued that this form of distribution of PWDs by type can be expected and is attributed to the current 21-year-old civil war in northern Uganda, which has led to many Ugandans becoming physically impaired.

¹⁶The percentages of types of disability in the figure were derived from the 2002 Uganda Population and Housing Census definition of disability as a condition that denies a person a normal economic and social life. Epilepsy and rheumatism are classified as disabilities in this figure (2002 Uganda Population and Housing Census, 2005)

2.2.2 Able-bodied People's Perceptions of Disabled Men and Women

Prior to the twentieth century in western democracies, culture and the law regarded all women as worthless. They were not allowed to vote, own property, or retain custody of their own children because they were imagined to be too biologically fragile and emotional, and thus too dependent to bear responsibility. Even when the Women's Disabilities Bill was debated in the English Parliament in the 1870s, it only addressed women's rights, leaving out problematic physical and cognitive conditions, thus rationalising women with disabilities' (WWDs) inferior and unfavourable legal treatment (Silvers et al. 1998). Today, disabled men and women are perceived differently in society.

In his study, Lwanga-Ntale (2003) argues that society perceives disabled people in different ways, depending on their type of impairment and gender. He draws examples of WWDs, children with disabilities, people with severe mental and intellectual impairments, epileptics, elderly disabled men and women, youth with impairments and people with multiple impairments as facing greater exclusion among able bodied people and other PWDs compared to other types and categories of impairments. They are stereotyped as helpless, ignorant, unworthy and lacking in substance. These stereotypes create social barriers to disabled men's and women's success at multiple levels in society that may limit severely the disabled individual's capacity to perform (Levinson & Parrit 2006 and Lorenzo 2005). However, other scholars show that society negatively perceives and regards all PWDs as homogeneous (ADD 2000, Barnes & Oliver 1995, Gerschick 2000, Hans & Patri 2003, Seeley 2001, UNAPD 2006 and Xaba et al. 2002).

Seeley (2001) argues that at the family level, disabled men and women are rarely counted among family members, and are often hidden from public view, since they are considered worthless to their families. As far as mainstream development is concerned, they are forgotten, leading to a dependency syndrome that prevents disabled men and women from accessing socio-economic services (UNAPD 2006). The deep-rooted discrimination¹⁷ and marginalisation are replicated by

¹⁷In the context of disability, discrimination is a negative difference in treatment applied on the basis of the criterion of disability. Discrimination can either be direct or indirect. Direct discrimination refers to laws, practices and other infrastructure that specifically excludes/ marginalises disabled men and women from mainstream society. Indirect discrimination occurs when laws, practices and other infrastructure ignore the fact that for a person with a disability to enjoy a particular right or facility, there is a need to remove obstacles that make it impossible for him/her to have equal access to the right in question. Such discrimination occurs because society is organised in such a way as to effectively exclude disabled men and women (UNAPD 2006).

communities, government, in the voluntary sector and in other spaces like at work, health centres and schools. For instance, the limited number of schools and rehabilitation centres in developing countries reflects the negative perception governments and other stakeholders have towards PWDs (Society for the Physically Handicapped 2002). Barnes & Mercer (1995) also make a case in point of the 1995 United Nations World Summit on Social Development, where disabled men and women were denied an opportunity to discuss disability issues, even though these issues were part of the agenda.

UNAPD (2006) therefore asserts that not only does this discrimination result in adult illiteracy among disabled men and women, and economic and physical dependence, due to their being unskilled and unrehabilitated, but also in a denial of their rights, which leads to disabled men and women being disrespected by and vulnerable in society. It is therefore evident that society's perception of disabled men and women has not only contributed to a challenging task for families of disabled men and women and government incurring heavy costs to provide for their basic needs,¹⁸ but the waste of a huge human resource. This argument suggests that if disabled men and women are not marginalised and discriminated against in society, they have the potential and capacity to work and sustain themselves. This has been proved in cases where some disabled men and women have fought their way past society's perceptions and managed to gain an education and become literate and skilled. Consequently, disabled men and women have got involved in community activities and been able to work in the formal and informal sectors. They have, however, met work challenges at their work places, in remuneration and in other places where the facilities are inappropriate for disabled men and women, like transport and access to multi-storied buildings.

Studies show that disabled employees have a different perception of their employers. The employee (PWD) expects his/her employer to be considerate and provide what he/she needs. However, Silvers et al. (1998) argue that employers do not owe their employees all that they need, since satisfying some needs may prevent satisfying those of others. In light of Silvers et al.'s (1998) argument, the 1990 American Disability Act, section 503 of the Rehabilitation Act, provides that the employer need offer only what is required for the employee to do his/her job, as long as the cost of accommodating him/her is not unreasonable when compared with the employer's entire budget. It is therefore important to recognise that employers' refusal or failure to employ disabled men and women may be

¹⁸ Whereas most developed countries provide grants and medical aid to PWDs, most developing countries only provide medical aid.

attributed to trying to avoid having to give special attention to the needs of disabled men and women, which may have been unplanned for and/or costly.

In relation to the above, the minister for the disabled in Britain stated,

As a society, we have a long way to go before we accept disabled people as full members of our economic and social community. The stereotyped image of a disabled person is still a figure in a wheel chair. It is important that PWDs are seen as individuals who have individual abilities and skills, as well as having individual needs (Parliamentary record 1990:1).

This statement calls for all people to realise that it is high time to stop marginalising and discriminating against PWDs, and to give them an opportunity to prove their abilities. This should be done socially, politically, economically and culturally.

Despite the negativity many people have towards PWDs, it is worth noting that some people's perception of disabled men and women is not always negative. Ingstad (1999), for example, cites studies from Mexico and Botswana that claim that the birth of a disabled child is perceived as evidence of God's trust in specific parents' ability to care for a vulnerable person. It is through this good care that PWDs gain confidence and self-esteem, thereby taking up different kinds of jobs in the world today. In this regard, it is important to look at the position and potential contribution of disabled men and women in the world today, rather than perceiving them negatively.

2.3 Gender and Disability

While medical and legal discourses of disability in terms of health, employment and sexuality are exposed in post-colonial contexts, relatively few studies have explored humanistic perspectives and dimensions of disability in constituting, reassembling or deploying narratives and theories regarding their gender (Barron 1997, Swain, Finkelstein, French & Oliver 1993 and Wendall 1996). The limited available literature on this topic notes that there is a significant debate about gender differences. This study will attempt to reveal the gender dimensions of the differences between disabled men and women with regard to the activities they engage in, in the informal sector.

Contemporary feminist theorists contend that disabled men and women are often represented as being without gender, passive victims of oppression, asexual creatures and freaks of nature

(Meekosha 2004, Philipott 1994 and Swain et al. 1993). In cases where gender is recognised among disabled men and women, gender stereotypes have been used to characterise disabled women as incomplete human beings, and men as deformed and having a sense of passivity. Disabled men are gendered as feminine in terms of an implied dependency and passivity and because they are seen as lacking masculine traits (Hans & Patri 2003, Meekosha 2004, Pfeiffer 1991, Swift 1998 and Titchkosky 2003). Meekosha (2004) and Swain et al. (1993) argue that these images have severe socio-economic consequences for the disabled men and women as mothers, fathers, wives, lovers, activists and feminists. The above arguments can be linked to Abu-Habib (1997) and Priestley (2003), who look at disability as the most obvious factor that influences social identity among disabled men and women, leading to society overlooking their gender differences. It should therefore be noted that PWDs do possess gender differences that influence their social identity and participation in society. However, disability is generally invisible in terms of feminism's mainstream agenda.

Some feminist scholars vigorously contest anti-feminist theorists on gender issues. Gerschick (2000) challenges anti-feminist theorists on gender issues among disabled men and women and argues that although some scholars do not recognise the gender difference among disabled men and women, disability is gendered. He clearly states that all people (disabled and able-bodied) have gender differences, but do not experience the same degree and type of gender socialisation and expectations. Wendall (1996) asserts that the similarities between disabled men and women are mainly aspects of social oppression, medical categorisation, neglect in educational needs, job discrimination and enforced poverty. Hyde and Dirke (undated) and Gerschick (2000) argue that disability affects the gendering process in many ways. Gerschick (2000) and Mekosha (2004) contend that the age of onset combined with the type of impairment influences the degree to which the disabled man or woman is taught and subjected to gender expectations. Gerschick (2000) cites an example of an infant who is physically disabled at birth and argues that the social world will assign him or her to sex and gender categories, but will likely hold fewer gender expectations than for an infant who is able-bodied. He also cites a case illustrating that when the onset of an impairment occurs later in a child's life, he or she will have experienced a significant amount of gender socialisation and internalised many gendered expectations, hence his or her struggles for

social validation as a woman or man will begin with a different level of awareness and commitment to gender.

Hyde and Dirke further challenge anti-feminist theorists' allegations on gender issues among disabled men and women. They, for instance, assert that there are impairments that are invisible and those that are visible. They give examples of some physical impairments, learning impairments and mental impairments as invisible impairments, because individuals having them can pass as able bodied, contrary to other impairments. Disabled men and women with invisible impairments may have unique experiences that are not socially recognised (Hyde & Dirke (undated) and Mekosha 2004). For that reason, it is worth mentioning that these disabled men and women may easily fit into the mainstream compared to other types of disabilities.

It is therefore evident that despite anti-feminist theorists' failure to recognise the gendered differences of disabled men and women, gender differences between disabled men and women do exist.

It is generally assumed that everyone has the same ability to understand, respond to, learn and be held accountable for gendered expectations. However, Gerschick (2000) argues that this should not be the case with disabled men and women, considering that they have varied types of impairments. He uses an example of a person with a learning impairment who may not be able to comprehend some aspects of gender, and consequently would largely be beyond the reach of sanctions, while the same does not hold true for a person with a physical disability. Different impairments affect individuals' gender performance (Gerschick 2000 and O'Brien 2005).

Gerschick (2000) offers another example, namely that physically disabled men do not have the privilege of enjoying their masculine gender, because their masculinity collides with their being stigmatised as disabled men. This causes status inconsistency, since having a disability erodes most, but not all, masculine privileges. At this stage, Gerschick (2000) believes that comprehensive theories about the relationship between disability and gender remain elusive, and recommends that in order to acknowledge gender among PWDs, disabled men and women must be recognised by others as "appropriately" masculine or feminine.

2.3.1 Women with Disability

In many countries, women with disabilities are excluded from all important areas of life: social interactions, such as friendships, marriage and parenthood; developmental activities in education and training; and economic opportunities in the area of employment (Fairchild 2000).

Whereas the South African White Paper for Social Welfare (1997) and Swain et al. (1993) assume that disabled men and women share similar experiences of isolation, marginalisation, oppression and discrimination, other scholars argue that WWDs are worse off than men (Gerschick 2000, Hans et al. 2003, Thomas 2001, Wendall 1996, World Bank 2003 and WWDA 2003). Liberal feminists, for example, assert that in Canada, the rise of neo-liberalism has deepened severe oppression and exclusion of WWDs on the basis of their gender and sexuality (Vera & Crooks 2005). These scholars further argue that not only are WWDs left out of the decision-making process in organisations of PWDs, but are also neither included in gender specific programmes nor disability-specific programmes (Mulindwa 2003 and Vera & Crooks 2005). This is linked to the lack of training, information and resources for effective outreach and the lack of disability related accommodation (Singleton, Breslin, Lewis & Metts 2003). Employed WWDs are under-represented in higher income employment opportunities and over-represented in the lower income jobs with few opportunities for advancement. However, the employment factor could be attributed to their lack of or poor skills and low education. The gender inequality experienced by WWDs socio-economically has a detrimental effect on them, since they are first of all marginalised like all other women; secondly, they are marginalised in society due to the fact that they are disabled; and even within the disability context, they are marginalised as disabled women, thus being triple marginalised. This approach towards WWDs reinforces traditional stereotypes of women as dependent, passive and helpless. As a result, WWDs have fewer choices in life and are seen by society as "less valuable." In order for WWDs to participate and gain equally in various fields in society, governments should consider factors like awareness raising in communities and the provision of incentives, while resources should be stepped up from the grassroots level to the highest levels in society.

Parekh (2005) argues that the misconception regarding disabled men and women as dependents in research studies may be one reason why disability and gender have not been extensively researched. The researcher does not agree with Parekh's argument, considering Swain et al.'s

(1993) claim that a country's policy making and service delivery structure cannot be appropriate, effective and efficient without taking into account the relationship between gender and disability.

Swain et al. (1993) assert that the issue of gender as a social construct is as important for disabled men as it is for disabled women. This is because the interrelationship between gender and disability is a key factor in determining not only the social and economic opportunities of disabled men and women, but also their empowerment. NGOs of and for the disabled¹⁹ have been developed to empower disabled men and women to participate in IGAs, which will in turn improve their socio-economic welfare.

2.3.2 Differences in the Types of Business Activities of PWDs in the Informal Sector

Much of the literature on disabled men's and women's economic activities generally reflects the problems the disabled face in formal employment (Pfeiffer 1991, Vera & Crooks 2002 and Wolfgang 1998). There is hardly any specific reference made to the different types of impairments, whether the disabled are employed in the formal or informal sector.

Despite the fact that disabled men and women have fewer resources for survival, some of them are self-employed, while others are employed in various businesses in the informal sector. A matrix that exemplifies the variances within disabled men's and women's activities in the informal sector common in developing countries clearly brings out the differences among the disabled in the informal sector. From a compilation of various books, table 1 is my own exposition of the IGAs in which some people with different types of disabilities are engaged in the informal sector.

¹⁹ NGOs for PWDs are NGOs that are focused on specific impairment groups. They include UNAD, UNAB and UNAPD. NGOs of PWDs are NGOs that were established on the premise of uni-disability. They target various types of disabilities. These NGOs include NUDIPU, NUWODU and ADD. Examples of NGOs of PWDs are NUDIPU, NUWODU and ADD (Kandyomunda et al. 2001).

Table 1: Activities Carried out by Disabled Men and Women in the Informal Sector

| Type of disability | Activities of disabled men | Activities of disabled women |
|---------------------------------|---|---|
| Hearing impaired/deaf persons | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Carpentry and joinery • Tailoring • Painting and decorating • Welding and fabrication • Casual labour | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tailoring • Cookery • Knitting • Handcraft making |
| Speech impaired/dumb persons | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Metal welding and fabrication • Carpentry and joinery | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tailoring • Cookery • Knitting • Handcraft making |
| Physically disabled persons | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Petty trade • Beer brewing and selling • Shoe making/repair and leather work • Metal welding and fabrication • Carpentry and joinery • Tailoring • Bee keeping • Motor vehicle and bicycle repair • Electronics assembly and repair • Handcraft making • Bakery • Watch repairing • "Boda boda²⁰" riding | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tailoring • Bee keeping • Motor vehicle and bicycle repair • Electronics assembly and repair • Handcraft making • Petty trade • Beer brewing and selling • Bakery • Tailoring • Bee keeping • Food vending • Handcraft making • Poultry keeping |
| Visually impaired/blind persons | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bee keeping • Family members carry out business activities on behalf of the visually impaired persons | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Basket weaving • Family members carry out businesses activities on behalf of the visually impaired persons |

Source: Lwanga-Ntale (2003), Whyte & Muyinda (2001) and Miles (1996)

In the informal sector, there is easy access to self-employment whereby anyone can take up an IGA, as the IGAs that PWDs engage in do not require a high level of training and they are not limited to only able bodied people. The informal sector has attracted disabled men and women, since in many cases they are denied any form of training, because the parents prefer to educate the able bodied children. Provided the disabled men and women devote ample time to their work and have considerable starting capital (depending on the type of business they decide to start up) they are able to manage their businesses in the informal sector. The informal sector also makes it possible to acquire the necessary knowledge and skills in the practice of these activities (Hoogeveen 2004). This explains why disabled men and women have flocked to the informal sector. Nonetheless,

²⁰ A system of transport where cyclists transport people on motorcycles, tricycles and bicycles; commonly used in third world countries.

WWDs are less likely to engage in or seek for jobs compared to disabled men. For example, an analysis of autobiographies written by visually impaired people revealed that visually impaired men were more likely than visually impaired women to seek jobs within the visually impaired community (Parekh 2005). This could be linked to Meekosha's (2004) and Lorenzo's (2005) assertion that society stereotypes WWDs as dependent and passive, which creates social barriers to their success at multiple levels.

UNESCO and ILO (2002) argue that whereas the informal sector enables women to perform traditional gender roles as well as other productive activities, they remain trapped in low productive and lesser-paid activities. This has resulted in women having inadequate funds to engage in better-paid IGAs, inadequate skills, poor marketing facilities and low consumer demand (Disability report 2003, Hasting 1998 and UNESCO & ILO 2002). UNESCO and ILO (2002) state that men are not affected by traditional gender roles, since culturally they are the main economic providers, hence they can indulge in both relatively low productive and highly productive activities, depending on the nature of their impairment, their will and their finances. However, both disabled men and women are affected by production and marketing processes in their activities in the informal sector. Nevertheless, the productive activities that disabled men and women perform in the informal sector have enabled them to initiate their own ways of living and have promoted their recognition as capable people in society (ADD 2001 and ILO 2004). This argument challenges Wendall's (1996) assertion about the public regarding disability as an inability to earn wages.

In relation to the above, ILO (2004) and Lwanga-Ntale (2003) contend that there are cases where WWDs lack the opportunity to work due to cultural beliefs. This problem has important implications for WWDs. Firstly, by not working, WWDs have less money and thus fewer choices, experience increased dependency on others, and have less financial security later in life. Secondly, a lot of status in society is based on one's occupation and employment achievements. Women who are unemployed, or who work in the home are seen by society as "less valuable" than those in paid employment (ILO 2004, Khotkina 2005 and WWDA 2003). Lwanga-Ntale's (2003) argument therefore brings us to the conclusion that as a result of the gender-based biases within the informal

sector, WWDs are poorer and more likely than men with disability to live in households experiencing hunger.²¹

General information from the research literature shows that just like all other women, disabled women spend more time than men on non-market activities or unpaid work, thereby concentrating less on their productive activities (Lee 2005). But time expenditures of women are undervalued by society, which is not only unjust, but affects their participation in the informal sector. Society refuses to recognise or value such activities (non-market activities or unpaid work) as economic activities, leading to declining investments in the informal sector. This “vicious cycle” is the main mechanism of influence of gender inequality in the participation of women in development throughout the world, and it significantly affects WWDs (Khotkina 2005). With an illustration from Uganda, this kind of argument has partly contributed to business development support projects observing gender mainstreaming²² in every stage of planning and implementation of their activities with disabled men and women. This not only allows disabled women to have access to business activities in the informal sector, but also to compete favourably in the world of work today (ADD 2001).

With regard to the available literature, it can therefore be concluded that women with disabilities do not only need “incentives” as “motivation” to take up employment in the informal sector. What they need is the elimination of discrimination and negative stereotypes from a gender and disability perspective, which compound their exclusion from support services, social and economic opportunities, and participation in community life (ILO 1998 and WWDA 2003). In the same vein, laws, policies and programmes that protect the socio-economic status of both disabled women and men have been enacted in various countries worldwide. These are discussed in the section that follows.

²¹ Risk, Vulnerability and Vulnerable Groups. Available: http://www.ebapps5/sp/risk_management/PDF_files/RVA-V6.pdf. 23 June 2006.

²² Gender mainstreaming refers to transforming existing development agenda to include a gender perspective. It involves focusing on women's concerns, gender relations and increasing women's participation as decision makers in determining development priorities. Women participate in all developmental decisions, including setting goals and objectives, plan implementation and the assessment of the impact of development on women (UNDP 2003).

2.4 Legislative and Policy Framework for PWDS in the Informal Sector

There are international, regional and national policies on PWDs. These policies vary considerably from region to region and from country to country. Some policies are derived from international conventions and are inserted in national constitutions and other relevant organisational mandates. Many are framed in such a way as to obligate states to undertake them. Of course, even when a state ratifies some of these policies, it may be incapable in some way or another of fulfilling them (Becker 2004). For example, in South Africa, policy implementation issues are not addressed consistently at different levels of government, due to limited conceptual understanding, inadequate or inappropriate institutional arrangements and lack of capacity. In addition, the definition and nature of PWDs' participation has not been adequately reviewed and articulated, and the policy requirements for disability mainstreaming are not adequately linked to performance management (Charowa & Dube 2005).²³ This section will cover policies and laws regarding disabled men and women with a specific focus on their economic development.

2.4.1 International Policy

International, regional and national organisations and NGOs have played a key role in developing and influencing legislative frameworks and programmes at the global and national levels that address the key issues of disabled men and women with a view to promoting their full participation in all aspects and sectors of society, particularly in the world of work. These organisations include, but are not limited to, the United Nations (UN), World Health Organisation (WHO), Organisation of American States (OAS), European Union (EU), African Union (AU) and National Union of Disabled Persons of Uganda (NUDIPU). In these organisations' charters, conventions and protocols they direct special attention to specific and disadvantaged groups of society, including persons with disabilities. Examples of these policies are provisions on human rights, equal opportunities, and the elimination of discriminatory attitudes and practices regarding people with disabilities.

The UN and the EU, for example, advocated for human rights and equalisation of opportunities for disabled men and women in the 1970s. The UN General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Rights of Disabled Persons (1975), which stipulates that PWDs are entitled to equal treatment and

²³ Where successful implementation has occurred, it has largely been due to political support by the minister and senior civil servants in charge of departments; and/or the sustained commitment and ongoing advocacy by the disability sector led by Disabled People South Africa (Charowa & Dube 2005).

equal access to services. Although this declaration was dealing with PWDs, at the drafting stage, the opinions and views of the PWDs were not sought. As a result, PWDs do not embrace the declaration fully. From a legal perspective, Article 7 of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), article 2(2) of the 1966 International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and article 18(4) of the 1981 African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (Banjul Charter) generally recognise equality before the law and equal protection by the law for all people, including non-discrimination on any grounds, including gender, race and disability. Therefore, PWDs are free to exercise their right to full citizenship. Whereas these conventions indirectly address PWDs, anecdotal evidence shows that the disabled have not adequately used them to advocate and champion their rights, due to factors like ignorance, lack of a strong disability bodies to champion their rights and governments frustrating the PWDs' efforts.

A specific reference to the disabled is article 25(1) of the 1948 UDHR, which recognises the socio-economic rights of people with disabilities. It states very explicitly that disabled men and women have a right to an adequate standard of living, including food, clothing, housing, medical care and social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood and old age. This declaration is in accordance with the Beijing Declaration on the Rights of People with Disabilities (2000), which calls for a higher standard of living for the disabled, equal participation, and the elimination of discriminatory attitudes and practices. These policies place responsibility on the state to take special measures to promote the socio-economic rights of the disabled by providing for measures to facilitate social and economic benefits so that they are able to achieve the greatest possible development and empower themselves socio-economically.

There are two conventions that are key to disabled women. The first is the 1979 Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). Article 3 of the convention provides for the protection of the rights of all women, whether disabled or not. This convention enables and calls for disabled women globally to exercise their rights socially and economically. The other is the International Labour Organisation (ILO) in its Convention (No. 159) concerning Vocational Rehabilitation and Employment of Disabled Persons (1983). These conventions obligate states to ensure that they observe the respective articles exclusively dealing with the disabled.

In order to exercise the rights and increase the level of independence in the daily lives of PWDs, WHO obligates states to ensure the development and supply of support services, including assistive devices for PWDs. WHO envisages that these services will enable PWDs to perform their vocational activities effectively and efficiently, thus improving their standard of living.

However, the limitations observed in most of these policies are the rights guaranteed to PWDs by the signatories in these charters, conventions and declarations. These rights are to a large extent theoretical, especially in developing countries. The responsible authorities do little to set implementation and monitoring measures for the disability policies. They pay lip service only, and often the policies and legislation on the rights of PWDs are there to attract foreign funding, with very little trickle-down effect (Seeley 2001). The rhetoric does not match the practice, critics have said. Policies have little or no impact on the disabled men and women they are supposed to help because they are not effectively implemented. Secondly, the available literature seems to show that disabled men and women are unaware of their rights and unable to defend themselves (ILO 2004).

Some of the literature on policy cases argues that disabled men and women have poor living arrangements. Capart (1996) uses the example of India, which ratified the CEDAW convention and Proclamation on the Full Participation and Equality of PWDs in the Asian and Pacific Decade of Disabled Persons 1993–2002, yet Indian ministries view disability-related issues as mere welfare matters that have no bearing on their respective mandates and schemes. Consequently, disabled people in India have no equal opportunity to enjoy the socio-economic benefits to which they are entitled. It is therefore not surprising that Indians rely on self-help groups (DFID 2000) and sometimes use disreputable means of soliciting funds, like villagers parading disabled people before officials and donors (Seeley 2001).

2.4.2 The African Context

At an African regional level, the Africa Decade of Disabled People (2000-2009) (United Nations Enable 2003) calls for AU member states and governments, “to promote awareness and commitment to full participation, equality and empowerment of persons with disabilities in Africa.”

These states and governments are called upon to formulate measures favouring the equalisation of opportunities for people with disabilities, and their full participation and independence in society.

An explicit focus on disabled women is highlighted in the protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (1981). Article 23 of the charter calls for

Special protection of women with disabilities, the state parties undertake to ensure the protection of women with disabilities and take specific measures commensurate with their physical, economic and social needs to facilitate their access to employment, professional and vocational training as well as their participation in decision-making. The state parties will also ensure the rights of women with disabilities to freedom from violence, including discrimination based on disability and the right to be treated with dignity.

Although a great deal of effort needs to be made by organisations of WWDs to empower WWDs socio-economically, the Pan African Federation of Disabled Persons (PAFOD) and the Southern African Federation of the Disabled (SAFOD) have to some extent adhered to this protocol through training WWDs and by advocating and lobbying for their human rights and in capacity building and empowering disabled men and women within their communities and within the disability movement (SAFOD 2006).

In South Africa, the 1998 Employment Equity Act (Department of Labour 2002), which is disabled friendly, has contributed to a situation where 5% of public sector spending is allocated to promoting small businesses of PWDs and 5% of government procurement is allocated to businesses owned by PWDs or employers with at least 5% of disabled workers (Rowland 2004).

The movement government²⁴ in Uganda has also through the 1996 Parliamentary Elections Statute provided for the representation of one WWDs at national, district and sub-county levels. This political empowerment of WWDs has led them to form organisations that champion the causes of WWDs socially, economically and politically.

2.4.3 Uganda's National Policy, Legal and Institutional Framework regarding Disability

According to the Uganda White Paper on Defence Transformation (Ministry of Defence 2004), the state has a duty to support and protect its citizens irrespective of their disability or ability status. The state empowers free and active participation of all Ugandans in the governance and development

²⁴ The movement government is the current ruling government in Uganda.

process and works to meet their basic needs, for example, in the areas of health, education, shelter, clean water and food.

In Uganda, disability provisions are included in the 1995 Constitution of the Republic of Uganda (Republic of Uganda 2000), the 2006 People with Disability Act (Republic of Uganda 2006) and 2006 National Policy on Disability in Uganda (Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development 2006). The emphasis of these legal instruments is on improving and enhancing the accessibility of PWDs to all environments and the provision of equal opportunities to persons with disabilities in order to increase their capacity to participate in and contribute to the development of Ugandan society (DPDU 2005, ADD 2004 and ILO 2004). This section of the thesis discusses the national policy, and legal and institutional framework regarding disabled men and women in Uganda.

Constitution of the Republic of Uganda, 1995

The Uganda Constitution recognises the rights of PWDs and provides the basis for the enactment of laws and development of policies that address their concerns. The Constitution provides for fair representation of marginalised groups on all constitutional and other bodies, recognises the rights of PWDs to respect and human dignity, and promotes the development of a sign language for the deaf. The Constitution further enjoins the country to take affirmative action to redress the imbalances that exist regarding PWDs (National Policy on Disability in Uganda 2006 and Republic of Uganda 1995a).

Article 21(1), from a gender perspective, affirms the “equal treatment and enjoyment of equal rights by all people in the spheres of political, economic, social and cultural life and related aspects, and non-discrimination of persons based on sex, race, colour, ethnic origin, creed or religion, social economic standing, political grounds or disability.”

Article 21(4) provides for “Parliament to enact laws for implementing policies and programmes aiming at redressing social, economic or educational or other imbalances in society.”

Article 32(1) states that “the state should take affirmative action in favour of groups marginalised on the basis of gender, age, disability or any other reason created by history, tradition or custom, for the purpose of redressing imbalances, which exist against them.” The article also provides for

“Parliament to make laws including laws for the establishment of an equal opportunities commission for the purposes of giving full effect to affirmative action.”

Article 35 provides for “the protection and promotion of fundamental and other Human Rights and Freedoms” and states that “PWDs have a right to respect and human dignity. The State and society are obliged to take appropriate measures to ensure that PWDs realise their full mental and physical potential.”

Legislation

The Constitution of the Republic of Uganda requires Parliament to enact laws to give effect to the policies and programmes aimed at redressing social, economic, educational and other imbalances in society. Parliament has passed legislation with provisions aimed at protecting the rights of PWDs.

Employment Act, 2006

Section 34 of the Employment Act (Act 6 of 2006) provides for the minister, on the recommendation of the Labour Advisory Board, to draw up regulations governing the employment of persons with disabilities, apprentices and other categories of employees (Republic of Uganda 2006b).

2001 Local Government Act

The Local Government Act amends the Act of 1997. Section 119 of the 2001 Local Government Act (Act 13 of 2001) provides for the representation of PWDs (i.e. the allocation of a certain number of seats) at all local government levels, from village level to district level, throughout the country. Districts are the implementers of central government laws, policies and programmes and are responsible for allocating resources and implementing standards of services, and for monitoring and evaluation procedures. In cases where the planned projects are not implemented at district level, yet are supposed to be, government holds district officers responsible. Table 2, below, illustrates the number of councillors representing PWDs at different levels of local councils.

Table 2: Local Council Structure: Number of Councillors Representing PWDs

| Administrative | Local Council (LC) | Number of PWDs serving on executive committees at the LC level |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------|---|
| Village | LC I | 1 |
| Parish | LC II | 1 |
| Sub-county | LC III | 2 |
| County | LC IV | 1 |
| District (local government) | LC V | 2 |

Source: Republic of Uganda (1997) and the 2001 Local Government Act

The abovementioned LC structure indicates how PWDs are represented at the level of local councils, from village to district level. At LC 1, there are ten positions on the executive committee, of which one position is for the secretary for PWDs. At LC II, all village executive committees in a parish form the electoral college and they elect another executive committee with similar positions at that level. At LC III (lower local government) and LC V (local government) levels, PWD councillors are directly elected through the National Union of Disabled Persons (NUDIPU). At LC IV the elected representatives at LC III constitute the Electoral College from which an executive committee is elected.

1998 Uganda Traffic and Road Safety Act

Section 132 of the Act (Act 15 of 1998) provides for “the use of bells, alarms, reflectors, direction indicators to notify persons including persons with disabilities of the approach of motor vehicles, trailers or engineering plants at cross roads.”

Section 132 paragraph (o) provides for “making provisions to ensure adequate safety for cyclists, pedestrians and persons with disabilities on the road and particularly the provision of a rack or rump for support of equipment used by people with disabilities.”

1998 Uganda National Institute of Special Education (UNISE) Act

The 1998 Uganda National Institute for Special Education (UNISE) Act (Act 4 of 1998) provides for the training of special needs education teachers for PWDs.”

1997 Uganda Communications Act

Section 5 of the 1997 Uganda Communications Act (Part 5 of 1997) provides for the “promotion of research into the development and use of new communications technologies including those, which promote accessibility of hearing impaired people to communicate services.”

1997 Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP)

The 1997 PEAP is the overall planning framework for poverty eradication in Uganda, which aims at making policy more focused on reducing poverty, and also strongly relates to other sector plans such as district and lower local council plans (PEAP 2003). NUDIPU's strategy for participation in the PEAP process included emphasising the need for assistive devices and other facilities needed to enable disabled people to be productive, and continuously working with the NGO network and stakeholders to ensure unity of purpose. Out of PEAP, the Plan for Modernization of Agriculture (PMA), the Uganda government's economic development policy, was developed to improve the livelihoods of poor people through the transformation of subsistence agriculture to commercial agriculture (Republic of Uganda 2005).

However, much as the existing laws in Uganda are ideal, many of them have not been applied in reality and have failed to protect the rights of people with disabilities, denying them access to equal opportunities. For instance, the provisions of the 1998 Uganda Traffic and Road Safety Act regarding disabled men and women have never been implemented.

Regarding the 2001 Local Government Act, it should be noted that much as there have been efforts to include disabled men and women in mainstream political activity, little or no impact has been witnessed, especially with regard to councillors representing disabled men and women. These councillors lack the politics of resource management, therefore they cannot fight aggressively for their rights in local councils. This has contributed to their failure to secure funds for disabled men and women at the local council level, since local councils claim that there are inadequate funds to implement their priority programmes. Therefore there has been little or no impact by the process of decentralisation on disabled men and women.

Even after revising the PEAP programme in 2000 and 2003, neither donors nor the Ugandan government has shown a consistent commitment to taking into account all the issues raised by the

disability movement and the need to allocate adequate fiscal resources to planned activities (Dube 2005). Disabled men and women have continuously lost out with regard to PEAP and PMA, because these plans target agriculturalists, yet very few PWDs are agriculturalists. At the same time, PEAP does not specifically mention disability as a key target. In this regard, there was little verifiable evidence to show that PMA and PEAP offered any better solutions for disabled men and women with regard to their activities in the informal sector (Dube 2005, ILO 2004, Lwanga-Ntale 2003 and UNAPD 2006). Therefore, government still needs to make PEAP explicitly pro-disabled rather than benefiting the endowed Ugandans who have the power to demand that services be delivered.

In order for the 2006 Employment Act to benefit disabled men and women, Seirlis (2006) relates their needs to Marslow's hierarchy of needs. He states that disabled men and women must be empowered in skills development to be employed in all sectors of the economy, while there should be safe and accessible transport and buildings, and the provision of employment opportunities.

A few attempts have been made to identify and eliminate discriminatory legislation from the country's statute books, but large sections of the law directly or indirectly lead to discrimination against PWDs. Lwanga-Ntale (2003) argues that this has been because regulations governing specific Acts are poorly drawn up, Acts have been poorly administered and inappropriate, and there is much ignorance regarding the interpretation of the law.

With respect to the above arguments, little evidence exists to show that the national legislative framework is fully implemented. As in many other developing countries, Uganda has the challenge of turning rhetoric into action. Yet it lacks the resources to enable it to uplift the PWDs and so be compliant with international human rights standards. Since the state is not aggressive enough in addressing the laws governing PWDs, NGOs linked to the disabled men and women in Uganda have opted to operate on the basis of tacit policies.²⁵ An example is Action for Disability and Development (ADD), which, in consultation with various stakeholders and WWDs, developed a gender policy aimed at guiding its process of achieving gender equity and equality, and empowering women. The policy promotes the participation of WWDs in community development activities meant to alleviate

²⁵ These are policies not written in any official or legal documents in Uganda.

poverty and to improve their livelihoods and provides guidance for the realisation of the organisation's commitment to gender equity and equality.

In a bid to continue enhancing the protection of the rights of PWDs, the government of Uganda formulated a national policy on disability in 2006.

2006 National Policy on People with Disability

The 2006 National Policy on Disability (MGLSD 2006) calls for the Ugandan government to “give priority to PWDs to enable them to take charge of their lives by removing barriers that hinder their full participation in all areas.” Some of the priority areas that the policy focuses on are the mobilisation of adequate resources, capacity building, and enhancing skills development and social support systems. This will enable PWDs to participate in the planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluating of all relevant initiatives; lobbying all other sectors and stakeholders to address their concerns; promoting the development of social security for PWDs in the informal sector; developing and implementing a media and communications strategy to enhance awareness on PWD issues, including gender concerns; and effectively contributing to their socio-economic development. Implementation of the policy will be multi-sectoral at the national, local government and community levels. Other actors will include parents and other caregivers, CBOs, the community, Disabled Persons' Organisations (DPOs), PWDs and the private sector.

Institutional Framework

The implementation of the 2006 National Policy on Disability will be spearheaded by MGLSD, and other government ministries, departments and agencies will effectively implement the policy in their respective sectors within their mandates. The private sector will design and construct PWD-friendly infrastructure and other social facilities. The local authorities will coordinate, supervise and mobilise resources and disseminate information at district and lower levels, while PWDs will participate in planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of all interventions aimed at improving their welfare (Republic of Uganda 2006a).

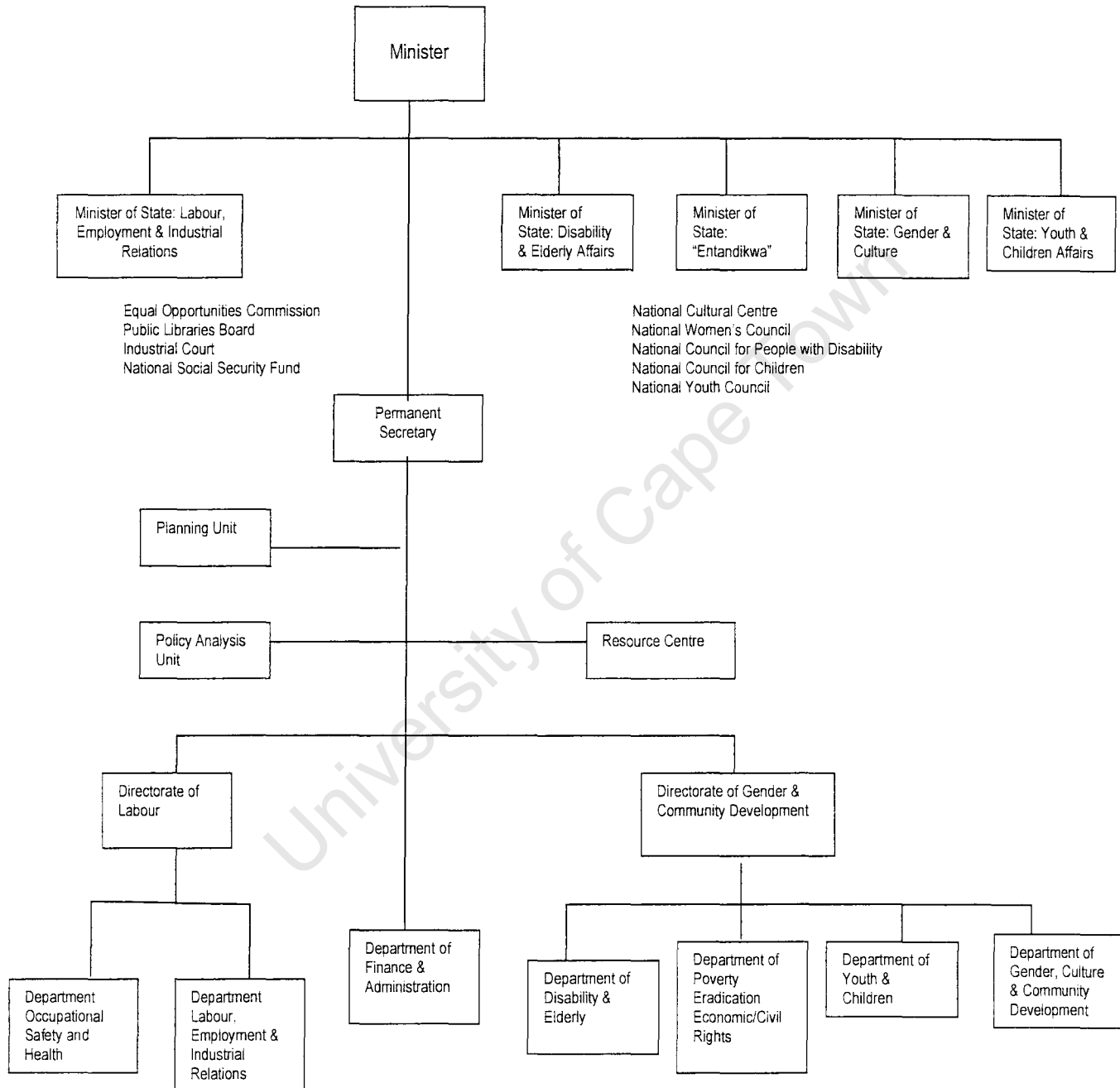
However, the policy on disability does not distinctively address disability mainstreaming in most of its priority areas. WWDs and specific types of impairments are not considered, which is likely to negatively affect the welfare of people with different types of disabilities.

Ndeezi (2004) states that since there is no comprehensive legal framework aimed at increasing access of disabled men and women to economic opportunities in the informal sector of Uganda (Ndeezi 2004), disabled men and women are likely to continue to experience enormous work challenges in this sector.

National Structure of the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development

The Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development is the lead agency in the social development sector. In collaboration with other stakeholders, it is responsible for social mobilisation, community empowerment, the promotion of rights and providing social protection for meaningful participation of the poor and vulnerable groups in the process of economic growth and development, which should ultimately lead to the social transformation of Ugandan society (MGLSD 2007). Figure 2, below, illustrates the national structure of MGLSD.

Figure 2: National Structure of the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development



2.5 Resource Allocation among Disabled Men and Women

A wealth of recent writings on resource allocation show that the allocation of resources in a country is based on the wealth of the country, policies set by the state and the commitment of state actors, and international and national NGOs. This section focuses on the criteria used by different stakeholders in the allocation of resources among disabled men and women in Uganda.

2.5.1 Community Based Rehabilitation (CBR) Programmes

With regard to improving the economic empowerment of disabled men and women, the available literature shows that CBR²⁶ programmes are implemented jointly with the Uganda government, local NGOs and donor agencies, including the Norwegian Association for the Disabled (NAD), Oxfam, World Vision and Leonard Cheshire²⁷ (DGCD 1999, Dyer 2003 and Kisubi 2001). Lwanga-Ntale (2004) argues that not only do these organisations provide credit facilities for small business entrepreneurs who need capital to either set up or expand their own small enterprises, but they provide vocational and skills training for their members. For example, NAD operates vocational training in the western, southern and eastern districts of Uganda (DGCD 1999 and Dyer 2003). So far, 72 CBR groups in Bushenyi and Mbarara have been established, from which 8 people have accessed loans and 182 have graduated from vocational training (Lwanga-Ntale 2004 and UNAPD 2006). This point reflects the provisions of article 35 of the 1995 Uganda Constitution, which states, "PWDs have a right to respect and human dignity and the state and society shall take appropriate measures to ensure that they realise their full mental and physical potential." Indeed, vocational training in the abovementioned districts is serving as a stepping stone for PWDs to penetrate the formal and informal sectors, thus empowering themselves and reducing the social exclusion of PWDs in society.

Studies conducted in Uganda show that donor agencies supporting CBR activities in Uganda are unevenly distributed and that they do not reflect any systematic approach and policy regarding the way donations are distributed (Kisubi 2001 and Thomas 2001). Some CBR programmes operate in a small section of a given district or cover a few sub-counties in those districts, are male dominated

²⁶CBR is a strategy within community development for the rehabilitation, poverty reduction, equalisation of opportunities and social integration of all PWDs. CBR is achieved through the combined efforts of PWDs, their families and communities; and appropriate health, education, vocational and social services (ILO [undated] and WHO 2004).

²⁷ Leonard Cheshire is a United Kingdom-registered organisation that works globally with disabled men and women, and focuses on issues of poverty and the need for economic empowerment programmes.

and reach out to only a few people. The ministry responsible determines what goes to the district and at the district level, while district leaders, without consultation with PWDs, decide what programmes to put in place. The largest part of the funds is reserved for management, supervision and monitoring, with less funds for actual implementation (Kisubi 2001). These weaknesses have not only contributed to a lack of full participation and involvement by all communities, including PWDs, but have also resulted in the unsustainability of the programmes that are set up. This has further led to some donors withdrawing their funding (Kandyomunda, Dube, Kangere & Gebretensay 2001 and Kisubi 2001).

In order for CBR programmes to fully benefit PWDs, the researcher draws on an example of an Mpumalanga CBR programme, a successful programme in South Africa whose implementation takes place through PWDs contracted by Disabled People of South Africa (DPSA) to render the following services at community level: the identification of PWDs; the provision of information about their rights and available services to PWDs; peer support and counselling, as well as family counselling; awareness raising on disability rights in order to reduce discriminatory attitudes; and referring PWDs to relevant rehabilitation, social and employment services (Rule, Lorenzo & Wolmarans 2006). The Mpumalanga CBR programme showed that partnerships among stakeholders, communities and PWDs were essential for sustainable socio-economic development, and contributed to PWDs playing active and leading roles in society.

Asindua (2002), Hartley & Ojwang (2000) and Kisubi (2001) also advocate for government to form a national policy on CBR; and to form a joint and integrated plan for implementation, and for the supervision and monitoring of donors, government and local NGOs at district level; and for donors to increase funding to support government initiatives and programmes. Even within the CBR programmes, there is a need for strong formal partnerships among DPOs and professionals employed by government and NGOs (Hartley, Nganwa & Kisanji 2001 and Rule, Lorenzo & Wolmarans 2006), donors and district leaders to implement programmes that PWDs can manage and sustain.

With due respect to the various forms of disability, organisations running vocational training are urged to include mobile rather than centre-based training specifically aiming at all forms of disabled

men and women. Semple (1999) argues that mobile courses tend to be short, and since the training is implemented in the trainees' own environment, the learning process is easier, immediately transferable and, therefore, more accelerated. This strategy of mobile training will not only cover a large population of PWDs, but also reach people with different types of disabilities, resulting in an increase of PWDs' participation in the informal sector, which will contribute to their socio-economic empowerment.

Despite the fact that CBR programmes can be a source of employment to disabled men and women in rural and urban areas, they are limited in scope and some of their training no longer meets current market employable skills requirements (WHO 2003). The underlying factors delimiting some CBR programmes that affect PWDs' skills training, full participation and capacity to benefit are negative attitudes of community members; inadequate funds; scarcity of appropriate educational, scholastic and instructional materials; illiteracy; inadequate training of staff/facilitators handling concerns of PWDs; inaccessible physical structures at schools; and the high costs of assistive devices and assistive services such as guides, helpers and sign language interpreters (Hartley & Ojwang 2002, Lwanga-Ntale 2003, Rule, Lorenzo & Wolmarans 2006, Vanneste 2001 and WHO 2004). These underlying problems show that the CBR strategy being used in Uganda is an ineffective and inefficient approach, which has led to PWDs being semi-skilled, a factor that not only limits their employment opportunities, but also has not enhanced their quality of life.

However, government legislation, namely the 1998 UNISE Act, provides for the establishment of the Uganda National Institute for Special Education (UNISE), which focuses on training of special needs education teachers for PWDs. This programme aims to augment the disabled men's and women's skills and knowledge that can be applied in their activities in the formal and informal sector development. In addition, based on the strategy of the legislation, international and national organisations, especially DPOs, have significantly contributed to the training of CBR workers at various tertiary levels (Hartley 2001 and ILO undated). Examples are the Nsamizi School of Social Development and Institute for Special Education Kyambogo, which, with the assistance of Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA), were built to train CBR workers, teachers and other professionals in special needs education (DGCD 1999, ILO [undated] and Lwanga-Ntale 2003).

2.5.2 Governmental and Non Governmental Organisations Programmes

Other than the schools for children with disabilities that the colonialists had initiated, post-colonial governments of Uganda did not focus on the disabled as a special category of minority people. The resurrection of disability issues, laws and programmes were brought about by the National Resistance Movement (NRM) government that came to power in 1986.

The Uganda government, under the leadership of MGLSD, runs programmes like PEAP, PAP, credit schemes and "Entandikwa" among disabled graduates in the Youth Enterprise Scheme (YES) and Graduate Enterprise Scheme (GES) programme with the purpose of enabling target groups to raise their levels of income and reduce poverty in Uganda (Economic Policy Paper 1993). The "Entandikwa" programme has an affirmative policy to ensure that at least 40% of the beneficiaries are women and that at least 20 potential graduates from each district should be trained and given funds. Consequently, to ensure proper distribution and monitoring of the funds, several bodies²⁸ are selected to work with the "Entandikwa" secretariat in MGLSD (DAA 2005, Lwanga-Ntale 2004 and MGLSD 1997).

General evidence from the literature shows that even though the "Entandikwa" scheme is beneficial to the welfare of PWDs, it is not as effective as anticipated. Two important gaps exist and need to be dealt with by MGLSD. Firstly, this government programme has a limited coverage and supports a very small proportion of the disabled men and women in Uganda. A report on the economic empowerment of PWDs in Uganda by NUDIPU showed that many PWDs were unaware of the "Entandikwa" scheme, considering that out of 39,200 beneficiaries, only 500 (1.2%) were disabled men and women. Secondly, there is poor loan repayment, which may partly be attributed to poor business skills, high competition in the market and the nature of individuals' disabilities. In addition, some PWDs have health and family problems, which may delay loan repayment or even result in complete failure to pay (Albu 2005, Hattingh, Harvey, Saayman & Jaarsveldt 1989 and Wolfgang 1988). However, regarding the issue of poor business skills, NUDIPU provides business management short courses that the PWDs can take advantage of (Mukiibi & Mulya 2000).

²⁸ Selection of these intermediary bodies in distribution of funds is based on having operated in microfinance handling for at least four years. Among the bodies selected include District Private Sector Promotion Centres (DPAPCs), Uganda Manufacturer's Association country branches, Sempebwa Credit Bureau, Private Sector Promotion Councils, St Lawrence Foundation Mutere, Namayimba Growers' Cooperative Society and district youth councils.

Although PEAP and PAP focus on a multi-sectoral approach, recognising the multi-dimensional nature of poverty and the inter-linkages between influencing factors, they have not been beneficial to PWDs, since they do not directly focus on the economic empowerment of disabled men and women as a key objective (Lwanga-Ntale 2003).

From the above arguments, it can be concluded that government under the Department of Disability in MGLSD has left a major gap in its programme to support PWDs in the informal sector. Similarly, experiences in countries like South Africa have shown that the state does not support the small, medium and micro enterprises of PWDs (Office of the Deputy President 1997).

Jespersen (1995) argues that institutions like NGOs should provide incentives to people to become more active citizens and to reduce their dependence on the state. In the case of NGOs in Uganda, some national development agencies have been active in designing, implementing and evaluating programmes for organisations and individuals in the informal sector. These programmes have been established to focus on issues of gender and development, and give particular attention to the different forms of disability. These gender focused NGOs²⁹ contribute to the wealth of society through several programmes/activities, which include:

- Vocational training institutions providing vocational guidance, training and selective placement;
- Rehabilitation homes;
- Sheltered³⁰ workshops that focus on employable skills training and orthopedic workshops to equip disabled men and women with employable skills;
- Savings and credit schemes through grants for PWDs to start small businesses;
- Providing start-up capital through revolving loans to finance small businesses; and
- Training workshops on effective loan and resource management, entrepreneurial skills and the setting up of small businesses.

In his analysis, Jandwa (2005) asserts that for mainstream economic empowerment programmes to be successful, disabled people need to be actively involved. Indeed, programmes for PWDs in

²⁹ Gender-focused NGOs are either women's NGOs or NGOs that are working at reducing gender inequalities. The gender-focused NGOs for PWDs include NUDIPU, ADD, Disability Women's Network and Resource Organisation in Uganda & National Women with Disabilities of Uganda.

³⁰ The word 'sheltered' refers to a protective environment where disadvantaged people can undertake paid meaningful employment in a supportive environment (Treloar 2002).

Uganda that provide socio-economic empowerment need to promote the full inclusion of PWDs and also target WWDs in their communities.

In his recommendation, Jandwa (2005) urges organisations supporting PWDs to incorporate the needs of disabled people into the programme in order to achieve successful results. For instance, the British government passed a Transport Act, which has led to accessible bus and train transport for PWDs; and financial aid is given to visually impaired people to employ an assistant to help them in their work (Parliamentary record 1999). However, even with the 1997 Local Government Act of Uganda, which provides for the representation of PWDs at all local council levels from village level to district level in the whole country and participation in their own governance, and in local and regional decision making, councillors representing PWDs have been frustrated by councils. The councils provide inadequate funds to implement the disabled people's priority programmes, making it difficult for disabled men and women to benefit from the process of decentralisation (ILO 2004, Lwanga-Ntale 2003 and UNAPD 2006).

Ugandan NGOs for PWDs have taken on a strategy of forming joint task forces for the development and coordination of appropriate programmes, similar to those undertaken in Cambodia (Semple 1999), in order to ease resource allocation among PWDs. Albu (2005) states that NUDIPU, ADD and the Uganda Disabled Women's Association, in partnership with APT Enterprise Development,³¹ initiated a three-year pilot Business Development Support project in northern Uganda for PWDs in 2001. This project focuses on training and support services that can enable PWDs to enter mainstream employment, or to start and develop their own small businesses. Reports, however, show that PWDs are unable to achieve good returns from their businesses, despite the funds they are given (Albu 2005). This may be linked to a combination of factors relating to the negative perceptions society has of PWDs, the production of low quality goods and high levels of competition in the market (Albu 2005, Hattingh et al. 1989 and Wolfgang 1988). These factors affecting PWDs in the informal sector call for the sensitisation of communities about PWDs and an improvement in the quality of products so that they can compete favourably in the market.

³¹ APT Enterprise Development is a United Kingdom-based charity.

The need for resource allocation and increased work opportunities among PWDs has also been recognised by various NGOs. ADD, together with DPOs, supports people with mental illnesses and epilepsy through an epilepsy support organisation. Funding and training are given to individual family members to run small income generating schemes on behalf of these disabled men and women in order to generate income to meet their basic needs (ADD 2004 and DAA 2005). However, it is not clear if the funding given to the mentally disabled persons through their family members is exclusively put to the former's use.

In addition, it should be acknowledged that little is known about the precautions taken by the managers of some projects for PWDs prior to funding and training people with particular or severe disabilities. For instance, Kambara Deaf Development Project (2000-2010), a Uganda National Association of the Deaf (UNAD) project in partnership with Action Aid International Uganda, set up a long-term development initiative that focuses on starting IGAs for hearing impaired men and women, which is anticipated to enable them to economically empower themselves (ILO 2004 and UNAD 2005). However, it is not clear whether UNAD provides employment opportunities or a market for the products of these people with a hearing disability.

ADD has further provided grants to disability and development programmes (DDPs) at district level. Among the beneficiaries of these grants are DDPL (Lira district), which acquired a loan of 9,000,000 Uganda shillings (US\$5,000) to support a revolving loan scheme; TUDIPU (Iganga district), which obtained 8,000,000 Uganda shillings (US\$4,444); and KADIPU (Kabarole), which obtained 7,000,000 Uganda shillings (US\$3,889) (Disability Advocacy in Action 2005 and ADD 2004). It is, however, not clear what precautions are taken in disbursing the funds and if all types of disabled people are entitled to these funds.

Although the area of income generation support, both in terms of skills and in the form of start-up capital, continues to raise questions about ADD's own capacity to sustain the investment, it has nonetheless demonstrated to development practitioners at both the local and national levels the viability and importance of extending income generation support to all types of impairments (ADD

2001). Besides that, the failure of PWDs' organisations to link with microfinance institutions³² has left these organisations with no choice but to rely on their start-up small scale loan schemes and to encourage more disabled men and women to open savings accounts, and join rotating savings and credit schemes – which in the long term may help improve their participation in the financial services sector (ADD 2001 and Albu 2005).

Other groupings that have given socio-economic support to PWDs to acquire resources to start IGAs include religious institutions, charitable groups, individual people, relatives and friends.

2.5.3 Women with Disabilities

There is scanty literature on WWDs with regard to acquiring socio-economic resources. The little literature available on WWDs shows that few WWDs have acquired resources from NGOs to work in the informal sector. The scarcity of literature regarding these women can be attributed to disability studies traditionally using a gender blind approach to examining and exploring how resources, if any, have been allocated to disabled men and women. This section discusses resource allocation among WWDs in Uganda.

In relation to the previous section, Wendall (1996) writes that WWDs have organised separately, having found that early organisations of PWDs tended to ignore both significant differences between men's and women's experiences issues important to WWDs. Whereas Australian women are supported by Women With Disabilities Australia (WWDA)³³, which is a national disabled women's and human rights organisation, Ugandan women are supported by NUWODU³⁴ which has made economic self-sufficiency a priority and develops strategies for the empowerment of WWDs (Disability Uganda 2006 & ILO 2004). NUWODU in partnership with Abilis Foundation, NAD, Danish Council of the Disabled People's Organisation, Danish Women with Disabilities, NUDIPU and the Uganda Government, supports groups of WWDs in income generating activities in Masaka, Tororo, Soroti, Apac, Kisoro and Kamuli districts. Although the sizes of the groups are not established, each

³² Microfinance institutions in Uganda provide little support to PWDs because they have a negative attitude towards them, and often PWDs lack collateral to getting funding from them.

³³ WWDA focuses on gender specific measures to ensure that disabled women experience maximum participation in the labour market on the basis of equality.

³⁴ NUWODU run by and for WWD is an Umbrella Organisation that provides leadership and training for emerging women's organizations in various districts and focuses on economic development projects. It does not deal directly with individual WWD but with WWD groups.

of the women's groups receives 500,000 Uganda shillings (\approx US \$277) annually (NUWODU 2005). Interestingly, Mensink (1995) argues that when women gain control of the resources, there is a resulting change in the relationship between men and women. The ability of WWDs to possess finances has an influence on the balance of power between disabled men and women. This argument shows that public and private non-profit sector support system should and/or continue to address the gender relations and control of resources in the household.

The importance of WWDs' access to resources is further observed by NUWODU linking local women's groups to potential partners. For example, in Kamuli district, WWDs are supported by PLAN-Uganda, and in Masaka district, WWDs are supported by Send-A-Cow-Uganda project (NUWODU 2005 and Uganda Country Profile 2004). The Disabled Women's Network and Resource Organization (DWNRO), NUDIPU and Disabled Women in Development (DIWODE) advocate for the economic empowerment of WWD and their inclusion in micro credit programmes. One example is the Start Your Business loan scheme launched during a five-day Start Your Business workshop at NUDIPU. Through this loan scheme, WWDs manage and continue to use their loans appropriately and later refund the money to NUDIPU so that it revolves to other WWDs in the organisation (Disability World 2000 and Uganda Country Profile 2004). It can therefore be argued that WWDs have attained financial assistance that has contributed to the development of their small-scale enterprises, thereby improving their incomes, livelihoods and social recognition. On the other hand, though, the fact that only a few districts have acquired resources from NUWODU means that it is likely that many WWDs have not benefited from NUWODU.

However, despite the fact that international and national NGOs supporting disability organisations play an immense and outstanding role in providing resources for disabled men and women in the informal sector, Dyer (2003) argues that these organisations are constrained by limited resources,³⁵ and conflicting interests and priorities. Limited resources may be linked to DPOs in Uganda lacking capacity, including insufficient number of staff (at national and local levels) qualified to engage donors and policy makers in dialogue on macroeconomic policy issues (Dube 2005). Other constraints include limited technical knowledge and experience in operating credit programmes, which have partly contributed to limitations in these programmes. Whereas some WWDs are credit

³⁵ Sometimes they cannot satisfy the demand for loans because of limited funds.

worthy, several criticisms have been made about disabled men and women who benefit from the micro credit services and loan schemes as being bad debtors, thereby making it difficult for other disabled men and women to be trusted with loans by the credit facility. Loan repayment rates are often reported to be as low as 65%. The rate expected and needed for sustainability by successful mainstream providers is at least 90% (Dyer 2003). As a result, many credit programmes operated by disability organisations struggle to achieve self-sustainability, let alone growth.

An example in South Africa is the Poverty Alleviation Strategy, a programme that trains disabled men and women in how to start and manage a business and follows up trainees in South Africa, which discontinued its Revolving Fund Loan Scheme. This was due to logistical problems associated with the provision and collection of loans (Southern Africa Federation of the Disabled 2006).

When considering PWDs' challenges with loans, Musoke (1993) suggests that unless PWDs are trained in loan and business management, they may never obtain an income from the loans and grants they get. He further suggests that in order for PWDs to benefit from the loans given, those granting the loans should consider the choice of enterprise, the availability of markets, the weather, the amount of funds disbursed, and the interest rate and repayment period.

It is worth noting that before PWDs can take advantage of the above mentioned resources, development agencies should make more efforts to assist PWDs to overcome the work challenges they face beyond the provision of aid, for instance, in the management of cash flow, accessing inputs, markets, up-to-date training, credit, negative community attitudes and cultural beliefs. There is also a need to investigate related work challenges disabled men and women encounter in carrying out their IGAs in the informal sector.

2.6 Work Challenges in the Informal Sector

Depending on their type of disability, the location of their work and the income activity they are engaged in, disabled men and women experience various work challenges in the informal sector. However, literature regarding the work challenges faced by people with specific disabilities is scanty. Most available literature addresses the work challenges of the disabled in general. For this reason,

this section will address work challenges PWDs encounter in the informal sector, irrespective of the nature of their disability.

Unlike able bodied people, PWDs involved in IGAs lack the ability to access financial assistance from financial institutions. In the case of Uganda, even though there is no evidence of official policy by financial institutions to exclude PWDs from accessing loans, PWDs are denied loans (Lwanga-Ntale 2003 and NUDIPU 2002). Even where lending policies are relaxed, most PWDs are on record for having been denied access to the credit facilities of nearly all financial institutions (Lwanga-Ntale 2003 and NUDIPU 2002). This can be linked to failure to meet the selection criteria of micro credit providers, which differ in different countries (Dyer 2003); not having security to allow them to access credit facilities, which is a prerequisite of most of the financial institutions; and some impairments that are episodic or fluctuating in nature that contribute to unstable work patterns and unplanned expenses, resulting in a failure to repay loans or a poor loan repayment rate (Disability report 2003, NUDIPU 2003 and Pinder 1995).

However, scholars like Lindsey (undated) and Pinder (1995) hold an opposing view. They argue that there are people with impairments that, once hired, are able to achieve highly dependable work attendance records, thereby improving their ability to pay loans efficiently, which may not be the case with some able bodied people. Therefore, these authors claim that there is no relationship between the fluctuating health of PWDs and loan repayment.

With regard to the limited loan scheme for PWDs from government and failure to access loans from financial institutions, ADD (2004) argues that PWDs are left with no choice but to rely entirely on disability organisations and informal sources such as friends or relatives who give them loans on favourable terms. However, despite the funds PWDs acquire from disability organisations and informal sources, they still face several challenges regarding operational costs. For instance, one member of Soroti Disabled Women's Association in Uganda lamented,

Our problems as disabled people are multiple. First, the loan that we obtained from ADD is quite small. We are not able to make any profits because we spend quite a lot. I pay at least Uganda shillings 40,000 for a permit to operate in the market. I also pay Uganda shillings 300 on a daily basis as market dues. I further pay an extra Uganda

shillings 300-500 daily to the person who helps me to lift my goods to the market and organize the display (ADD 2000:31).

In order to reduce their operational costs, some PWDs have gone to the extent of sleeping on the streets because of inadequate funds to transport them daily with their goods and to deal with other related problems like providing for the security of their stalls and goods. However, credit should be given to Kampala Central Division for empowering disabled men and women by allowing them to operate small businesses within the taxi park on an affirmative action basis in order to acquire income (NUDIPU 2003).

While many PWDs acquire knowledge and skills from disability organisations, vocational schools and rehabilitation centres, some disabled men and women have joined the informal sector without attending disability training institutions. Hence they end up applying rudimentary skills that lead to sub-standard goods and thus fewer marketing opportunities. However, in cases where PWDs would like to learn better skills, Becker (2004) argues that formal training providers appear to be too inflexible to attract informal sector operators. This inflexibility presents itself in rigid, non-negotiable course packages; teacher-dominated methodologies inappropriate for adult learners; inflexible duration and timing of programmes, making them unsuitable for subsistent workers who rely on daily flow of income; and the inflexible location of training facilities and no option of mobile training suitable for operators who cannot leave their work stations for a long time. ADD (2004), Hattingh et al. (1989) and Wolfgang (1988) argue that failure to acquire appropriate skills in business not only leads to fewer marketing opportunities, but PWDs also face high levels of competition from other businesses run by people who have good economic skills and managerial expertise. This probably accounts for why many of the products of the informal sector are sub-standard and non-compliant with the standards of the international markets, and why PWDs' products lack a market. The lack of markets for PWDs' products could also lead to failure to service their loans, but also to inadequate income for their business, even while they are incurring excessive costs daily. Unless training is made flexible to fit in with and accommodate informal sector workers' demands or work schedules, disabled men and women may never acquire sufficient training for their activities in the informal sector.

In view of high taxes reducing profit margins (Becker 2004), scholars like Kaufmann & Kaliberda (1996), Schneider (1994) and Thomas (1992) assert that high taxation rates induce tax evasion. It is therefore not surprising that informal sector workers attempt to escape the attention of tax authorities. However, in the case of PWDs, if they are caught evading taxes, their goods are confiscated by tax authorities (Women in Development 1994), or else they have to bribe the law enforcement officers not to apply the tax regulations. This leads to an added reduction in PWDs' income.

The taxation problem can, however, partly be attributed to governments' failure to provide PWDs with well-defined and adequate working premises that will attract clients and thereby enhance their ability to increase their economic gains and the payment of taxes. On the other hand, though, Hattingh et al. (1989) and WWDA (2001) argue that if PWDs acquired better working premises, they will not only be affected by high rental costs, but also some buildings are multi-storied. Multi-storied buildings are a barrier to physically disabled people and to those PWDs using wheelchairs, because such buildings have no access for the disabled. However in some developed countries, for instance in Australia and the Nordic states, government sets lift requirements in two- and three-storey buildings (WWDA 1999), although it is not evident if these lifts have other appropriate services like communication facilities through which the visually and hearing impaired men and women can access information.

What should be noted is that, as well as the combined discrimination based on PWDs' gender and other forms of discrimination by society, negative social attitudes among informal sector clients are a major challenge to PWDs working in the informal sector (Pinder 1995). This is based on an implicit notion that they are insignificant and unhygienic. Elwan (1990) illustrates an example whereby in Bwaise, a small suburb in Kampala district, a paraplegic³⁶ food vendor revealed that she could not compete with other women, as some customers referred to her as sparkling dirty. This could be partly true, considering that PWDs work in poorly developed working premises with poor sanitary facilities (Disability Advocacy in Action 2005) that are sometimes flooded during the rainy seasons (NUDIPU 1995).

³⁶ Paraplegia is a substantial loss of function in the lower part of the body.

PWDs are not in a position to acquire proper equipment to simplify their work and reduce the negative attitude society has towards them, because equipment like wheelchairs, braille facilities and crutches are too expensive for them (Hattingh et al. 1989, Pinder 1995 and WWDA 2001) and wheelchairs are sometimes a burden to PWDs (Lwanga-Ntale 2003). For instance, sometimes the business space is restricted and insufficient for PWDs with wheelchairs, and for those PWDs who use public transport, they have to incur extra transport costs for their wheelchairs.

Whereas visually impaired men and women have to rely on the honesty of a hired person or guide while transacting business, since they cannot see, hearing impaired men and women are faced with a communication barrier (Hattingh et al. 1989 and NUDIPU 1995), since they lack the ability to bargain for fair prices with their clients and while buying goods. These challenges reduce visually and hearing impaired men's and women's income in the informal sector.

Whereas WWDs encounter similar challenges to men with disabilities, WWDs confront many more challenges compared to men with disabilities, as discussed in the section that follows.

2.6.1 Disabled Women's Work Challenges in the Informal Sector

There has been relatively little research done on disabled women and their work in the informal sector, yet their issues, particularly their work challenges in the informal sector, are manifold, as discussed below.

The informal sector is an enabling factor for women (able and disabled) to carry out their gender roles alongside their IGAs. However, disabled women still face a conflict in time and excessive costs, especially with regard to taking care of their children and taking children to child care (Fawcett 2000 & WWDA 1998). Finding an accessible, available, affordable and convenient childcare centre that can respond flexibly to diverse patterns of working is difficult (WWDA 1998), particularly for single mothers with disabilities and mothers reliant on public or disability transport.

Secondly, WWDs end up spending more time on accomplishing their gender roles, that is spending more time and energy on unpaid household tasks as compared to their IGAs. Hanson (2000) is critical about the types of IGAs that WWDs engage in. The researcher, however, disagrees with this

critique and argues that Hanson (2000) does not seem to realise that PWDs have limited funds and sometimes limited work skills, both of which limit the kind of jobs they can engage in, in the informal sector.

WWDs are at risk of being physically and sexually abused by people who pretend to be assisting them in their productive activities. However, evidence of abuse is often unavailable. These cases may go unreported because of the shame families feel about having a daughter with a disability (Emmett 2006). These cases are even worse in the case of visually impaired women, because they cannot identify the culprit, while hearing impaired women cannot effectively communicate. Women with other forms of disability are also often raped because they are weak and cannot fight off their assailants and find it hard to obtain protection when faced with such situations (Murangira 2004). These circumstances have further led to low self-esteem among PWDs, high risks of sexually transmitted infections and high rates of HIV/AIDS infections (Mwesigwa 2005, Mulindwa 2003 and Pinder 1995).

While there is evidence of a high level of HIV/AIDS awareness among the general public in Uganda, most PWDs are unaware because they are illiterate, and unable to access the abundant literature on various aspects of HIV/AIDS, which is mostly in English; or too poor to afford radios, televisions and newspapers through which information on HIV/AIDS is disseminated; while most PWDs who have acquired HIV/AIDS lack the knowledge of the existence of VCT services (Murangira 2004). As a result, many PWDs have died of HIV/AIDS. Statistics on the number of infected PWDs are unavailable, since no attempts have been made in Uganda to collect data on PWDs and HIV/AIDS (Mulindwa 2003 and Mwesigwa 2005).

Ndeezi (2004) correctly observes that there is no comprehensive policy and legal framework aimed at increasing the access of disabled men and women to economic opportunities in the informal sector of Uganda. He further argues that it is due to these factors that disabled men and women are likely to continue experiencing enormous work challenges in this sector.

Summary

In conclusion, from the literature survey done on gender, disability in the informal sector and the related policy and legislative framework, four issues emerge. Firstly, the available literature on the informal sector does not address the informal sector from a gendered or disability perspective, and looks at the informal sector in its totality. Secondly, the available literature on disability focuses mainly on disability in a general way. It is not gender disaggregated, except for a few scholars like Gerschick (2000), Hyde & Dirke (undated) and O'Brien (2005). Thirdly, the literature available on disability is from organisations that have disability issues as a main focus, particularly NGOs that are financed by donor aid. These NGOs try to address the economic empowerment of PWDs in the informal sector. Finally, the legal framework of Uganda is generalised and does not address the issue of WWDs and specific disabilities, a factor that has contributed to many PWDs with different types of disabilities missing out on the available government programmes. Generally there is a dearth of literature that addresses disability and the informal sector in sub-Saharan African countries, particularly Uganda. The next chapter addresses the methodological framework used to carry out the empirical study.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

Chapter three describes the overall methodological framework of the study and reflects on the research process. The research design; study area; the sampling design and size; the methods and tools of data collection, data management and analysis; and the limitations of the study are all presented in this chapter.

In this study, the overall objective was to examine the gender differences of disabled men and women's participation in the informal sector of Uganda. More specifically, the study aimed at exploring the gender differences in the types of business activities disabled men and women were engaged in. It explored the nature of work challenges they encountered in the informal sector and how they addressed them. The study also established how resources are allocated by various governmental and non-governmental organisations among PWDs in Mubende and Mityana districts. Lastly, the study presented the policies and legislation affecting disabled men and women and how they impact on or contribute to resource allocation.

3.1 Research Design

The study adopts a qualitative approach. The qualitative approach has an advantage of providing contextual findings of the study and it discovers patterns which emerge after close observation, careful documentation, and thoughtful analysis of the research topic (Sarantakos 1993 and Patton 1990). The purpose of the study is exploratory. It gathers preliminary information that helps define problems and gains an insight into a phenomenon, which is a relatively unknown research domain (Richardson 1996 and Sarantakos 1993).

A phenomenological research design was used in the study. The selection of this design was premised on the fact that phenomenological studies describe the meaning of the lived experiences for several individuals about a particular phenomenon (Holroyd 2001 and Greene 1997). For example the researcher is able to explore and describe the gender and work challenges disabled men and women encounter in the informal sector in the Mubende and Mityana districts of Uganda.

The study is applied research and is for academic purposes. Terre Blanche, Durrheim & Painter (2006:45) and Krueger & Casey (2000) argue that applied research have an immediate practical application and aims to contribute towards practical issues of problem solving, decision making, policy analysis, and community development. This study may be useful as a basis for policy formulation and analysis and programme development by government, NGOs dealing with PWDs and prospective donor agencies.

The research process was threefold.

3.1.1 First Phase: Examination of Secondary Data

The first phase involved an analysis of secondary data. This was done by critically reviewing research reports, textbook articles, electronic journals, media reports and workshop/conference reports in the literature review, which contained information about PWDs, gender and the informal sector. The documents were obtained from University of Cape Town Libraries, African Gender Institute, Cape Peninsula University of Technology, Medical Research Council, Makerere University Main Library, Department of Women and Gender Studies library (Uganda) and various NGOs such as DPOs, DPISA, NUDIPU and ADD. Wengraf (2001) and Yin (1984) contend that the advantage of using these secondary sources is that they provide rough data that can be used in the answering of the central research question and enable the construction of the interview questions. In addition, the literature obtained from the abovementioned resources was useful in the analysis of the findings in chapter 4.

3.1.2 Second Phase: Preliminary Visit to the Study Districts and Selection of Participants

The second phase involved preparation for the empirical phase of data collection. Following approval and clearance from the National Council for Science and Technology in Uganda, a reconnaissance was done in Mubende and Mityana districts (i.e. the study districts) where the interviewees and key informants were located. The researcher met with key informants individually to inform them about and gain their cooperation for the research study and to plan the dates on which the in-depth interviews would be conducted. Permission was sought through Mubende District Disabled Persons

Union (MUDIPU)³⁷ to request PWDs to attend and participate in the focus group discussions (FGDs) on the specified days.

With the assistance of MUDIPU, an updated list of self-employed PWDs participating in the informal sector was obtained from MUDIPU offices for the purpose of selecting participants for focus group discussions. The researcher divided the list from MUDIPU into two sections: WWDs and disabled men. These two sections were each further classified into two main groups of disability: firstly, speech impairment, and visual and hearing impairment; and secondly, physical disability, making a total of four lists. Purposive sampling was used to select six disabled men and six WWDs from each of the four lists of different disabilities. Two participants with speech impairment, and visual and hearing impairment were selected from each of the section of the researcher's modified list of PWDs. Selection was also done on the basis of those PWDs that had carried out business activities for over three years. The reason for this selection criterion is that PWDs who had carried out business in the informal sector for three years had a lot of experience in the informal sector, in the form of challenges encountered, resources acquired for their businesses from different stakeholders, and the impact of policy and legislation on their businesses in the informal sector. A total of 24 PWDs were studied, of whom 50% were women (see figure 5).

The researcher thereafter met each of the participants of the focus groups, and explained the purpose of the focus group and what was expected of him or her in the focus group.

Pilot in-depth Interview and FGD

A pilot in-depth interview and one focus group comprising participants outside the sample were conducted at NUDIPU offices in Kampala district and MUDIPU offices, respectively. The pilot in-depth interview and focus group were useful as they refined the researcher's interviewing skills and gave her the confidence that the questions were clear, understandable and adequate in obtaining the required information³⁸. No changes were made to the interview guide and focus group guide.

³⁷ MUDIPU is a branch organisation of NUDIPU.

³⁸ Data collected in the pilot in-depth interviewing and pilot FGDs has not been used in this thesis.

3.1.3 Third Phase: Field Data Collection

Field data collection was done in this phase. Qualitative research methods, including in-depth interviewing and focus groups, were used to gather information on and from key informants and disabled men and women, respectively.

The languages used during the whole data collection process were English and Luganda (the main local language). English was mainly used among key informants, although a few who were not proficient in English responded in both English and Luganda. All focus groups were conducted in Luganda, and translation was done into English thereafter by the researcher.

3.2 Research Methodology

3.2.1 Study Area

The study was carried out in Mubende and Mityana districts, which are situated in the Central region of Uganda. Uganda is situated in East Africa and occupies a total area of 236,040 km² with a population of 24,442,084 (Uganda Bureau of Statistics 2005). It is bordered by Sudan in the north, Kenya in the east, Tanzania and Rwanda in the south and the Democratic Republic of Congo in the west. Uganda is divided into four administrative regions: Central, Eastern, Western and Northern. These regions are further subdivided into 77 districts. The Central region constitutes 15 districts (Wikipedia 2006), from which the study districts were purposively selected. Much of the Central region stands out as the least poor region for both rural and urban areas in Uganda (Uganda Bureau of Statistics 2005), but there are groups of marginalised people in this region, like PWDs that are poverty stricken and have sought refuge in the informal sector. It is therefore crucial to specifically study PWDs in this region, and investigate whether and how they have been economically empowered in the informal sector.

Mubende district is 76 miles north-west of Kampala, the capital city of Uganda, with a total area of 6,197.7 km² and a population of 689,530, of whom 11,590 are physically disabled, 2,982 have a hearing disability and 4,318 are visually impaired. There are 117 persons per square kilometre of land in Mubende district. Despite the fact that Mubende district has a relatively large urban area with a number of developments that have occurred socially and economically, it is the poorest district in

the Central region with more than 64% of its rural population living below the poverty line³⁹ (Uganda Bureau of Statistics, 2005). To cope with the situation, many men and women, including the disabled, have increasingly moved out to small-scale business and selling their agricultural produce, which is marketed to various parts of Uganda. The research study was carried out in Mubende and Mityana districts because:⁴⁰

- Mubende district is the poorest district in the central region with more than 64% of the rural population living below the poverty line (Uganda Bureau of Statistics 2005).
- Mubende district is among the districts with the highest proportion of PWDs in Uganda, which is approximately 134,117 (18%) of Uganda's population of PWDs (ADD 2002).
- Mubende district is one of the districts in which government and other organisations⁴¹ have put in place programmes to support PWDs (ADD 2002).

This leaves the researcher in a position to purposively carry out the study in Mubende and Mityana districts in order to examine the work challenges encountered in the informal sector among the disabled men and women, the latter group said to be the poorest and most disadvantaged group of people worldwide (Powell, Mercer & Harte 2002). Mubende and Mityana districts have four counties, and two have been purposively selected from each district: Kassanda and Mityana counties. These counties were selected bearing in mind their accessibility and their proximity to each other and to the central district administration, which reduced the logistical requirements of the current study.

The location of the study areas is depicted on the two maps that follow.

³⁹ The poverty line is the minimum level of income deemed sufficient to attain an acceptable standard of living

⁴⁰ Mityana county in Mubende district, which was one of the counties that was initially selected as a study area, was upgraded to Mityana district. There is no documentation available on it as yet, since all documentation is still under Mubende district.

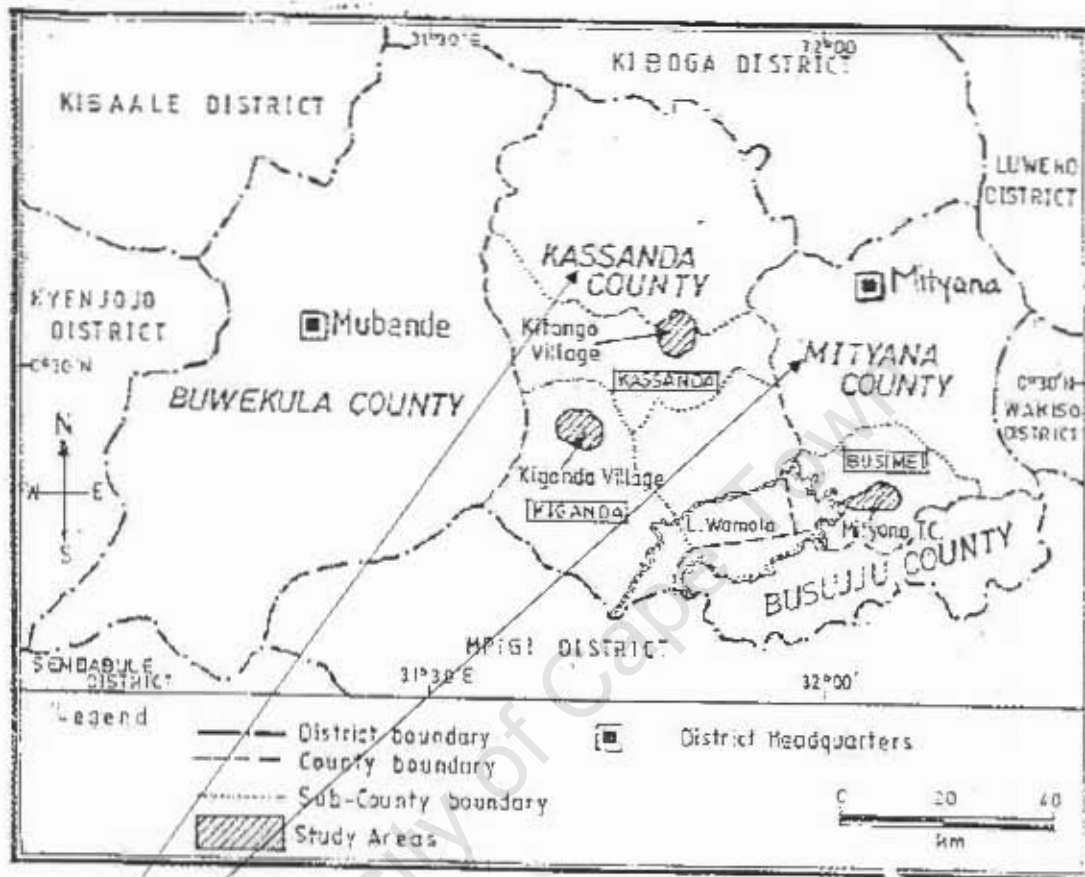
⁴¹ Two of the NGOs for the PWDs in Mubende district MUDIPU & Mubende Disabled Women's Association.

Figure 3: The Location of the Study Area in Uganda



Study area: Mubende and Mityana districts
 Source: Geo Network 2006

Figure 4: Map of Mityana and Mubende Districts, Showing the Location of the Study Area



Study areas: Kassanda and Mityana counties

3.2.2 Data Collection Methods

The qualitative research methods of in-depth interviews and focus groups were used in the study.

Qualitative Research Method

Qualitative research is research conducted using a range of methods that use qualifying words and descriptions to investigate participants' opinions, behaviours and experiences from the informants' points of view (Patton 2002 and Richardson 1996). The use of these methods confirmed Miles and Huberman's (1994) assertion that qualitative research methods would provide well grounded, in-depth information, together with rich descriptions and explanations. This is an indication that it would be appropriate in the case of Uganda in the study of gender and the work challenges in the informal

sector. In addition, Strauss and Corbin (1990) assert that qualitative methods are appropriate when used for uncovering and understanding what lies behind any phenomenon.

In-depth Interviews

One in-depth interview was conducted with each of the 15 key informants from associations and organisations of PWDs and government bodies (see figure 6) using an interview schedule. The associations and organisations of PWDs and MGLSD were selected because they all had women's empowerment as part of their organisational commitments, had a gender advocacy component and were involved in gender-related work. Members of Parliament representing PWDs were also selected because they were involved in making policies and participating in sensitisation and awareness programmes for the country. In-depth interviews were appropriate in investigating the complexity of issues of gender and disability in the informal sector, since Henning, van Rensburg and Smit (2004) argue that in-depth interviews have a typical flow of information; respondents provide much information on specific issues; and the interviews have an advantage of the conversations ensuing more "naturally", with rapport developing as the process continues. Consequently, the researcher gained more insight into the various interviewees' views and perceptions that emerged during the interview about disabled men and women in the informal sector.

Focus Groups

Four focus groups consisting of six participants each were conducted in single-sex sessions. The size of the group was based on Morgan's (1988) argument that small groups allow everyone to participate and more detailed information is obtained. Separate focus group discussions were held with physically disabled men, physically disabled women, hearing and visually impaired men, and hearing and visually impaired women (see figure 5). Physically disabled men and women were interviewed separately from the men and women with other types of disabilities because the physically disabled men and women constitute the largest proportion of PWDs in Uganda, which is 35% (Uganda Bureau of Statistics 2005). The advantage of categorising single-sex alongside specific disability type sessions is that the participants are likely to have homogeneity in experience (Mbilinyi 1992) and same sex individuals tend to discuss and express themselves freely, consequently, the researcher was able to gain valid and reliable data (Burns 2002).

Focus groups provided an atmosphere of open dialogue, which enabled the researcher to gain a more in-depth understanding of the participants' views and experiences of their income generating activities in the informal sector. Miles & Huberman (1994) and Mogan (1988) argue that FGDs stimulate respondents and have the advantage of the researcher eliciting insights that would be less accessible without the interaction found in a group.

During each focus group and in-depth interview, the researcher facilitated the discussion. Discussions were tape recorded and notes were taken by the research assistant. This was crucial, in that it worked as a back-up for the audio recorded data; areas that needed probing and follow-ups were focused on and it ensured that all the participants were given an opportunity to comment in some areas; important non-verbal behaviour that aided the interpretation was noted; and recorded information was transcribed for purposes of data analysis. A sign language interpreter was also hired to assist the men and women with hearing impairment during the FGDs. Follow-up interviews with a few key informants who were prepared to revisit certain issues were carried out.

Data Collection Instruments

Two data collection instruments were used in the study, an interview schedule and a focus group guide. A semi-structured interview schedule containing a list of specific research themes and questions was used in the in-depth interviews with key informants (see appendix 1 and 2 for the interview schedules).

The focus group guide used in the focus group discussions was similar to the interview schedule, but was more detailed to suit the discussants in their discussions about their experiences and views about the informal sector (see appendix 3 for the focus group guide).

3.2.3 Sampling

Purposive sampling was used to identify the key informants and focus group participants. Purposive sampling method suited the study following Vaughn, Schumm & Sinagub's (1996) and Seale 2007 arguments that it targets particular groups of people and it is used when the required population for the study is very difficult to find and recruit for a study

Sample Selection

The samples of 24 disabled men and women and 15 key informants were drawn from three sample frames.

- Self-employed physically disabled, speech impaired,⁴² hearing impaired and visually impaired men and women aged between 18 years and 50 years⁴³ carrying out IGAs in the informal sector and operating from various locations such as established market places, roadsides and their homes. The disabled men and women were selected irrespective of their educational levels, marital status or incomes in order to come up with a wide range of their experience (please refer to 3.1 Research Design: Second Phase);
- Men and women administrators of NGOs for PWDs in Kampala and Mubende district; and
- Policy makers who were involved in policies and decision making for disabled men and women at local and national levels.

Sample Size

There were 39 participants in the study: 24 participants in focus groups and 15 key informants. Each of the samples is discussed in the paragraph that follows.

People with Disabilities (PWDs)

The researcher conducted focus group discussions with 24 men and women that were physically disabled, and hearing and visually impaired. The physically disabled men and women that were interviewed had congenital abnormalities, quadriplegia and paraplegia. Interviewing men and women with specific disabilities was done to exclude people with minor/partial disabilities, for instance, persons with low vision, mild hearing loss or who had lost a finger(s), as society hardly perceives these as disabilities and people with these kinds of challenges do not encounter work challenges similar to people with major disabilities.

In addition, categorising PWDs according to their types of disabilities was based on the researcher trying to elicit specifically which activities different types of disabled men and women were involved in, the work challenges encountered and the resources they have acquired through their participation in the informal sector. As a result, this did not only exclude the over-generalisation of data, but

⁴²No speech impaired women and men could be found for the focus group. The researcher substituted them for one visually impaired man and woman and one hearing impaired man and woman.

⁴³ This age group is normally the economically active age group in Uganda.

brought out the differences existing between different types of disabled men and women with regard to their participation in the informal sector. This method of categorising disabled men and women also eased the analysis process. The composition of the focus groups is set out in figure 5

Figure 5: Selection of Focus Group Participants



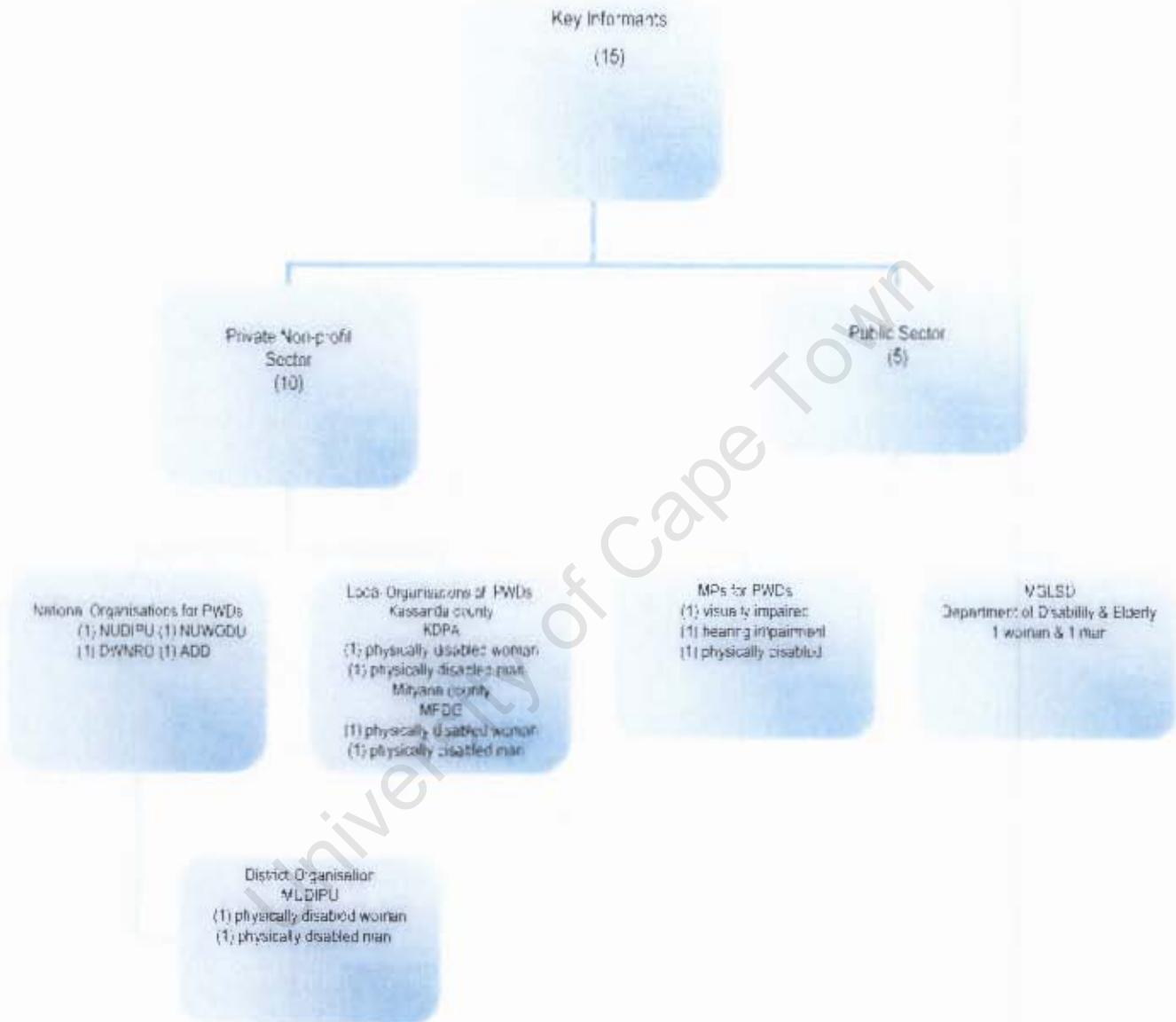
Key Informants

The selection of the key informants was carried out with the use of purposive sampling (see figure 6): five policy makers from government were selected: one woman and one man from MGLSD who were directly involved in running programmes for PWDs in MGLSD; and three members of Parliament representing PWDs: one physically disabled; one visually impaired; and one person with a hearing impairment. Four programme managers from the national organisations of PWDs, i.e. NUDIPU, NUWODU, DWNRO and ADD, were interviewed. At district level,⁴⁴ two programme officers from MUDIPU were interviewed. At county level, two associations for the PWDs were selected from each of the two selected counties, of which one WWD and one disabled man directly involved in running programmes for the PWDs from Mityana and Kassanda county were selected.

These key informants were selected because they were directly involved in the policy making process, were knowledgeable about the activities of PWDs and were involved in the day-to-day planning and implementation of productive activities of PWDs.

⁴⁴ MUDIPU is the only NGO of PWDs representing Mubende and Mityana districts

Figure 6: Selection of Key Informants from Government and Institutions Dealing with PWDs



Key:

- ADD *Action on Disability and Development*
- DWNRO *Disability Women's Network and Resource Organisation in Uganda*
- KDKA *Kassanda Disabled People's Association*
- MGLSD *Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development*
- MPs *Members of Parliament*
- MFDG *Mityana Foundation for Disadvantaged Groups*
- MUDIPI *Muberde District Disabled Persons Union*
- NUDIPI *National Union of Disabled Persons of Uganda*
- NUWODU *National Women with Disabilities of Uganda*
- PWDs *People with Disabilities*

3.3 Data Management and Analysis

Miles and Huberman's (1994) approach was used in the analysis of the qualitative data. Right from the start, a journal was used to note down the researcher's analytical thinking at each and every stage of the analysis process.

3.3.1 Step One: Preliminary Analysis

All in-depth interviews and FGDs were tape recorded to ensure that the original information gathered from participants was stored for further data processing. The tapes and other written materials used during the data collection process were kept in safe custody for purposes of confidentiality.

During data collection, an early data analysis was done in the field. This was done by analysing the body language and emotions of the participants, as well as comments made by the participants. Observations were made and manually coded during the discussions. Manual coding at the preliminary analysis stage had the advantage of the researcher being able to cycle back and forth between thinking about the existing data and generating strategies for collecting new and often better data. Mbilinyi (1992) asserts that this strategy helps in identifying gaps, as well as developing strategies for addressing them. The tape-recorded information was transcribed (verbatim) and translated from the local language to English as transcripts were being written. Narrative reports were written on each interview and focus group.

3.3.2 Step Two: Close Reading of the Data

Close reading and interaction with the transcribed information was done, and it prepared the ground for analysis. This step is drawn from Dey (1993:83), who argues that one cannot analyse data unless one reads it and how well one reads it determines how well it will be analysed. The transcripts were therefore read more than once in order not to lose alternative narratives to what emerged as the predominant experiences and challenges experienced by the disabled men and women in the informal sector.

3.3.3 Step Three: First-level Coding

Qualitative methods of creating categories and assigning codes⁴⁵ to the text were applied manually at this stage. Different codes (in the form of themes) were assigned, depending on the research questions and objectives.⁴⁶ Codes were used following Fielding & Lee's (1998) and Miles & Huberman's (1994) assertion that codes contribute to data reduction, selected data is brought together and emerging themes are identified. Consistency of the theme was maintained throughout the analysis of the qualitative data. Sub-themes that came up were coded under the relevant main theme.

From the categories formed, sub-categories of the research study started emerging. The researcher's argument for classifying data into specific themes follows scholars like Miles and Huberman's (1994) argument that this initial framework of analysis has an advantage of reducing "data overload" and discarding less helpful data, since only data pertaining to the specific themes of the study will be categorised and focused upon. On the other hand, though, Welsh (2000) argues that data that seems irrelevant to the study should not be discarded, as it could become helpful at some stage. Indeed, some of the data that seemed less helpful was coded and put in a memo and was used to back up some arguments during the discussions and analysis of findings.

Electronic versions of the transcripts were imported into the NVIVO software programme of the Computer Aided Qualitative Data analysis software (CAQDAS) and coded electronically. Coding was done by creating free nodes with the help of the manual transcripts, which were already prepared. The NVIVO package allowed the researcher to edit texts without affecting the coding and to retrieve, review and recode coded data.

Second-level Coding

During the second level coding, categories in the free node were sub-divided for purposes of refining and giving the analysis a focus. When categories were sub-divided, tree nodes, child nodes and sibling nodes were created. When different nodes were created, the researcher kept shifting

⁴⁵ Codes are labels for assigning units of meaning to the descriptive or inferential information compiled during a study (Miles & Huberman 1994:56).

⁴⁶ I used Fielding & Lee's argument on limitation of codes. I limited myself to using a small number of codes for fear of losing track of the data and the number of codes assigned to the different categories.

backward and forward to code each and every relevant piece of text that she came across. All the sub-categories formed were pertinent to the research aim and central to the research results. Node reports were printed. These were useful, since a visual presentation of links between codes, in other words data that was clustered in various free, tree and child nodes, were identified and critically analysed. Throughout the process, memos were developed for storing ideas for later elaboration to integrate data and emerging concepts in a fruitful way and for purposes of data reduction (Fielding & Lee 1998).

3.3.4 Step Four: Identifying Complex Relationships and Patterns

Data pertaining to conflicting interests, and that were assigned to different categories, was compared to produce a more encompassing analysis of the data. During the comparison of different categories, further distinctions were drawn within each category. Fielding & Lee (1994) argue that this process allows a more detailed comparison of data organised within a set of sub-categories. Regularities, threads and leads in the specific categories were identified and these suggested some underlying patterns and led to the key findings of the study.

Data was made more transparent by seeking out comparisons, contrasts, rival explanations and extreme cases in the data. In the same way, the data was compared and contrasted with the literature. This made the study clear and helped the researcher work towards rigorous analysis and so optimised the research results. Mange (1995) also recommends this process and argues that it highlights possible contradictions in participants' responses and unveils and enhances understanding of covert messages.

3.4 Research Ethics

Consent for the study was obtained from the National Council of Science and Technology (NCST). The NCST provides for ethical clearance. Once they approve your study and methodology, they issue you with a research identity card which you present to interviewees. The underlying notion is that you have been permitted to conduct the study and that you abide by the institution's ethical requirements.

As previously mentioned, the researcher met with each key informant and each of the focus group participants, prior to the interviews and focus group meetings. The purpose of the research was explained, and an attempt made to clarify expectations. The voluntary nature of their participation was emphasised.

At the beginning of each in-depth interview and focus group, the researcher assured the participants of confidentiality of information⁴⁷: that the study would not in any way jeopardise their welfare⁴⁸; that the participants' names would be kept secret through the use of pseudonyms; and that participation in the interview/focus group was voluntary. The participants signed a form giving their consent to be interviewed. Permission to use a tape recorder was sought from the participants.

The researcher made it clear to participants that the study was for academic purposes, but may also be useful as a basis for policy formulation and or policy modification and programme planning by government, NGOs dealing with PWDs and prospective donor agencies.

The researcher further explained to the participants that the study was for academic purposes, but may also be useful as a basis for policy formulation and or policy modification and programme planning by government, NGOs dealing with PWDs and prospective donor agencies. Permission to use a tape recorder was sought from the participants.

3.5 Limitations of the Design and Methodology

The research study was successfully completed, although there were some limitations regarding the design and methodology.

3.5.1 Sampling

For easy management of data, the research study was limited to two districts, Mityana and Mubende, and one sub-county in each district. Therefore the data obtained may not be representative of all the PWDs involved in various IGAs in the informal sector of Uganda.

⁴⁷ Mitchell (1993) demonstrates how confidentiality in fieldwork is vital if research is to be fruitful.

⁴⁸ Erickson has argued that sometimes interviewees need extra assurance that the information they give will not compromise their position and recommends that the researcher must adhere to this commitment.

Despite the fact that the sample size included speech impaired men and women and that the list obtained from MUDIPU contained this category of disabled men and women, they could not be found. Speech impaired men and women were substituted for an extra visually and hearing impaired man and woman. The fact that these disabled men and women could not be found in the study area, yet their names appeared on the updated list of disabled men and women, possibly reflects that they are not given any form of support for their IGAs in the informal sector. On the other hand, they could have relocated to another district.

3.6 Problems encountered during the Study

Whereas physically disabled men and women were active in the focus groups, which led to the researcher gaining productive data for the research study, visually and hearing impaired men and women were passive and unaware of many issues raised in the discussions, particularly regarding resource allocation and policy. This led to a gap in the analysis of the findings, since a lot of data pertaining to visually and hearing impaired men and women was not gathered.

As mentioned above, the researcher spent time with the focus group participants prior to conducting the groups, clarifying the purpose of the research and what participants could expect. In spite of this, some participants expressed the hope that the researcher would provide them with some resources to improve their IGAs. The researcher was, however, only in a position to compensate them with some transport funds. It can perhaps be noted, though, that the researcher also took time off to teach the participants how to write proposals for funding and gave them addresses of prospective organisations that would fund them. The researcher anticipates following up PWDs' proposals for funding once she has completed her studies.

Regarding the focus groups held with visually and hearing impaired men and women, the time planned for the focus groups was insufficient. This was a result of the time lag between the interpreter interpreting for both the researcher and the hearing impaired men and women. It is likely that the participants did not discuss at length all the issues related to their IGAs.

Summary

In conclusion, this chapter covered the research process, which facilitated the findings that are set out in the next chapter. Qualitative methods were used to obtain data that was valuable in establishing the differences in the types of IGAs PWDs were engaged in; work challenges PWDs have encountered while participating in these activities and the strategies they have used to overcome these challenges; and criteria utilised by the public and private non-profit sector with regard to the support system in the allocation of resources to the disabled men and women in Mubende and Mityana districts.

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CHAPTER FOUR

DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents and discusses the findings of this study that set out to explore and describe the gender dynamics of disabled men's and women's participation in the informal sector of the economy in Mubende and Mityana districts in Uganda.

A focus group discussion was held with each of the following: physically disabled men, physically disabled women, women with visual and hearing impairment and men with visual and hearing impairment in Mubende and Mityana districts. In-depth interviews were also conducted with 15 key informants from organisations of people with disabilities (PWDs) nationally and at local level, from the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development and from the Parliament of Uganda.

The findings are presented in two parts. The first part presents the profiles of key informants and focus group participants (see tables 3 & 4). The second part presents findings using the broad question themes as headings, namely the types of IGAs disabled men and women are engaged in, in the informal sector of Uganda; the challenges PWDs have encountered while participating in these activities and the strategies they have used to overcome these challenges; the types of resources allocated to disabled men and women and criteria utilised by the public and private non-profit sector in Mubende and Mityana districts; and the participants' perceptions of government policies and laws that address PWDs. At the start of the presentation of the findings, a summary is presented in a table format (see table 5).

The study uses a gendered approach to discuss and analyse the findings. The discussion and analysis of the findings draws on a social development approach, which seeks to promote the social and economic well-being of people and links social welfare programmes directly with economic development efforts (Midgley 1995). The study further uses a social model of disability, which looks beyond a person's impairment, arguing that a person with an impairment may not be able to find work, not because of an inability to work *per se*, but as a result of socially imposed restrictions, being discriminated against or because of the inaccessibility of work places (Barnes & Mercer 1995, Disabled People of South Africa 2001, Mitra 2005 and Silvers, Wasserman & Mahowald 1998).

In addition, this study draws on Albu's (2005) assertion that due to the advocacy initiatives of feminist organisations, governmental organisations and NGOs, disabled men and women today are carrying out productive activities that they can easily finance and which can accommodate their type of disability irrespective of their gender.

4.1 Reflexivity

Prior to carrying out this research study, I had a strong desire to know how disabled men and women manage and survive in their businesses, considering the different nature of their impairments. During the research study, I realised that it was extremely tough and challenging for them, much more so than I had anticipated. During the discussions with the participants, I had to keep an objective mind in order not to show bias and ruin participants' discussions and the research study. After carrying out the research study, I realised that disabled men and women, especially visually and hearing impaired men and women, still have a long way to go to benefit from their participation in the informal sector, since they receive less socio-economic resources as compared to physically disabled men and women.

4.2 Profile of Participants

To have a deeper understanding of the research participants, this section provides a profile of the focus group participants and key informants. For purposes of confidentiality, pseudonyms are used in place of the participants' names.

The 15 key informants in table 3 were selected from government bodies: MGLSD and the Parliament of Uganda (i.e. members of Parliament). The remaining ten key informants were from NGOs and local organisations of PWDs in Kampala districts and the study area, respectively. The information in the table has been organised in order of governmental bodies listed first, followed by NGOs and local organisations.

Table 3: Profile of Key Informants⁴⁹

| Pseudonyms | Sex | Type of impairment (if any) | Affiliation |
|------------------|-----|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Key informant 1 | M | None | MGLSD |
| Key informant 2 | F | None | MGLSD |
| Key informant 3 | F | Visual impairment | MP for Koboko county |
| Key informant 4 | M | Physical impairment | MP for PWDs |
| Key informant 5 | M | Hearing impairment | MP for PWDs |
| Key informant 6 | M | Physical impairment | NUDIPU |
| Key informant 7 | F | None | NUWODU |
| Key informant 8 | F | None | DWNRO |
| Key informant 9 | M | Hearing impairment | ADD |
| Key informant 10 | F | Physical impairment | MFDG MUDIWA representative |
| Key informant 11 | M | Physical impairment | MFDG |
| Key informant 12 | F | Visual impairment | MUDIPU representative |
| Key informant 13 | M | Physical impairment | MUDIPU project officer |
| Key informant 14 | M | Physical impairment | KDPA chairman |
| Key informant 15 | F | Physical impairment | KDPA representative |

Key:

See list of acronyms (p. x).

Table 3 presents a profile of 15 key informants who participated in the in-depth interviews.

The data in table 4 presents a list of focus group participants according to their types of disabilities, sex, marital status, family size and type of IGA they were engaged in. The IGAs are discussed in a separate section below (see section 4.3.1). Focus group participants were selected on the basis of being self-employed disabled men and women in the informal sector.

⁴⁹ The length of service of the key informants ranges from two to ten years.

Table 4: Profile of Focus Group Participants

| Pseudonyms | Marital status | Family size* | Type of impairment | Income-generating activity |
|--|----------------|--------------|---------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Focus group - visually and hearing impaired women | | | | |
| Emu | single | 7 | Hearing impairment | retail trade* |
| Biri | single | 10 | Hearing impairment | retail trade |
| Satu | single | 5 | Hearing impairment | food catering |
| Nya | single | 4 | visual impairment | retail trade |
| Tano | married | 9 | visual impairment | retail trade |
| Mukaga | single | 4 | visual impairment | retail trade |
| Focus group - visually and hearing impaired men | | | | |
| Nemu | married | 6 | Hearing Impairment | retail trade |
| Nabiri | single | 1 | Hearing impairment | retail trade |
| Nasatu | single | 4 | Hearing impairment | retail trade |
| Nanya | single | 4 | visual impairment | retail trade |
| Natano | married | 8 | visual impairment | retail trade |
| Namukaga | married | 3 | visual impairment | retail trade |
| Focus group - physically disabled women | | | | |
| Yemu | single | 1 | Physical impairment | retail trade |
| Yibiri | married | 2 | Physical impairment | retail trade and party decorating |
| Yisatu | married | 7 | Physical impairment | retail trade |
| Yinya | single | 5 | Physical impairment | retail trade |
| Yitano | single | 10 | Physical impairment | retail trade and hair dressing |
| Yimuga | widow | 3 | Physical impairment | retail trade and tailoring |
| Focus group - physically disabled men | | | | |
| Yatu | married | 4 | Physical impairment | retail trade |
| Yaba | married | 2 | Physical impairment | carpentry |
| Yamese | single | | Physical impairment | retail trade and bicycle repair |
| Yanya | married | 5 | Physical impairment | retail trade |
| Yifi | married | 20 | Physical impairment | retail trade and cobbler |
| Yiki | single | 6 | Physical impairment | retail trade |

Key:

Retail trade:

Retail trade mainly comprised sale of goods or commodities in small quantities directly to consumers. These goods or commodities included goods purchased wholesale; herbs; charcoal; handcraft weaving; second-hand clothes; and products from the participants' farms like food crops, poultry, animals and milk.

Family size:

Family size represents the number of children and/or adults with whom the participants were living.

4.3 Presentation of Findings

The framework for the analysis of the data is presented in table 5. It sets out the four main research question themes, which are linked to the study's five objectives (see chapter one, section 1.4). Various categories emerged from each of the research question themes. These categories were broken down into sub-categories in an attempt to explore and describe the differences in types of IGAs PWDs are engaged in, in the informal sector; the challenges they encountered; strategies utilised to overcome work-related challenges; the type of resources and criteria used in resource allocation; and the participants' perceptions of government policies and laws that address PWDs' participation in the informal sector. The findings generated from the focus groups and in-depth interviews are discussed concurrently. A gender analysis has been done in the text, but is not reflected in table 5.

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Table 5:

Framework for Analysis of the Findings

| Research themes | Categories | Sub-categories | |
|--|--|--|---|
| | | Focus group participants | Key informants |
| Differences in types of income generating activities | Type of income generating activity | Retail trade, services and farming | Retail trade, services and farming |
| | Factors that motivated PWDs to start IGAs in the informal sector | Poverty and unemployment Inspiration from other people Family responsibilities | Poverty and unemployment Inspiration from other people |
| | Factors that enabled PWDs to start IGAs in the informal sector | Support from spouses, relatives or friends NGO support Personal savings Government support | NGO support Personal savings Government support |
| | Benefits from the IGAs | Income Skills and experience in IGAs Equipment and mobility appliances Alliance and unity | Income Skills and experience in IGAs |
| Challenges in the informal sector work | Challenges in starting IGAs in the informal sector | Insufficient capital Expenses Negative attitudes Stigmatisation | Insufficient capital Expenses |
| | Challenges PWDs encounter in maintaining and running their IGAs | Poor working environment Expenses Limited market / clientele Insufficient /no skills training workshops Sexual abuse & exploitation Oppression | Poor working environment Expenses Limited market / clientele Sexual abuse & exploitation |
| | Strategies utilised to overcome challenges | Diversification Alliances Storage of goods | Alliances Self adaptation Personal initiative |
| Resource allocation: Types and criteria | Government | Heifer project & poultry project <i>Criteria used</i> Revolving project <i>Shortcomings</i> Unsustainable project | Heifer project & poultry project <i>Criteria used</i> Revolving project <i>Shortcomings</i> Unsustainable project |
| | | Financial support Reasons for inadequate resource provision by government Corruption at Local Council level Inadequate funds for PWDs' IGAs | Financial support Reasons for inadequate resource provision by government Corruption at Local Council level Inadequate funds for PWDs' IGAs Government Policy |

Table 5: Framework for Analysis of the Findings

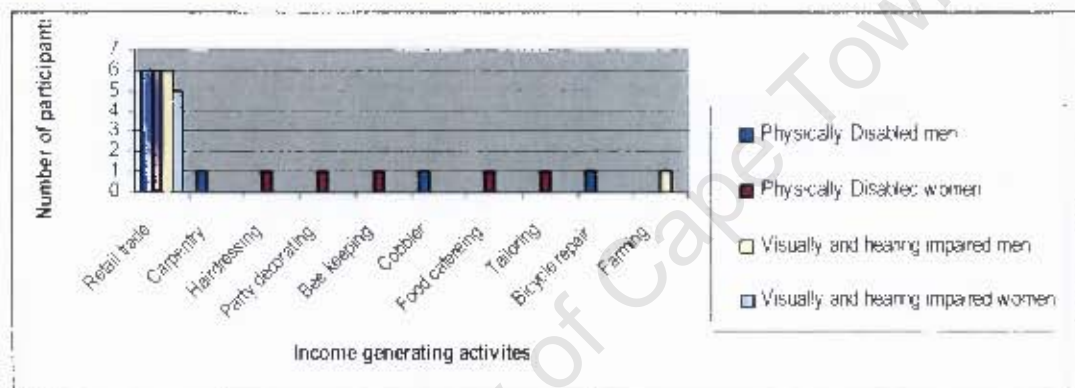
| Research themes | Categories | Sub-categories | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | Focus group participants | Key informants |
| Resource allocation: Types and criteria | Local Organisations <i>Mityana diocese PWD desk and Namutamba Rehabilitation Centre</i> MUDIPU <i>Mityana Foundation for Disadvantaged Groups</i> <i>Women with Disabilities</i> <i>National Women with Disabilities of Uganda</i> <i>Mubende Women with Disability Association</i> | Threefold project <i>Criteria used</i> Universal and equal distribution Animal and tailoring projects and sensitisation workshops <i>Criteria used</i> Membership and attendance of regular training workshops Equipment, animal projects and financial resource | Threefold project <i>Criteria used</i> Universal and equal distribution Animal and tailoring projects and sensitisation workshops <i>Criteria used</i> Membership and attendance of regular training workshops Equipment, animal projects and financial resource <i>Criteria used</i> All disabled single mothers, skills and membership Income generating activity project <i>Criteria used</i> Groups and ownership of an IGAs |
| | | Financial resources and tailoring project <i>Criteria used</i> Why some focus group participants did not acquire resources from local organisations Impersonation / Fraud | Financial resources and tailoring project <i>Criteria used</i> Membership and equal opportunity Why some focus group participants did not acquire resources from local organisations Failure to follow criteria for resource acquisition Insufficient and/or no resources Impersonation / Fraud Unsustainable and short-term donor programmes |
| Participants' perceptions of government policies and laws that address PWDs' participation in the informal sector | Policy & legislation | Policy & legislation | Policy & legislation |
| | | | <i>1997 Local Government Act</i> PWD issues inadequately addressed/unrepresented |
| | | <i>Poverty Eradication Action Plan and Plan for Modernisation of Agriculture</i> PWD issues inadequately addressed/unrepresented | <i>Poverty Eradication Action Plan and Plan for Modernisation of Agriculture</i> PWD issues inadequately addressed/unrepresented |
| | | | <i>2006 Employment Law</i> PWDs do not feature prominently |
| | | | <i>1998 Uganda Traffic and Road Safety Act</i> Implementation insufficiently done |
| | | <i>2006 National Policy on Disability</i> Positive change | <i>2006 National Policy on Disability</i> Positive change |

4.3.1 Differences in Types of Income-generating Activities:

4.3.1.1 Types of IGAs

To establish what types of IGAs focus group participants were involved in, in the informal sector, focus group participants were asked to list them. Figure 7 shows the various IGAs in which participants of the focus group were engaged.

Figure 7: Income-generating Activities of Participants



The findings reflected in figure 7 show that the majority of the focus group participants were engaged in the retail trade. All the physically disabled men and women, and visually and hearing impaired men were engaged in the retail trade. Five of the visually and hearing impaired women were also engaged in the retail trade. This trade mainly comprised the sale of goods purchased wholesale, herbs, charcoal, handcraft weaving, second hand clothes, and products from the participants' farms like food crops, poultry, animals and milk. These IGAs were carried out in the market and at home.

Whereas figure 7 represents the majority of visually and hearing impaired men and women being mainly involved in a single IGA in the informal sector, physically disabled men and women undertook multiple IGAs. For instance, some physically disabled men were involved in carpentry work and shoe shining, while some physically disabled women were engaged in bee keeping, hairdressing, tailoring and party decorating. The fact that visually and hearing impaired men and women complained of a lack of or insufficient capital and lack of skills to engage in their IGAs may be a possible explanation why the majority of them were involved in single IGAs. The financial constraints were illustrated by Nemu:

"My biggest problem is capital. I do not have capital. I had insufficient capital while starting my business, I don't even have any support from donors and I am still facing poverty."

However, further, more extensive research would need to be done to explore the relationship between the type of disability and the number of IGAs in which people with different disabilities are engaged.

When physically disabled men and women were asked why they had engaged in more than one IGA, some of them mentioned that they had resorted to diversification because they got an extra hand from family members in their IGAs. Other physically disabled men and women argued that diversification in their businesses was a strategy to overcome challenges like insufficient income and price fluctuations that they faced in their IGAs in the informal sector.

Yaba illustrated the challenge of insufficient income:

"I used to do carpentry work. Today you get clients, tomorrow you have no business. You end up spending all the money you will have saved. That is why I had to start selling vegetables as well."

Yemu stated,

"Carrying out more than one business has helped me sustain my family because the income I get from the retail shop was not enough. At least now I rear hens and the family members are willing to supervise them."

In relation to the above findings, some key informants, when discussing the question of types of IGAs, indicated awareness that some physically disabled men and women were engaged in similar multiple IGAs.

Key informant 1's explanation for this was,

"Women all over the world have been emancipated. This affirmative action has enabled women to do more or less what men can do."

The fact that disabled men and women were engaged in similar IGAs could also be linked to the current government system in Uganda that advocates for gender equality. To promote gender equality, NGOs of PWDs have engaged disabled men and women in skills training workshops, which in turn has empowered them to engage in any IGA, provided they could earn some income and sustain themselves. Yemu reported,

"As women with disabilities, we have few jobs we can do and that means we have to get involved in similar activities with our fellow disabled men."

Key informants reported similar IGAs that WWDs in the focus groups mentioned, and further mentioned crochet work. Most of these types of IGAs that these WWDs were engaged in were within their social

surroundings and enabled them to carry out their socially constructed gender roles like child rearing and house work concurrently. This contributed to many WWDs remaining trapped in relatively unproductive and lesser-paid activities, resulting in their having inadequate funds to engage in better-earning IGAs (Disability report 2003, Hastings 1998, Lorenzo 2004 and UNESCO & ILO 2002).

Contrary to the above finding, it was also established from some key informants that some WWDs, especially physically disabled women, were moving from IGAs that accommodated their traditional gender roles to any type of IGA that could accommodate their type of impairment and which they could easily finance. IGAs that were cited were bee keeping and beer brewing. This finding shows that gender is or is not necessarily the deciding factor with regards to the IGAs WWDs are engaged in, provided resources such as finances are available.

With regards to disabled men, key informants reported similar IGAs that were reported in the focus groups, although they also mentioned that physically disabled men were engaged in metal fabrication, motor and vehicle mechanics, shoe and leather manufacturing, tailoring, motorcycle taxi driving, repairing cameras, repairing radios, music recording and hairdressing. Some key informants indicated that visually impaired men were engaged in music (playing the guitar, piano, organ), bee keeping, carpentry, tailoring, metal fabrication and bicycle mechanics; and hearing impaired men carried out bee keeping, carpentry, off-loading heavy trucks, tailoring, metal fabrication and bicycle mechanics. It was established that some physically disabled men and hearing and visually impaired men's IGAs involved the use of a lot of energy and movement, for instance, agricultural activities, metal fabrication, bicycle mechanics and carpentry work. Key informant 6 stated,

"The deaf men are involved in manual tasks because they have a lot of energy which is translated into doing work, there are two reasons to that: they want to be so sharp and they try to do whatever you tell them to do however difficult it is because they want to prove a point."

The above findings on the types of IGAs focus group participants were engaged in, in the informal sector, show that different types of disabled men and women were involved in similar IGAs, although physically disabled men and women tended to be involved in multiple IGAs. The findings confirm Albu's (2005) and UNESCO & ILO's (2002) argument that due to advocacy initiatives by feminist organisations, governmental organisations and NGOs, PWDs are resorting to IGAs that they can easily finance and which can accommodate their type of impairment irrespective of their gender. This argument confirms the feminist

theorists' assertion that gender is not necessarily the deciding factor among disabled men and women in their IGAs.

Disabled men and women were motivated by different factors to start their IGAs, as discussed below.

4.3.1.2 Factors Motivating PWDs to Start IGAs in the Informal Sector

The findings reveal that different factors motivated focus group participants to start IGAs in the informal sector. As set out in table 6, below, focus group participants were motivated by poverty and unemployment, inspiration from other people and family responsibilities. These factors varied with the type of disability.

Table 6: Motivation to Start Income-generating Activities⁵⁰

| Type of disability | Physically disabled women | Physically disabled men | Visually and hearing impaired women | Visually and hearing impaired men |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Motivation to start IGAs | Poverty and unemployment | Poverty and unemployment | Poverty and unemployment | Poverty and unemployment |
| | Inspiration from other people | | Inspiration from other people | |
| | Family responsibilities | | Family responsibilities | |

Poverty and Unemployment

Poverty causes a high level of economic dependence on family members, relatives, communities and government. All focus group participants were motivated to start IGAs in the informal sector to meet their basic needs and sustain themselves and their families, as a way to fight poverty and unemployment. Satu commented,

“Poverty! Poverty undermines all the good intentions that you would wish to undertake. I wanted to get rid of poverty and be able to develop and run my family.”

Sanyu also reported,

“They (PWDs) have ended up involved in activities in the informal sector considering the government policy whereby they should engage in everything, every working activity so that they are able to earn an income.”

⁵⁰ Data from key informants has not been included in tables 6-11, but is included in the text.

From the above quotations, it was evident that PWDs started IGAs that they could manage in order to earn an income to fight poverty and unemployment. This was possible because taking up an IGA in the informal sector does not require a high level of training or literacy and there is free entry and exit of people in economic activities in response to market demands, and reliance on indigenous resources and manual labour (Bigsten, Kimuyu, & Lundval 2004 and UNESCO & ILO 2002).

Inspiration

Another factor that motivated focus group participants to start IGAs in the informal sector was inspiration. Most WWDs in the focus groups were inspired by their able bodied peers. Emu reported,

“I was inspired by other people who had been in the business of rearing hens for a long time and selling them off in the market. I realised that they had benefited. They had built houses and educated children.”

Key informant 4 also commented that through peer counselling and interactions, the disabled in Mubende were inspired to start IGAs.

The fact that WWDs in the focus groups were inspired by able-bodied people and decided to start IGAs shows that they do not want to depend on other people; and that they did not have a sense of passivity and were not helpless, as society portrays them (Hans & Patri 2003 and Mekosha 2004).

Family Responsibilities

Considering that most WWDs in the focus groups were single parents, some of them were motivated to start IGAs because of the family responsibilities that they had. Satu reported,

“I wanted to get rid of poverty and be able to develop and run my family.”

Yinya also reported,

“When I started attending training workshops, I realised that with the skills I have got, if I sell my small farm yields, I will get some money to run my family better and now I get money for my children’s school fees and other requirements for my children and myself.”

The above findings are linked to Barnett & Hyde's (2001) and Inglehart & Norris's (2003) assertions that women's gender roles have changed over time in that WWDs now also provide in the areas of basic needs

and secondary responsibilities⁵¹ related to their families, out of their productive roles. These findings also challenge societies that stereotype WWDs as being passive, helpless and dependent.

In tandem with the factors that motivated focus group participants to start IGAs in the informal sector, they were enabled to start their IGAs through a range of different sources of support, as discussed in more detail below.

4.3.1.3 Factors Enabling PWDs to Start IGAs in the Informal Sector

The study established that various factors enabled focus group participants to start IGAs in the informal sector. Table 7 presents a categorised breakdown of these factors.

Table 7: Factors Enabling PWDs to Start IGAs in the Informal Sector

| Type of disability | Physically disabled women | Physically disabled men | Visually and hearing impaired women | Visually and hearing impaired men |
|--------------------|--|--|--|--|
| Enabling factors | Support from spouses, relatives or friends | Support from spouses, relatives or friends | Support from spouses, relatives or friends | Support from spouses, relatives or friends |
| | NGO support | NGO support | NGO support | NGO support |
| | Personal savings & home projects ⁵² | Personal savings & home projects | Personal savings & home projects | |
| | Government support | Government support | | |

Support from Spouses, Relatives or Friends

As indicated in table 7, support from spouses, relatives or friends was one of the frequently reported “factors” that enabled most focus group participants to start IGAs. This support was in one or two forms: they got cash in the form of loans or remittances; and they were given material aid. For instance, most visually and hearing impaired men and women reported that they got capital from relatives or friends in the form of animals to rear and land to graze their animals and cultivate their crops. The disabled men and women in the study show that their spouses, relatives or friends look beyond a person’s impairment and believe that disabled men and women can participate and earn a living through IGAs. Bwana and Kyohere (2001) write that some families of PWDs and community members are sensitised by NGOs on how to care for and support PWDs from childhood, by setting up income generating projects for them and involving themselves in ensuring that the project develops in a way that will continue to benefit PWDs and their customers, by finding ways of mobilising sources of income, and by advocacy and lobbying. This kind of

⁵¹ Secondary responsibilities include paying tuition fees for the children.

⁵² Home projects included poultry rearing, livestock rearing and crop farming.

support from NGOs and CBR programmes for PWDs not only enables them to get involved in different IGAs in the informal sector, but also reduces the communities' negative attitude towards PWDs.

Some of the visually and hearing impaired men and women who stated that they did not get any support from spouses, relatives or friends reported that these significant others were also poor. Thorburn (1999) comments that people usually respond very positively to the notion of helping PWDs. Hence, failure of families to support PWDs is commonly found to be as a result of poverty or lack of knowledge about what can be done to improve the situation (Ingstad 1999). Seeley (2001) challenges these arguments and asserts that at family level, disabled men and women are considered unworthy and rarely counted among family members, and as far as mainstream development is concerned, they are forgotten, leading to a dependency syndrome that denies disabled men and women access to socio-economic services (UNAPD 2006). This argument links to the social model of disability, which states that a person with an impairment may not be able to find work, not because of an inability to work *per se*, but as a result of the socially imposed restrictions, including discrimination (Mitra 2005 and Silvers, Wasserman & Mahowald 1998).

NGO Support

Various NGOs played a central role in providing economic and material support⁵³ to focus group participants to start their IGAs in the informal sector. Some focus group participants mentioned local organisations providing various forms of support: Nigina and Munomukabi carried out cash rounds;⁵⁴ and Namutamba Rehabilitation Centre carried out money lending and feasibility studies for appropriate funding, as well as the training of PWDs in various skills like tailoring, weaving sweaters, table cloth and agricultural production. Some physically disabled men and women reported that Kulika Charitable Organisation and ABLIS Foundation gave them funds; MUDIPU started programmes like money-lending, cow and poultry projects; and the Mubende Disabled Women's Association (MUDIWA) gave physically disabled women funds and supported them to start a tailoring project.

Key informants reported similar NGOs to focus group participants that enabled them to start IGAs. However, other NGOs mentioned by key informants from Mubende and Mityana districts were Mityana Foundation for Disadvantaged Groups and Kiyinda Mityana Diocese's PWDs desk, which gave physically disabled men and women (its members) loans without interest, and also started a poultry and piggery

⁵³ Economic resources included finances, and material support included equipment such as wheelchairs, crutches and sewing machines.

⁵⁴ Cash rounds are community self-help projects where people form a group collect an equal amount of funds among themselves and then give it to one member in turns. When all the members have had a turn, then the round starts again.

project for single mothers who were disabled. Some of these NGOs eased the borrowing facilities in that some of them did not charge interest rates, while others charged low interest rates. The significant support of local organisations towards focus group participants highlighted above confirms the argument of Kandyomunda et al. (2001) that NGOs' strength lies in their potential capacity to participate and respond to people's real needs, particularly those of vulnerable groups.

Personal Savings

Some focus group participants reported that they relied on personal savings to start their IGAs. These savings were acquired in various ways: through home projects whereby PWDs reared animals and poultry and sold off their products at the market; doing odd jobs; and engaging in governmental activities like political programme campaigns.⁵⁵ Nya commented,

"I first worked at someone's place by washing clothes. I then started collecting money slowly until I got some reasonable amount to start my business."

Similarly, Yiki stated,

"During political campaigns, I worked as a campaigning agent for political candidates and was able to raise some money which I used to add on my savings. I was then able to raise capital to start my small business."

The above quotations are similar to some key informants' arguments that PWDs struggled on their own and competed like able bodied people to start their IGAs.

The above findings show that through some focus group participants' creativity and innovativeness, they broke through the societal stereotypes of being dependent and unworthy (Gerschick 2000 and Lwanga Ntale 2003) and were able to start IGAs. This finding reinforces the social model of disability, which looks beyond a person's impairment and views society and institutions as discriminative and responsible for many of the barriers that prevent disabled men and women from participating in the informal sector (Mitra 2005 and Silvers et al. 1998).

Government Support

A few physically disabled men and women reported that government had enabled them to start their IGAs through various projects. For instance, Mityana Town Council supported them to start IGAs through a heifer

⁵⁵ Political programmes included income given by politicians as a means to coerce the disabled to vote people into positions of political power.

project. The idea was that when the cow delivered a female calf, it was given to a group member and the process would be replicated until each group member received a female calf. However, the heifer project was short-lived because it was expensive to maintain and had a lot of responsibilities⁵⁶ that physically disabled men and women could not manage. The council also provided stalls in the market. Some focus group participants reported that these market stalls were, however, of benefit to only two physically disabled men. Some physically disabled men attributed the limited number of market stalls given to them to the district having limited funds. Thirdly, the council distributed exotic hens to some disabled men and women.

Contrary to the above findings, some key informants reported that there was hardly any government support to disabled men and women engaged in IGAs. Key informant 13 reported that government was mostly interested in supporting women and youth, yet the mandate of the Department of Disability and Elderly Affairs in MGLSD was to provide services to PWD through provision of vocational training (Directorate of Gender and Community Development 1999). Key informant 13 further reported that if there were any cases of government funding PWDs, funds were given to the community department at the district level, and in turn the funds were used for holding meetings and for fieldwork purposes without considering PWDs' needs.

Key informants from MGLSD emphasised that government supported PWDs through training from CBR programmes, which enabled PWDs to start IGAs in the informal sector. However, some of the NGO key informants interviewed complained that the training PWDs got from CBR programmes was outdated and did not match the demands of the current market. Ingstad (1997) advises that prior to different countries and cultures implementing rehabilitation programmes, it is important to investigate the kind of economy, attitudes and behaviour society has towards PWDs so that CBR programmes can be planned accordingly and PWDs can gainfully benefit from the various programmes conducted.

With regard to the findings on factors enabling PWDs to start IGAs in the informal sector, it can be argued that whereas the visually and hearing impaired men and women in the study relied most on starting IGAs through personal savings and support from spouses, relatives or friends, physically disabled men and women primarily relied on NGO support. In addition, regardless of the type of impairment, disabled men

⁵⁶ Responsibilities included the search for land to graze the cows and cleaning their kraals.

and women were creative, innovative and competed like able-bodied men and women to start IGAs in the informal sector in different ways.

The fact that focus group participants were able to engage in IGAs in different ways, thereby being able to survive in society and benefit in various ways, shows that their impairments do not preclude them from engaging in the informal sector, but they hugely disadvantage them in society. What such people need most to enable them to participate in their IGAs are incentives like capital and the elimination of discrimination and negative stereotypes from a gender and disability perspective, which serve to compound their exclusion from support services, social and economic opportunities, and participation in community life (WWDA 2003 and ILO 1997).

4.3.1.4 Benefits Derived from the IGAs

As reflected in table 8, findings indicate that focus group participants benefited in a variety of ways from their IGAs.

Table 8: Benefits Focus Group Participants Derived from the Informal Sector

| Type of disability | Physically disabled women | Physically disabled men | Visually and hearing impaired women | Visually and hearing impaired men |
|--------------------|--|--|-------------------------------------|---|
| Benefits from IGAs | Income for basic needs, education, business expansion, savings, health provisions, recognition Fixed assets: land | Income for basic needs, education, business expansion, savings, health provisions, marriage, recognition, fixed assets: land, houses, school | Income for basic needs, education | Income for basic needs, education, business expansion |
| | Skills & experience | Skills & experience | Skills & experience | |
| | Equipment & mobility appliances | | | |
| | Alliance & unity | | Alliance & unity | |

Income

Findings reflected in the above table show that all focus group participants gained an income from their IGAs out of which they benefited in various ways. All focus group participants were able to provide for their basic needs⁵⁷ and educate their children. Yibiri, for example, reported,

⁵⁷ The participants were able to afford food, shelter and clothing.

“Initially, I did not have money to provide school fees and food for my children and dependents. But now I am happy because I am able to provide for my family with the little that I get from my business.”

Yaba also stated that,

“I can now provide my family with basic needs, educate my children and have built a small house.”

The words of these two focus group participants show that they had a strong desire to support their families and develop themselves through the income from their IGAs. Many of the focus group participants performed the dual role of being the head of the family and the breadwinner. This shows that today, gender roles among disabled men and women have changed, since WWDs in the study were breadwinners.

As indicated in table 8, visually impaired men and women were not in a position to benefit from their income to the extent of the physically disabled men and women. This could be explained by the many challenges visually and hearing impaired men and women encountered in their IGAs. For instance, they reported that they were faced with many expenses such as transporting and catering for their guides and interpreters or helpers, and payment for rent; they ran small IGAs due to little capital; they had to deal with the untrustworthiness of their helpers; and they experienced clients who did not pay their debts. All this was at the expense of the income that they derived from their small IGAs. This was evident when Nya stated,

“I also get problems with the long distance from my home to the place of work, where I sell maize. So when you try to calculate the amount of money you will spend on transport yet the capital you injected in the business and profits you are getting are little, you become confused or fail to know what to do.”

From the physically disabled men and women's perspective, they also faced challenges that affected the income from their IGAs. What made the difference was that physically disabled men and women acquired resources from various sources and engaged in more than one IGA, which increased their income (see figure 4).

It was established that some physically disabled men and women gained recognition from running successful IGAs and owning land. Some physically disabled men were able to marry because they were considered wealthy. For example, Yiki reported,

“When I was unemployed, no woman would accept me but when I started my small business, I was considered a capable man and managed to get a woman to marry.”

The above finding from Yiki's experience contests Gerschick's (2000) assertion that PWDs do not have the privilege of enjoying their masculine and feminine gender because their masculinity or femininity collides with their being stigmatised as disabled men and women. The findings further show that PWDs' ability to be recognised and accepted in society is strongly influenced by their economic potential and contribution to society.

Some key informants reported that many PWDs had gained an income from their IGAs, expanded their IGAs and had become very successful. Key informant 13 gave examples of prominent physically disabled men in Mityana district who were engaged in IGAs. He cited Councillor Busagwa who represented PWDs, who was very successful in his IGAs and stated that he supplied government with dry rations and used the proceeds from that to construct rentable flatlets.

Irrespective of the challenges that affected the income of focus group participants in their IGAs in the informal sector, some key informants reported that PWDs earned an inadequate income because some IGAs like shoe repair and handcraft weaving attracted few clients. This partly explains why some focus group participants reported that they had not benefited enough from their IGAs. Key informant 1 therefore reported that they were attempting to provide skills and to involve more PWDs in IGAs like camera repair, radio repair, music recording and hairdressing, which would earn them a higher income.

Skills and Experience in IGAs

Most physically disabled men and women and a few visually and hearing impaired women reported that they gained skills and experience through their IGAs and through the various IGA-related skills training workshops they attended, offered by NGOs in Mubende and Mityana districts. These focus group participants gained skills and experience in business management, and in production skills like agricultural production, tailoring, sweater and table cloth weaving, and this built their confidence. Some key informants also reported skills and experience similar to those that focus group participants had stated were gained by PWDs in their IGAs.

Most visually and hearing impaired women complained of inadequate skills to run and maintain their IGAs, which seems to indicate that they did not gain as many skills and as much experience as physically disabled men and women. This could have been a result of challenges like a lack of sufficient funds to transport visually and hearing impaired women along with their guides and interpreters to the skills training workshops and/or a lack of communication with regards to the workshops. In order for visually and hearing

impaired men and women to improve their skills and benefit from their IGAs, Lwanga-Ntale (2003), Lorenzo & Cloete (2004) and Uganda National Action on Physical Disability (UNAPD) (2006) and recommend PWDs to take part in CBR programmes. However, unless government improves CBR programmes' training services, they were on record for poor training services to the disabled men and women (Kandyomunda et al. 2001 and Kisubi 2001).

Equipment and Mobility Appliances

Some physically disabled men and women in the focus groups that required equipment and mobility appliances to run their IGAs got wheelchairs and crutches from Namutamba Rehabilitation Centre and Mityana Foundation for Disadvantaged Groups. In support of disabled men and women obtaining equipment and mobility appliances, Lorenzo (2004) observes that assistive devices and equipment increase the level of independence of disabled people in their daily living and enable them to exercise their rights. This also could have enabled focus group participants to form partnerships with one another, as discussed in the section that follows.

Alliances and Unity

Many visually and hearing impaired women and physically disabled women in the focus groups reported that they had managed to form strategic business alliances and partnerships in business. Mukaga, a visually impaired woman, reported,

"We have united and made business alliances with physically disabled women and they share their knowledge and skills about their IGAs with us since they are more knowledgeable than us."

Physically disabled women also reported that they formed alliances among themselves and were able to access more services from NGOs like NUDIPU and ADD.

Figure 8: Measuring Benefits among PWDs in their IGAs

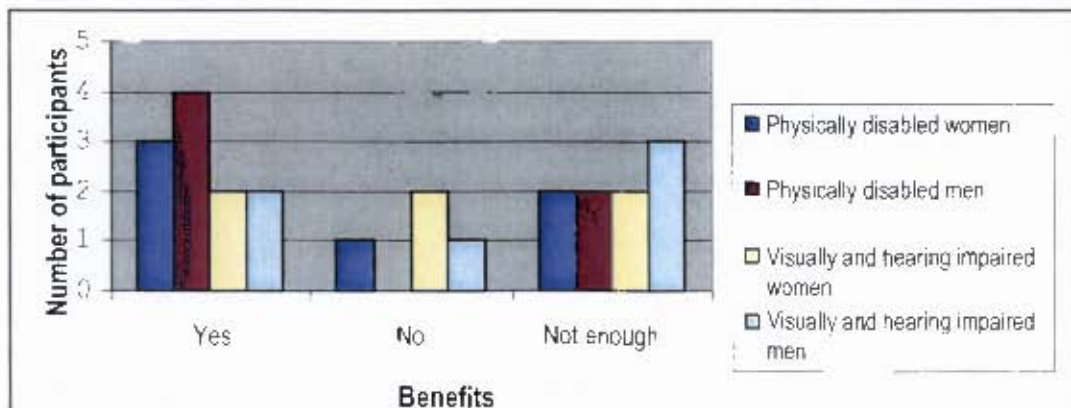


Figure 8 represents the responses of focus group participants with regards to their benefits in their IGAs. Overall, the physically disabled men and women benefited from their IGAs. Four out of six physically disabled men, three out of six physically disabled women, and two out of six visually and hearing impaired men and women reported that they benefited from their IGAs. Two out of six physically disabled men and women, and visually and hearing impaired women, as well as three out of six visually and hearing impaired men reported that they did not benefit enough from their IGAs. Only one physically disabled woman, one visually impaired man and two visually and hearing impaired women reported that they did not benefit at all from their IGAs.

There were differences in benefits reported by focus group participants, and these could be linked to the type of impairment with regard to their IGAs. Findings from the focus groups and some key informants showed that physically disabled men and women were at a better advantage of being socio-economically empowered to start and engage in various types of IGAs compared to other types of disabilities. In addition, some PWDs become disabled at an adult stage, and by the time he or she became disabled, she may have benefited from his or her IGAs. Natano, who for instance stated that he had benefited from his IGAs, started his business prior to becoming visually impaired.

Summary

With respect to the various IGAs PWD were engaged in, factors that motivated and enabled them to start and run their IGAs and the benefits they acquired from their IGAs in the informal sector, make it evident that participation in the informal sector empowered the participants socio-economically and reduced the dependency level of many of them, who were now regarded as valuable members of society, since they have achieved financial security.

These findings further draw the conclusion that PWDs have the potential and capacity to participate in and benefit from their IGAs in the informal sector, but that the socially imposed restrictions associated with disability like a poor working environment, negative attitudes, and the complex system of constraints imposed on them by discriminatory behaviour in society affect their performance in the informal sector and require social change.

At a gender level, these findings contest the traditional stereotypes of WWDs as passive, helpless, unworthy and "less valuable" in society (Gerschick 2000 and Lwanga-Ntale 2003) and suggest that if

WWDs are not marginalised and discriminated in society, within the disability context and as disabled women, they have the potential and capacity to carry out IGAs and sustain themselves.

4.3.2 Challenges in Informal Sector Work

Irrespective of the benefits focus group participants derived from their IGAs, they met several challenges in starting, maintaining and running their IGAs in the informal sector. The challenges that are central to the study are discussed below.

4.3.2.1 Challenges in Starting IGAs in the Informal Sector

Focus group participants faced various challenges such as insufficient capital, expenses, negative attitudes and stigmatisation in starting their IGAs in the informal sector (see table 9). Some of these challenges also emerged as difficulties they experienced in maintaining and running their IGAs in the informal sector and are discussed concurrently with the latter challenges (see section 4.3.2.2, below).

Table 9: Challenges in Starting IGAs in the Informal Sector

| Type of disability | Physically disabled women | Physically disabled men | Visually and hearing impaired women | Visually and hearing impaired men |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Challenges in starting IGAs | Insufficient capital | Insufficient capital | Insufficient capital | Insufficient capital |
| | Expenses | Expenses | Expenses | Expenses |
| | Negative attitudes | Negative attitudes | | |
| | Stigmatisation | Stigmatisation | | |

Insufficient Capital

As indicated in table 9, insufficient capital was a major challenge in starting IGAs in the informal sector. Much as focus group participants mentioned that they received start up capital from different sources, they went ahead to argue that it was insufficient. Yitano stated,

“When I received capital from MUDIPU, I had many family problems. I ended up spending most of the money I had got to solve these problems. I ended up purchasing little stock. Now I am unable to make enough profit.”

In relation to the above findings, key informant 6 argued,

“To support a disabled person you start from a basic need. You first ask yourself: what are the constraints of this person to participate, what challenges does he face in his or her participation otherwise if you neglect these issues, then the change you hope to make will be very minimal.”

The above quotations show that focus group participants have numerous problems that not only impact on the capital they manage to acquire to start IGAs, but also hinder their access to capital, which may not easily be solved by the organisations supporting them, considering key informants 3, 9 and 13's argument that some of these organisations work under tight budgets and are short funded. Clegg (2006) states that disability activists prefer to empower people to direct their own lives and to transform socially oppressive structures rather than aiming at lessening disability through increased financial support. In consideration of the ideological stances above, the researcher and Kandyomunda et al. (2001) argue the debate from a different angle and state that some NGOs of PWDs are not true to their missions, which lies in being responsible for their people's real needs, particularly vulnerable groups.

Failure of some organisations supporting PWDs to look beyond provision of capital to focus group participants not only led to some focus group participants missing out in the acquisition of capital because of their immobility due to their nature of impairment, but also misusing the capital they were given to solve their pressing demands. It is also likely that some of these organisations may assume that PWDs are used to charity and want everything for free, and would argue that if capital is put to the rightful use, they would then be able to acquire sufficient profits, thereby solving their pressing demands. This may not be the case with focus group participants, given that even when they are starting their IGAs, they are, for instance, challenged with expenses like hiring a work place and transporting their helpers or aids along with their goods to their work places, which reduces their capital. Jandwa (2005) recommends that organisations supporting PWDs should incorporate various needs of disabled people into their programmes in order for disabled people to achieve successful results.

4.3.2.2 Challenges PWDs Encounter in Maintaining and Running their IGAs

Focus group participants faced innumerable challenges in maintaining and running their daily IGAs in the informal sector. Table 10, below, presents a breakdown of the challenges that people with different types of disabilities encountered in maintaining and running their daily IGAs.

Table 10: Challenges in Maintaining and Running IGAs

| Type of disability | Physically disabled women | Physically disabled men | Visually and hearing impaired women | Visually and hearing impaired men |
|--|---|---|---|---|
| Challenges in maintaining and running IGAs | 1. Poor working environment: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inaccessible infrastructure • Stigmatisation • Negative attitudes | 1. Poor working environment: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inaccessible infrastructure • Stigmatisation | 1. Poor working environment: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inaccessible infrastructure • Communication problems | 1. Poor working environment: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inaccessible infrastructure • Communication problems |
| | 2. Expenses: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Transport • Rent • Price fluctuations | 2. Expenses: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Transport • Rent • Price fluctuations | 2. Expenses: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Transport • Rent • Debts • Price fluctuations | 2. Expenses: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Transport • Rent • Debts • Price fluctuations |
| | 3. Limited market/ clientele | 3. Limited market/ clientele | 3. Limited market/ clientele | 3. Limited market/ clientele |
| | 4. Insufficient/no skills training workshops | 4. Insufficient /no skills training workshops | 4. Insufficient/no skills training workshops | 4. Insufficient/no skills training workshops |
| | 5. Sexual abuse & exploitation | | 5. Sexual abuse & exploitation | |
| | 6. Oppression | | | |

Poor Working Environment

The poor working environment emerged prominently among focus group participants and most key informants as a challenging factor for PWDs in maintaining and running their IGAs. The working environment had problems like inaccessible infrastructure, stigmatisation, negative attitudes and communication problems, which all led to an increase in the expenses of PWDs and are discussed extensively below.

Inaccessible Infrastructure

Depending on the type of impairment, focus group participants and key informants reported that disabled men and women were challenged with inaccessible infrastructure. Key informant 6 reported,

“If someone is selling second hand clothes, how have you structured the work environment? Even if I had a wheelchair, can I use my wheelchair comfortably to go to my store, sell in it and how easily will a blind person move up and down? Where there are ramps, they have built them in such a way that when you are on it, you can roll back and fall.”

In relation to the above, Yifi reported,

“Many times transport is a problem to the market or even to take your goods for sale. This is even worse for those disabled people with critical disabilities. Immobility has therefore led to high transport costs.”

The inaccessible infrastructure was further reported by some focus group participants to have contributed to PWDs being stigmatised and incurring expenses like hiring extra labour to help them in their IGAs. This negatively affects the ability of focus group participants to compete favourably with able-bodied people in the market.

Stigmatisation

Some physically disabled men and women complained that they were stigmatised by society while starting, running and maintaining their IGAs. Yemu stated,

“Some people despise us, we are stigmatised. When they look at us as disabled women, they wonder, what can that lame woman do.”

Yatu also stated,

“We are stigmatised. This also applies to the women with disabilities except that the women are worse off compared to we the men. They are more stigmatised especially at work.”

The above findings show that whereas disabled men were stigmatised as disabled people, WWDs were affected more. Abu-Habib (1997) and DPSA (2001) support this finding in their comment that WWD are stigmatised due to their disability, gender and social status, which have affected the starting, running and maintenance of their IGAs in areas such as obtaining resources and competing in the market.

Negative Attitudes

The negative attitudes of people towards PWDs affected the working environment of focus group participants in starting, running and maintaining their IGAs. Key informant 2 observed that,

“The greatest challenge affecting the people with disability has to be attitudes, community attitudes, negative community attitudes. People with disability will tell you that they have problems at the first level. Why? It is because if the parents have negative attitudes towards that child, they will not assist that child to access what that child is supposed to access at that level.”

The negative attitudes and assertions of able-bodied people reduced the confidence of PWDs in their own work. This argument is supported by key informant 3 who reported,

“These disabled people have lost their abilities and they have inferiority complex. They still lack the confidence in managing business and it is because of this that people doubt our capabilities.”

These findings show that communities negatively impact on PWDs' participation in their IGAs, which is worsened by the lack of laws to protect PWDs in their IGAs, which limits their rights and freedom in the market economy. Negative attitudes reduce self-confidence and self-esteem and may severely affect the PWD's capacity to perform (Levinson & Parrit 2006 and UNAB 1999).

Alongside the abovementioned negative attitudes of society towards PWDs, in some cases their impairment seemed to hold an advantage. For example, the “names” society gave PWDs were used as a land mark, as the community was able to easily identify and relate to them, especially if they had adequate skills for the IGAs that they were engaged in.

If society were to have a positive attitude towards disabled men and women, they could improve their economic and social status, since a great deal of status in society is based on employment achievements. This is in line with Priestley's (2003) argument that employment is significant in the construction of disability as a social category, since ability to work is the primary criterion that governments use to define who is disabled.

Communication Problems

Similarly, some key informants and focus group participants reported that hearing impaired men and women were challenged with communication problems, since their customers rarely understood sign language. This meant that hearing impaired men and women had to rely on interpreters, since they could not negotiate directly with their customers.

It is likely that the communication problem experienced by hearing impaired men and women in the study led to expenses to pay and transport their interpreters. Communication problems also contributed to hearing impaired men and women having too few clients, since their clients could not easily communicate with them.

However, the poor working environment focus group participants faced in their IGAs may also be linked to PWDs leaders' failure to intervene in disability issues, given key informant 6's assertion,

"How involved are we to the activities of the people with disabilities, sometimes when we are invited to workshops, people get reluctant, they fail to go there. That's why we are in this kind of situation."

The above findings support Standing's (1997) argument that workers in the informal sector currently experience poor working conditions, receive no support from unions or associations and no work place benefits - a situation that is even worse for disabled men and women. Also impacting on the working environment, the researcher did not find any evidence or any sources that showed that workers in the informal sector in Uganda had privileges or laws that protected them. The 2006 Employment Law only protected employers and employees in the formal sector. The topic of policies and laws is addressed in section 4.3.4, below.

The picture emerging from the above findings indicates that the poor working environment not only impacts negatively on the profits of the PWDs, but can even jeopardise the future existence of IGAs that have small turnovers and low profit margins.

Expenses

Among the expenses that some focus group participants mentioned were transport, rent for those who hired space or market stalls to carry out their businesses, payment for interpreters and helpers, and debts. Some of these expenses are discussed extensively below.

Transport

The most pressing expense that was reported by most key informants and focus group participants while starting, maintaining and running their IGAs was transport. This involved transporting focus group participants' goods from wholesale shops to their work places and transporting their goods to and from the market. Some focus group participants had to incur additional transport costs for their helpers, guides, interpreters and their equipment. Natano, for instance, reported,

"We also have a problem with transport. Where I would be alone, I have to employ another person to help me because I am visually impaired. It therefore becomes very difficult to compete with able bodied people when you have no money."

Transport problems have negatively affected many focus group participants not only in Uganda, but also in other countries like in South Africa. A report in the 1997 White Paper on an Integrated National Disability Strategy clearly illustrates that inability to find or pay for suitable transport was one the biggest limitations for PWDs to access employment outside their homes.

Rent

Some focus group participants complained of rent costs for hiring space or market stalls to carry out their IGAs. Yimuga complained,

“Rent for the working areas hired for business was so high. Just imagine if you are a tailor who is disabled and you are expected to pay rent which is not only too high but you receive few customers at the end of the day.”

Other Factors

In addition to the high costs of rent, most focus group participants also complained of debts and price fluctuations, which affected their profits.

The above findings show that it was extremely difficult for some focus group participants to benefit from their IGAs in the face of all the costs and losses they incurred. (See figure 8, which represents the measurements of benefits among PWDs in their IGAs.) Due to such expenses, Yibiri stated that many visually and hearing impaired men and women had given up IGAs and remained at home.

Limited Market/Cientele

With regards to the limited market and clientele that most focus group participants reported, some key informants linked it to disabled and able bodied men and women competing in the market with similar goods; production of poor quality goods, since some disabled men and women did not have sufficient skills to compete with skilled business men and women in the market; and some of the products and services of PWDs attracted few clients, which consequently generated an inadequate income. For example key informant 4 stated that people would opt to buy new shoes rather than taking their shoes for repair. This calls for the responsible stakeholders to provide skills training in more marketable and productive IGAs to focus group participants, so that they are able to compete favourably with other business people.

Insufficient/No Skills Training Workshops⁵⁸

While some physically disabled men reported that they received insufficient skills training workshops, the majority of the visually and hearing impaired men and women reported that they received no skills training workshops to help them maintain and run their IGAs. Nya stated,

“We never get any training in any activities which can enable us to participate in income-generating activities.”

⁵⁸ These training workshops provide PWDs with capacity building, improve and acquire marketable skills, build their confidence and provide them with funds to improve, expand and maintain their IGAs.

Depending on the type of impairment they had, some key informants commented that PWDs were limited by various factors with regard to attending skills training workshops, such as lack of logistical requirements like transportation, accommodation and allowances during the training workshop; and a lack of communication with PWDs regarding these workshops. The visually and hearing impaired men and women, for example, also had to transport their guides and interpreters, which required a lot of money that they did not have.

Some focus group participants reported that some of the training workshops would take many days, which implied that they would not be able to carry out their IGAs, yet they had to provide for their families. They would also have to transport themselves daily to attend these workshops, since no accommodation was provided, which was another difficulty. Some WWDs reported that they were not taken to workshops or meetings because they were considered a burden. Some came to workshops with children who would cry throughout the workshop. Complications such as these forced the WWDs to abandon workshops from which they would otherwise have benefited.

Insufficient exposure of focus group participants to training workshops has not only led to a lack of/insufficient capacity and confidence, but has also contributed to PWDs' inability to advocate and lobby for resources for their IGAs. This argument links with ADD's (2004) and Hattingh et al.'s (1989) assertion that failure to get appropriate skills in business not only leads to fewer marketing opportunities, but also presents the individual with heavy competition from other business colleagues who have the requisite economic skills and managerial expertise.

Irrespective of the abovementioned challenges that focus group participants encountered when starting, maintaining and running their IGAs, WWDs encountered additional challenges that disabled men did not face, and these are discussed below.

Sexual Abuse and Exploitation

With regard to sexual abuse and exploitation, many WWD in the study reported that they were raped either when transacting their businesses at home or when returning from work. Yibiri stated,

“The best time of our business is during the evening. Many people are retiring from work so we are able to sell a lot of goods. Unfortunately, we have to leave work early to retire back home because many times we are raped by strangers once it gets dark.”

Worse still is that the law has not responded in any way to protect WWDs especially with regard to sexual abuse and exploitation. However, key informant 15 argued,

“Local government set up security lights (security lights were supposedly a community good) for all people irrespective of whether you are disabled or normal for easy movement and transaction of businesses.”

The fact that WWDs in the study still complained of sexual abuse and exploitation even in the presence of security lights implies that security lights alone were not a solution to WWDs' sexual abuse and exploitation, and in any case, key informant 15 stated that security lights were set up in the business areas only and not near their homes.

It appears that many WWDs face sexual abuse and exploitation, which is likely to have contributed to the following: their insecurity at work, inability to compete in the market since they had to retire home early to avoid the risk of being raped, unwanted pregnancies, fatherless children whom they could not support, and vulnerability to HIV/AIDS. Indeed, statistics regarding HIV/AIDS in Uganda reflect that the rate at which PWDs are acquiring HIV/AIDS is high (Mulindwa 2003). (For a further discussion on HIV/AIDS, see section 2.6.1 in chapter 2.)

Oppression

Some WWDs in the study were oppressed and denied opportunities by their husbands. For instance, Yitano reported,

“I always miss trainings because my husband restricts me from joining business groups of other women and restricts me to the house. That is why I can only make mats and baskets from my house.”

Yibiri also stated,

“When I started working, my husband broke off many of his responsibilities as a man slowly. When I talked to him about it, he threatened to stop me from working because he felt I was being stubborn and disrespectful of him by questioning his role as a husband in the home.”

The above findings show that some married WWDs in the study had to be submissive to their husbands at the expense of their IGAs. This partly explains why key informant 7 reported that more men with disabilities carry out IGAs in the informal sector compared to WWDs, given that in the African culture, women were meant to assume traditional gender roles, which ended up taking most of their time.

The above findings confirm ILO's (2004) and Lwanga-Ntale's (2003) argument that some WWDs lack the opportunity to work due to cultural ties. This problem has important implications for WWDs, which include: inadequate funds to engage in higher-earning IGAs, poor marketing skills and low consumer demand (Disability Report 2003 and UNESCO & ILO 2002), increased dependency on others, and less financial security later in life. Secondly, one's status in society is based on one's occupation and employment achievements. Women who are unemployed or who work in the home are seen by society as "less valuable" than those in paid employment (ILO 2004, WWDA 2003).

Contrary to the above arguments, Yabiri's statement shows that gender relations within the community are changing. This was confirmed by Kardam (2001) and some physically disabled women in the focus groups who argued that women have increasingly become more involved in small IGAs in the informal sector, and the men were reducing their financial support to the households. Despite the cultural ties that partly affect WWDs in their IGAs, it is evident that WWDs have become more involved in their IGAs, and have benefited more from them.

4.3.2.3 Strategies PWDs Used to Overcome Challenges in the Informal Sector

Various strategies were used by focus group participants to overcome the challenges they faced in their IGAs in the informal sector. As set out in table 11, below, focus group participants used diversification, alliances and storage of goods. These strategies varied with the types of disability, and are discussed below.⁵⁹

Table 11: Strategies Utilised to Overcome Challenges

| Type of disability | Physically disabled men | Physically disabled women | Visual /hearing impaired men | Visual /hearing impaired women |
|--|-------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Strategies utilised to overcome challenges | Diversification | Diversification | Diversification | Diversification |
| | Alliances | Alliances | | Alliances |
| | Storage of goods | | | |

Diversification

Overall, diversification was the leading strategy that most focus group participants reported that they used to overcome the challenges they faced in their IGAs in the informal sector. Nasatu reported,

"I work at the rich people's farms in order to earn more income. This has helped me subsidise on the income I get from my business of bee keeping."

⁵⁹ The strategies focus group participants used to overcome challenges in their IGAs in the informal sector discussed below have not been categorised according to the type of challenges mentioned above.

Yaba stated,

“I have resorted to diversification of my income generating activities. I used to do carpentry work but you know how carpentry work is. Today you get clients, tomorrow you have no business. You end up spending all the money you will have saved. That is why I had to start selling vegetables as well.”

The above quotations show that some focus group participants were creative, innovative and hardworking, and that they resorted to diversification as a coping strategy to overcome challenges like expenses that they encountered in their IGAs in the informal sector.

Whereas most physically disabled men and women resorted to diversification, only a few visually and hearing impaired men and women used this strategy. Most visually and hearing impaired men and women could not as they lacked capital and sufficient skills to engage in different IGAs.

Alliances

Some focus group participants and some key informants from the study area reported that PWDs had formed alliances in order to support each other and to seek support from various institutions to overcome challenges like insufficient capital and expenses. This was done through the formation of groups and associations like Kassanda Youth with Disabilities Associations, Mubende Physical Disability Association and Mityana Town Council People with Disability, which were financially supported by MUDIPU to start income generating projects. WWDs also had associations like Mubende Women with Disabilities Association, Nigina and Munnomukabi. Yinya, for instance, reported,

“Uniting with other members in self help groups like ‘Munno Mukabi’ has made me more knowledgeable and given me courage and the zeal to work hard in my business. We are therefore able to contribute money among ourselves and make a rotating credit scheme.”

In relation to the above finding, key informant 9 stated,

“If you meet other groups of disabled people that have not come together to form a group and you talk about self help, they will really accept. Because they see the value. The fact that they have come together they now have confidence to address their issues.”

The findings on alliances link to Semple’s (1999) strategy of forming a joint task force for the development and coordination of appropriate programmes in Cambodia. Such alliances of focus group participants would encourage dialogue and exploration of ideas that positively impact on their IGAs.

While most physically disabled men and women reported that they benefited from these associations, only one visually impaired woman, Tano, reported that she was a member of Nigina and Munnomukabi, but did not benefit a lot, since these associations seldom involved her in their activities. This shows that not only were visually and hearing impaired men and women in the study marginalised by society and other types of disabled men and women, but also different types of impairments are perceived and related to differently in society.

Storage of Goods

Some physically disabled men reported that they overcame the challenges related to price fluctuations through the storage of their goods. Yamese reported,

“When there are price fluctuations on the market we store our goods and bring them on market when the prices stabilise.”

However, while storage of goods may be a good idea, it may only apply to goods that are non-perishable; and only to people who have an alternative source of income, given that the length of the price fluctuations may be unpredictable. Many focus group participants run big families for whom they have to provide the basics; and some focus group participants have to pay back their loans in a specific period of time. This leaves focus group participants with a limited choice of strategies such as personal initiatives and adaptation.

Personal Initiatives

With regards to the negative attitude towards and stigmatisation of society of disabled men and women, key informant 1 reported,

“Through their initiatives many of them are able to break through those stereotypes in community and prove to everybody also that they are really able and once they offer the proof beyond doubt, community accepts them. And the moment they are acceptable, they are able to do anything, anywhere at any time. We have examples in Lira, we have examples in Kasese.”

The fact that some disabled men and women use their personal initiative to overcome the work challenges they encountered in their IGAs shows that they should not be stereotyped in the ways society portrays them.

Adaptation

A few of the key informants reported that many PWDs had adapted to some of the challenges that they encountered in the informal sector since they had to earn a living.

Key informant 6 reported,

“Physically disabled men and women have managed to transact their businesses in places with the least friendly accessible facilities and those that lack equipments like wheel chairs have resorted to using car tyres to support their limbs while moving.”

He further reported,

“They (PWDs) also find their means to their working environments and places. They manage, because you always find them congregated in all those crowded areas, in the new taxi park, in Owino market and those are the most crowded places with the least friendly accessible facilities. The fact that they are there means that they have adapted where most people are.”

Adaptation to the challenges that disabled men and women in the focus groups encountered in their IGAs shows that they only have an impairment and are not disabled as society portrays them to be.

However, some focus group participants argued that they had no solutions to the challenges they encountered in their IGAs and were seeking support from government, donors and individuals. In support of this statement, key informant 10 reported,

“As a representative for PWDs at local council level, I try to express PWDs’ grievances and views although nothing much has been done at the moment by government with regard to the informal sector.”

From the above quotation, the fact that disabled men’s and women’s challenges in their IGAs have hardly been solved reflects the social model of disability. One needs to look beyond a person’s impairment and view societies and institutions as discriminatory and responsible for many of the barriers that prevent disabled men and women from participating in the informal sector (Barnes & Mercer 1995, Mitra 2005, Silvers et al. 1998).

The fact that focus group participants were able to devise various strategies to overcome the challenges that they encountered in their IGAs shows that they are not helpless, ignorant, passive and dependent as Meekosha (2004) and Swift (1998) claim society stereotypes them. From a liberal feminist point of view, it can be argued that society has not given disabled men and women equal opportunities like the able-bodied in the informal sector, yet it is clear from the above quotations that they are able to manage and overcome many of the challenges that they encounter in their IGAs.

Summary

Much as most focus group participants tried to apply various ways to overcome the challenges that they encountered in their IGAs, it is likely that some of the challenges that they encountered are difficult to address and some may worsen. Reasons include the socio-economic burden created by family members who cannot support themselves, but rely on the heads of the households, who may not only be sole breadwinners but disabled; societal and institutional barriers; and discriminatory practices towards disabled men and women.

It was also noted that since there is no comprehensive legal framework aimed at increasing the access of disabled men and women to economic opportunities in the informal sector of Uganda (Ndeezi 2004), disabled men and women are likely to continue experiencing enormous work challenges in this sector, which invariably affect their income.

Overall, it can be argued that the challenges faced by PWDs when starting, running and maintaining their IGAs in the informal sector reflect the social model of disability. This model looks beyond a person's impairment and views societies and institutions as discriminatory and responsible for many of the barriers that prevent disabled men and women from participating in the informal sector (Barnes & Mercer 1995, Mitra 2005 and Silvers et al. 1998). The next section discusses the types of resources available to disabled men and women and the criteria used in the allocation of resources.

4.3.3 Resource Allocation: Types and Criteria

Socio-economic Resource Allocation

In this section, the types of resources allocated to PWDs and the criteria different stakeholders use for resource allocation to PWDs in Mubende and Mityana districts⁶⁰ are discussed. The findings of this study demonstrated that while the mainstream definition of PWD categorised them into specific disabilities, that is, physically disabled, visually impaired and hearing impaired, there were further intra-PWDs classifications. These were: the "active poor," the "poor" and the "very poor".⁶¹ From the study, it was

⁶⁰By the time the research was done, Mityana district had just been declared a new district and it was still considered to be under Mubende district in all the activities that government and organisations for PWDs carried out.

⁶¹ The active poor were literate, employed and sustained themselves and were able to gain access to loans because they had salaries as security. By virtue of being active poor, they occupied a better place in the advocacy and disability movement. The poor were able to work and sustain themselves. They were capable of minimally sustaining themselves with their meagre resources. The very poor, who were the largest and most disadvantaged category, were predominantly illiterate, often severely crippled and had no resources or sources from which to get basic needs, and hence depended on family or charity for their livelihood. The very poor could not sell their labour because of their condition

observed that the key informants who were PWDs were the “active poor,” while the focus group participants were a mixture of the “poor” and “very poor.” However, the study takes a different view by categorising disabled men and women according to their impairments.

Emerging evidence from the study showed that depending on the interests of stakeholders⁶², different resources were allocated to different types of disabilities. Some of the stakeholders were interested in supporting WWDs; others wanted to support only physically disabled men and women or all disabled men and women. These resources were socio-economic resources in nature and included provision of funds to start IGAs and/or boost PWDs’ IGAs; loans at low interest rates; setting up animal projects; provision of personal equipment such as hearing aids, wheelchairs and white canes; and various training programmes in awareness raising, capacity building, business management and practical skills for IGAs. PWDs in leadership positions in local organisations were also sensitised in leadership skills in order to lobby and advocate for resources for PWDs.

4.3.3.1 Government

Various initiatives, which included the heifer project, poultry projects consisting of exotic hens and the provision of funds and equipment, were undertaken by government in an attempt to allocate resources to focus group participants in Mubende and Mityana districts. These resources and the criteria used to allocate them are discussed below.

Heifer and Poultry Projects

Some key informants from Mityana district reported that in Mityana Town Council, local revenue worth 1,000,000 Uganda shillings (≈ US \$556) was collected from five wards, from which two heifers were bought for each ward for physically disabled men and women. Poultry projects were also given to some physically disabled men and women.

Criteria Used: Revolving Project

Some physically disabled men and women in the focus groups were given cows under a revolving “send a heifer PWDs’ project.” Some physically disabled men and women and key informants reported that the heifers revolved among the physically disabled men and women whereby when a PWD got a heifer, he/she had to give a calf to the next PWD. The physically disabled men and women who did not get heifers were

and so were often engaged in extremely limited IGAs. Those who were unable to cope would then join the ranks of those begging on the streets to earn bread for the day.

⁶² These stakeholders included government, private sector, national and international organisations.

given poultry projects. Some key informants reported that physically disabled men and women sold off the yields from these projects to acquire an income to sustain themselves and to inject capital into their IGAs.

Shortcomings: Unsustainable Project

Some physically disabled men and women in the focus groups who had received heifers and poultry reported that they could not cope with these projects due to the nature of their impairments. Some physically disabled men and women further reported that the heifers that the government gave them were hybrid cows that were very demanding. They had to move long distances in search of animal feeds (they had to cut large masses of grass to feed the cows and fetch water for the cows); they had insufficient funds for medicine; and some resided in rental houses that could not accommodate the heifers. Yinya and some other key informants attributed the poor performance of these projects to implementers who lacked sufficient knowledge to implement the projects properly. Yinya reported,

“The cow project was short lived because the animals died due to our inability as disabled people to manage them and the project also turned out too expensive to manage.”

Kisubi (2001) asserts that donors sometimes come with a set agenda of what projects they want to set up, without consultation with the recipients. This has led to some of their projects being unsustainable or completely failing to take off. It is essential for donors to engage disabled men and women in dialogue about appropriate income-generating projects to fund.

Financial Support

A few physically disabled men and women in the focus groups reported that they received financial support from government. It was not clear what criterion was used to allocate funds because the majority of the focus group participants and key informants denied having acquired funds from government for PWDs' IGAs. However, key informant 11 reported,

“Government allocated funds on the budget for PWDs at district level, these funds were very little, ≈ 72,000 shillings (≈US \$40).”

The above finding shows that whereas some physically disabled men and women stated that they had acquired funds from their districts, they were insufficient. Some physically disabled women reported that when they tried to lobby for resources, they were unsuccessful due to the poor reception and harsh treatment they received from their local leaders. This was evident when Yisatu reported,

“When you go to these officers’ (leaders) offices, before you even talk to him, even if he knows you, he looks at you gloomily. Even the secretary makes it so hard for you to meet that person you want to meet. So how is government then helping us?”

Some visually and hearing impaired men and women reported that the only time they received funds from government was during political electoral campaigns when politicians wanted to win their votes. These arguments raise questions as to why focus group participants rarely acquired or did not acquire resources from government.

Reasons for Inadequate Resource Provision by Government

Findings from the study showed that some focus group participants did not acquire sufficient and others did not acquire any form of resources from government. Some key informants and focus group participants attributed this to the following:

Corruption at Local Council (LC) Level

Some focus group participants attributed the insufficient fund disbursement at LC level to corruption at the various levels of local governance. Focus group participants’ allegations were confirmed by key informant 5, who reported,

“When you look at districts’ budget allocation to disability issues, it looks positive because districts have special budgets for PWDs. They’ll tell you there’s a project on the ground but if you try to find out exactly what’s going on you’ll discover that people are using the name of persons with disability to make money.”

Failure of LCs to listen to the concerns of PWDs violates the 1997 Local Government Act, section 119 which provides for the representation of PWDs at all local government levels from district level to village level throughout the country (refer to table 2).

Therefore, attempts by focus group participants, especially visually and hearing impaired men and women, to improve their well-being through the decentralisation⁶³ system were futile.

⁶³ Decentralisation means delegation of responsibility, or functions of an organisation, along with authority for carrying out these functions, to those at the periphery of the organisation, i.e. the local governments and other implementers e.g. NGOs (Mpaji 2001). Decentralisation has as one of its objectives, to improve the capacity of local councils to plan, finance and manage the delivery of services to the constituents.

Inadequate Funds for PWDs' IGAs

The above finding on LCs mismanaging funds may not be completely valid given that Lwanga Ntale (2003) and some key informants observe that PWDs representatives on the LCs are not well inducted in the business of the LC, lack the ability to influence non-PWD representatives who are the majority on the LC and have a negative attitude towards PWDs; and, worse still, that LCs did not possess adequate funds to facilitate and implement PWDs' IGAs. Lwanga Ntale's (2003) argument is supported by key informant 11 who reported,

“Government allocated funds on the budget for PWDs at district level, these funds were very little, ≈ 72,000 shillings (≈US \$40) and were instead diverted to council meetings. Sometimes used to prepare functions like world disability day.”

Key informant 10 also reported,

“Districts do not target people with disabilities directly except that they just give money to the community department of which the community department has its own programme whereby it gives the money to the civil servants to go to the field.”

The above findings show that in addition to PWDs being allocated insufficient finances at the LC level, these finances were seemingly inappropriately used at times to fund activities from that did not benefit PWDs. This could be linked to LC representatives of PWDs lacking knowledge of resource management and of how to lobby and advocate for sufficient funds for PWDs at LC level.

Another consideration to be borne in mind with regard to the issue of the inadequacy of funding for PWDs' IGAs is the finding reported in section 4.3.2.1. Many focus group participants, particularly women who were single parents and family heads, indicated that they had to divert resources allocated to them to meet pressing needs unrelated to their IGAs.

Government Policy

Some key informants argued strongly that PWDs did not receive any kind of resources from government and that decisions made by PWDs' representatives at local levels were not recognised at the district level, leading to PWDs losing out on resource allocation at all levels. For instance, key informant 6 stated,

“The Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development does not allocate resources for the disabled. They keep saying there are no resources.

Key informant 1 from MGLSD adopted a supportive stance towards government and stated,

“The government cannot give disabled people money because Uganda depends on the private sector.”

Key informant 1 correctly noted the challenges government has in its bid to provide for all, but this is contradicted by some key informants who reported that government provided financial resources to other groups of people like the youth and women to improve their well-being. Key informant 6 observed that at the preparatory level of budgets and state allocation of resources, the PWDs are already disadvantaged. He stated as follows,

“During the annual budget preparation, there are sectoral working committees where we as PWDs are also supposed to give our issues. If your issue is lost at that stage, they never invite special interest groups. Most cases they knock us off at the start. Most times we are not invited during budget preparations and when we go there, we are not welcomed yet when you don't start at that level and go later, these government officials say that we are late. They will say that we have set all the issues, we have already communicated to the Ministry of Finance and Planning, so you wait for the following year. When the budget circular comes out for the following year, you lose out because you have got the circular late and all the meetings are over.”

What key informant 6 demonstrates is a deep institutional problem in the failure to appreciate that PWDs are a marginalised group that require special attention.

Government's unfair policy towards disabled men and women was also evident in the NUDIPU report on economic empowerment of PWDs in Uganda where government allocated 9.92 billion shillings (\approx US \$5,541,800) for the “Entandikwa” scheme to support poor people, including PWDs, but only 1.2% of these funds was distributed to the PWDs, meaning that its coverage was limited to a few PWDs and districts excluding the study area (NUDIPU report 2004). This raises the question of why PWDs continue to be discriminated against and marginalised by government in resource allocation, yet they have human rights and are also represented on the local governance levels that are supposed to serve their interests. In addition, Priestley (2003) points out that it would be economically beneficial if government harnessed the economic labour of untapped sections of the population, particularly PWDs.

Since government has failed to support PWDs in resource allocation, not only is the country missing out on PWDs' potential contribution to the GDP of the country, but it intensifies the level of poverty in the country. Scholars like Albert, McBride & Seddon (2002) and Charlton (2000) argue that disability exacerbates poverty. Secondly, the government is violating: (a) the United Nations 22 Standard Rules for Equalisation of

Opportunities for Disabled People, which redresses discrimination against disabled people (the Ugandan government signed and ratified the rules); (b) the 2006 National Policy on Disability in Uganda that calls for the government to give priority to PWDs by removing barriers that hinder their full participation in all areas; and (c) the National Council for Disability Act 2003, which was set up to promote the rights of PWDs, but also to equalise opportunities for such people.

What is central to note in the findings of the current study on government resource allocation is that there appears to be two stances with regard to the role of government towards PWDs. Either there is an unwillingness of people to acknowledge that government supports PWDs in their IGAs or there is a deliberate attempt by all or some key informants to emphasise that government is supporting PWDs. The research participants' differing stances could be linked to the fact that they had different political affiliations.⁶⁴ It is also possible that some of those key informants that claimed that government supported PWDs could have alleged so because they wanted to win favours from government and retain their leadership positions.

Due to government's provision of few or no resources to PWDs, PWDs had to rely on NGOs for resources. NGOs allocated resources to PWDs through local organisations, and this is discussed below.

4.3.3.2 Organisations

Local Organisations in Mubende and Mityana districts⁶⁵

In Mubende district, various PWDs' local organisations⁶⁶ were set up and affiliated to national organisations of PWDs like NUDIPU, NUWODU and ADD. Through these local organisations at district level, PWDs were provided with resources like funds in the form of start-up capital for IGAs; funds to boost PWDs' IGAs; loans at low interest rates; setting up animal projects; provision of personal equipment such as wheelchairs and white canes; as well as various training programmes on awareness raising, capacity building, business management and various practical skills for IGAs, which enabled them to carry out IGAs. These local

⁶⁴ Some key informants and focus group participants were pro-government and belonged to the movement party, while others were anti-government and belonged to other political parties like Forum for Democratic Change (FDC).

⁶⁵ Whereas Mityana district is a new district, it is still considered to be under Mubende district in all the activities that organisations for PWDs carry out.

⁶⁶ Organisation has been used as a generic term to cover all groups, societies, associations and CBOs that are engaged in PWD activities.

organisations included MUDIWA, MUDIPU, KDPA, Agali Awamu Women Group (AAWG), Mityana diocese PWD desk and Namutamba Rehabilitation Centre.⁵⁷

Mityana Diocese PWD Desk and Namutamba Rehabilitation Centre: Threefold project

The majority of the physically disabled men and women and some key informants reported that Mityana diocese PWD desk set up a threefold project. It gave PWDs loans without interest, set up poultry projects for PWDs and had a children's scholastic scheme to provide school fees and scholastic materials for children of PWDs. Namutamba Rehabilitation Centre also trained PWDs in skills like repairing and making shoes, provided wheelchairs and gave medical aid to PWDs. Yibiri reported,

“These Germans took me to Mengo hospital for an operation, they later gave me capital to start a retail shop. Unfortunately, I got appendectomy and they took me back for another operation. It took me three months to heal during which I was being financially supported by these Germans. When I healed, they trained me in tailoring and today I am a tailor.”

The above findings show that Mityana diocese PWD desk and Namutamba Rehabilitation Centre were not only concerned about PWDs' IGAs, but also other requirements that would improve PWDs' livelihoods. This partly explains why the majority of the physically disabled men and women reported that they were able to benefit from their IGAs (see table 8).

Criteria Used: Universal and Equal Distribution

All physically disabled men and women in the study and some key informants reported that these organisations allocated resources to all PWDs in a universal and equal manner,⁵⁸ although the majority of the hearing and visually impaired participants denied having acquired any support from them (the reasons why some focus group participants did not acquire resources are discussed at the end of this section).

Mubende District Disabled Persons Union: Animal and Tailoring Projects and Sensitisation Workshops

Most physically disabled men and women in the study and some key informants reported that MUDIPU set up and allocated piggery, cow, poultry and tailoring projects to increase physically disabled men and women's income. Some physically disabled men and women also reported that they were trained in capacity building, leadership skills, management advocacy and financial management.

⁵⁷ Mityana diocese PWD desk and Namutamba Rehabilitation Centre are faith-based organisations.

⁵⁸ This emerged in a focus group discussion held in Mityana on 16 July 2006 at Mityana Town Council. All the PWDs unanimously named the two faith-based organisations as the ones that provided the most assistance to PWDs.

Criteria Used: Membership of and Attendance at Regular Training Workshops

As reported by some physically disabled men and women and key informants, the criteria that were used by MUDIPU to allocate the animal and tailoring projects and sensitisation workshops were that one had to be a member of MUDIPU and attend regular skills training workshops. The physically disabled men and women were then allocated to one of the projects. Key informant 10 for instance stated,

“In tailoring we have targeted ten women, piggery we targeted 20 women and poultry, they were 15.”

Key informant 10 further reported that the rest of the physically disabled women who missed out on the above projects received a cow in the following round of resource allocation.

Mityana Foundation for Disadvantaged Groups (MFDG): Equipment, Animal Projects and Financial Resources

Some physically disabled men and women in the study and key informant 13 reported that MFDG provided resources like wheelchairs, piggery projects, loans without interest and funds to start up poultry projects to its members.

Criteria Used: All Disabled Single Mothers, Skills and Membership

Much as physically disabled men and women did not mention the criteria MFDG used to allocate resources, key informant 13 reported that the criteria used to allocate the abovementioned resources were: all disabled single mothers that were members of MFDG were allocated financial resources to start poultry projects, wheelchairs were distributed to all members that did not have them and needed them, and loans without interest were distributed to members that proved that they had skills⁶⁹ in particular fields like tailoring, shoe making and pig rearing. Key informant 13 further stated that MFDG gave out 90 piglets to its members and the criterion used was that ten PWDs were selected from each of the nine sub-counties in Mubende district. During the distribution of piglets, priority was given to those members that had never received any resources from MFDG. Much as the years to which all these resources were allocated were not stated, key informant 13 stated that in case a member missed out on any of the resources allocated to the other members, priority was given to him/her in the next round of resource allocation.

⁶⁹ PWDs received certificates at the end of the skills training programmes that they attended.

The findings on these three organisations reflect gender equality in the allocation of resources among disabled men and women. However, due to the triple disadvantage that WWDs face in society, they were allocated additional resources from their women's organisations as discussed below.

Women with Disabilities

National Women with Disabilities of Uganda (NUWODU)⁷⁰: IGA Project

Key informant 7 reported that NUWODU supported groups of WWDs in Mubende district and six other districts in a three year (2005-2008) project of IGA projects, vocational training for girls and WWDs and provision of assistive devices, mobility aids, tricycles, white canes and hearing aids. The IGA project that involved allocating funds to WWD to boost their IGAs was the only project that had taken off so far.

Criteria Used: Groups and Ownership of an IGA

The criterion that key informant 7 mentioned that was used to provide funds through the IGA project was that different WWDs who had already formed groups and started their own IGAs were identified through their national associations or local organisations and provided with funds to boost their IGAs. Much as ownership of an IGA may motivate donors to support WWDs in their IGAs, Priestley (2003) also views groups as a relational process that produces partnerships, a factor that may enable PWDs to overcome some of the challenges in their IGAs and benefit more from their IGAs. However, whereas NUWODU supported women with different types of disabilities, key informant 7 reported that physically disabled women were dominant. This could be linked to key informant 4 and 7's argument that physically disabled men and women are more active in IGAs compared to other types of disabilities and that equipment used on the visually and hearing impaired men and women is more expensive compared to that of physically disabled men and women.

Mubende Women with Disability Association: Financial Resources and Tailoring Project

With regards to MWDA, most physically disabled women and key informant 10 reported that: from 2002 to 2004 they received 20 million Uganda shillings (US \$11,235) from DWNRO, which was used to buy some sewing machines and pigs to rear; and Kulika Charitable Trust and ABLIS supported them in their tailoring project.

⁷⁰ NUWODU is a national NGO for women and has been included in the section of local organisations because it provided resources directly to WWDs in Mubende district.

Criteria Used: Membership and Equal Opportunity

Key informant 10 stated that funds from DWNRO to implement the tailoring and piggery projects were sent in installments. She further stated that each member of MWDA was entitled to receive only one type of resource from any organisation that funded MWDA, so that all MWDA members would obtain resources. In cases where the resources were insufficient, in the following round of allocation, priority was given to those WWDs who had not received resources the previous time.

From an analysis of the findings on the criteria local organisations used to allocate resources to PWDs, two issues emerged. Firstly, whereas some local organisations supporting PWDs only empowered them economically or socially, it was evident that neither economic empowerment nor social empowerment was sustainable on its own. Key informant 6, for example, argued,

“Some PWDs would not access some services because they had no ability to move and therefore we had to start capacity building programmes where we had to provide wheel chairs to PWDs. Providing disabled people with wheel chairs without any economic support is wrong. Once disabled persons are given wheel chairs, they should be promoted economically so that they are not only able to service and maintain their wheel chairs but to also boost their businesses.”

From key informant 6's argument, it is very clear that social empowerment is inextricably linked to economic empowerment. This argument is at the heart of the social development approach, which argues for the linkage of social and economic development and for the promotion of the socio-economic welfare of people through engaging them in various socio-economic programmes that offer them resources to improve not only their economic welfare, but also their social welfare (Midgley 1995).

Secondly, from the findings based on interviews and literature reviewed, physically disabled men and women seemed to be at a greater advantage to access all forms of resources compared to the visually and hearing impaired men and women, because there are many providing national organisations⁷¹ and CBOs for physically disabled men and women compared to organisations for other types of disabled men and women; since the biggest population of PWDs are physically disabled men and women, they have a stronger voice in lobbying and advocating for resources; and physically disabled men and women easily fit within the mainstream of society in that they may not require special equipment or attention, while visually and hearing impaired men and women cannot do without assistive devices. The study goes further to present the reasons why some focus group participants did not acquire resources from local organisations.

⁷¹ National organisations like NUDIPIU, Uganda National Action on Physical Disability (UNAPD), UWONET and ADD.

Why Some Focus Group Participants did not Acquire Resources from Local Organisations

Despite the fact that all physically disabled men and women reported that they benefited from various local organisations, some focus group participants, especially the visually and hearing impaired men and women, reported that they never received any form of resources from any local organisation. Kassanda Association for the Blind and the three-year IGA project run by NUWODU that were reported by some key informants were unheard of by the visually and hearing impaired men and women in the focus groups. These contradictions go further when available literature shows that UNAB, funded by the Norwegian Association of the Blind run a CBR programme for visually impaired people in Mubende district (Disability Uganda 2006). No evidence of this CBR programme was forthcoming from the focus group participants.

Much as it was not established why some focus group participants had not received any resources from local organisations, failure to access resources was linked to some key informants' arguments, and crucial ones are discussed below.

Failure to Follow Criteria for Resource Acquisition

Some key informants reported that some PWDs failed to follow the criteria organisations use to allocate resources. Key informant 4 argued that,

“Some PWDs do not follow the criteria for acquiring resources, for instance regularly attending training workshops and lack of commitment to the programmes.”

Failure of some focus group participants to follow the criteria for acquiring resources may be linked to the challenges they encounter in their daily lives. For instance lack of transport to the training workshops, which is even worse for visually and hearing impaired men and women who have to be helped by guides and interpreters; lack of assistive devices; and lack of communications regarding resource allocation. This argument calls for organisations to provide adequate measures and mechanisms for disabled men and women in order that they benefit fairly from any schemes that are put in place.

Insufficient and/or No Resources

Some key informants from NGOs and local organisations reported that they received insufficient resources, which they could not distribute among all types of disabled people. Key informant 13 reported,

“Disability councils send money at the district, at the district they decide to call meetings all the time and get sitting allowances. So the money never reaches on ground. Normally for us we are given around 18%. That money is not enough for goodness sake. That is why many PWDs like the blind, the deaf and the dumb have

been left behind because we cannot divide this money among all these categories. It is very little.”

While key informant 13's statement could be true, some key informants strongly argued that all types of disabled groups were supported by different organisations, but disabled men and women, especially visually and hearing impaired men and women, deny this. Key informant 7, for instance, commented,

“Disabled people always create a situation of having nothing especially if they think that it is a funder. We still believe in handouts, so we feel if we talk that we have something, we may not get more. I was working with UNAB, it had done a lot of work with the visually impaired in Mubende district in terms of training them with vocational skills and supporting them in IGAs. So if they say they've not got any support, sometimes it is not true.”

It was extremely difficult to confirm whether these PWDs did not obtain any resources given that these local organisations lacked a record-keeping system. However, what could be understood from the above findings is that much as it was reported that PWDs obtain resources from their respective organisations, it is possible that these resources were insufficient and poorly allocated.

Impersonation/Fraud

In relation to visually and hearing impaired men and women in the study denying the acquisition of resources, this could partly be linked to a statement by key informant 7 that there were cases whereby some unknown people disguised themselves as group leaders of visually impaired people's groups and sought funds from funding organisations for personal gain. Such cases deprived visually impaired men and women of the opportunity to access funding from prospective organisations.

It is also likely that some focus group participants hardly received resources due to the selfishness of their leaders. Yinya stated:

“I've never received a penny from them for capital or for my business. Some of our colleagues who have been leading the disability movement with us registered many associations and organisations in Mubende and Mityana. But they end up turning them into personal organisations.”

False acquisition of resources by some PWD leaders and other unknown people explains why some focus group participants always complained that they did not receive any support for their IGAs. This also partly explains why some focus group participants complained that they did not benefit at all in their IGAs (see table 9).

Unsustainable and Short-term Donor Programmes

Some key informants stated that the donors of some PWDs' organisations had unsustainable programmes and short-term funding, while focus group participants needed sustainable programmes and long-term funding in order to start, manage and sustain their IGAs that would enable social and economic development to take place. Key informant 2, for example, reported,

“We still have a problem with donors. These donors are not long term. They fundraise you for a short time and they go back. You know donors' programmes are not sustainable yet the disabled people still need income generation projects.”

Scholars like Glaser and Lorenzo (2006) and some key informants observed that many PWDs are illiterate, and this affects them at multiple levels. They need long-term funding to attain more skills training for their IGAs and to increase their engagement in IGAs thereby attaining socio-economic empowerment.

Summary

Available evidence from the study indicates that physically disabled men and women interviewed acquired resources for their IGAs mainly through local organisations in the study area. However, these disabled men and women encountered enormous challenges like unsustainable and short-term donor programmes, impersonation/fraud, insufficient and/or no resources, failure to follow criteria for resource acquisition, and corruption at LC level from government and local organisations. Little government effort was witnessed to support focus group participants, which links to the social model of disability that underpins societies and institutions as discriminatory and responsible for the barriers that prevent PWDs from participating in the informal sector (Mitra 2005 and Silvers et al. 1998).

Secondly, there were contradictory reports between visually and hearing impaired men and women and a few key informants. Whereas some key informants stated that some organisations allocated resources to visually and hearing impaired men and women for their IGAs, visually and hearing impaired men and women and some key informants refuted these statements. However, it is likely that visually and hearing impaired men and women received resources, although they were insufficient and were not received regularly like the physically disabled men and women, a factor which could have made them feel marginalised and discriminated against.

Irrespective of the differences among people with different types of impairments in the acquisition of resources from institutions, the study showed that local organisations used a social development approach in their resource allocation, promoting the socio-economic welfare of PWDs through engaging them in

various socio-economic programmes that offered them resources to improve their social and economic welfare.

Lastly, despite reports from some participants that the Ugandan government and NGOs had provided insufficient or no resources to PWDs, it is crucial to note that government has put in place long-term initiatives such as laws, policies and programmes from which PWDs could potentially benefit. These laws, policies and programmes are discussed in the section below.

4.3.4 Participants' Perceptions of Government Policies and Laws that Address PWDs

4.3.4.1 Policy and Legislation

Key informant 3 reported that one of the functions MPs representing PWDs had was ensuring that laws and policies are disability sensitive and that every law or policy included disabled people's needs. Indeed, many key informants mentioned various laws and policies that were enacted to address the plight of PWDs in the informal sector. However, the majority of the focus group participants were not aware of the laws and policies that related to the informal sector. When participants were asked about their perceptions of these laws and policies, the questions hardly elicited any positive response. The laws and policies that were central to the research study were the 2006 National Policy on Disability, the 1997 Local Government Act (Act 13 of 2001), the 2006 Employment Act (Act 6 of 2006), PEAP and PMA, and the 1998 Uganda Traffic and Road Safety Act (Act 15 of 1998). These laws are presented and discussed in detail in chapter two, section 2.4.3.

1997 Local Government Act (LGA)

Some key informants reported that according to the 1997 LGA, section 119, PWDs were supposed to have representatives at all local levels of governance (refer to table 12). Key informant 6 commented,

“Councillors of persons with disability are supposed to ensure that local governments take into account the needs of persons with disability. The approach we are emphasizing is mainstreaming to ensure that all programmes and policies being made are friendly to persons with disability. LGA was designed to ensure that PWDs participate in making decisions in development programmes at local government level.”

PWD Issues Inadequately Addressed/Unrepresented

Despite the above finding, some key informants reported that PWD representatives at whatever level were not recognised in the councils, and others stated that there was corruption at LC levels, which means that focus group participants were not fully represented at LC levels (this has been discussed in section 4.4.2).

It should be noted that much as there have been efforts to include PWDs in mainstream political activity, little or no impact has been witnessed especially with regard to councillors representing PWDs. This was also witnessed with regard to PEAP and PMA, as discussed below.

2006 Employment Act

According to Section 34 of the 2006 Employment Act (Act 6 of 2006), key informant 3 stated,

“The 2006 Employment Act advocates for PWDs not to be excluded in employment if they have the skills and that their work premises should be favourable and accessible for PWDs.”

PWDs do not Feature Prominently

Key informant 4 reported that PWDs do not feature prominently in the 2006 Employment Act and that a draft to improve on it had already been made. He further stated,

“If the informal sector is to employ the law, say it must employ certain percentage on disabled people, so awareness raising needs to be created so that they know why it must be done like that and it becomes an obligation.”

While key informant 3’s statement on the 2006 Employment Act is optimistic about focus group participants benefiting from their IGAs, key informant 4 is pessimistic about focus group participants benefiting from this act. This may explain why he stated that PWDs drafted a disability employment act that focuses entirely on PWDs.

The 1998 Uganda Traffic and Road Safety Act

A few key informants knew that section 132 of the Uganda Traffic and Road Safety Act (Act 15 of 1998), stipulates the provision of a ramp to support equipment used by people with disabilities.

Insufficient Implementation

Some key informants reported that ramps were built in some governmental institutions, like in hospitals, Parliament and some ministries to reduce barriers that hindered PWDs’ access to and utilisation of facilities and services. However, key informant 1 reported that many private institutions like banks and MFIs had not

considered building ramps for PWDs, thereby limiting PWDs from conducting any form of business for their IGAs in their institutions. Even in the few institutions where ramps were constructed, key informant 6 reported that some were poorly planned and constructed due to failure to use the right measurements, which had led to a high risk of PWDs in wheelchairs sliding backwards and falling. Failure to construct ramps in some areas would limit focus group participants from accessing and utilising facilities and services like micro finance institutions and banks, which would be useful in running and maintaining their IGAs.

Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP) and Plan for Modernisation of Agriculture (PMA)

With regards to PEAP and PMA under the Ministry of Local Government, key informant 3 stated that these programmes were supposed to enable farmers to acquire agricultural equipment, training and any necessary support in agricultural activities, for example, livestock and crop farming.

PWD Issues Inadequately Addressed/Unrepresented

Some key informants and some focus group participants reported that PWDs never benefited from PEAP and PMA. Key informant 6, for example, reported,

“We were involved in the PEAP process as people with disability for two years. We gave our issues on agriculture and employment. But when they came to draft the final report, at most they had put in a sentence of four words.”

Available literature shows that PEAP does not specifically mention disability as a key target. Even after revising the PEAP programme in 2000 and 2003, neither donors nor the Ugandan government showed a consistent commitment to taking into account all the issues raised by the disability movement and allocating adequate fiscal resources to back planned activities (Dube2005). There was little verifiable evidence to show that PMA and PEAP offered any resources to focus group participants with regard to their activities in the informal sector (Dube 2005, ILO 2004, Lwanga-Ntale 2003 and UNAPD 2006). While Midgley (2000) believes that government should direct the process of social development in ways that maximise the participation of communities and individuals in the development process, it is evident that PEAP and PMA have barely given PWDs an opportunity to participate in the development process.

2006 National Policy on Disability

In a bid to enhance the protection of the rights of PWDs, the government of Uganda formulated a 2006 National Policy on Disability. A few focus group participants and many key informants were aware of this policy. These participants hardly commented on this policy, because it was barely a month old and had not yet been enacted into law. Nevertheless, participants who were aware of this policy were optimistic that it

would eliminate all forms of discrimination against people with disability, promoting the equalisation of opportunities.

Despite the fact that the strategies set out in the 2006 National Policy on Disability strategies are clearly in favour of PWDs and participants were certain of its success, it is unpredictable whether this policy will be inadequately implemented, as is the case with many of the laws discussed in this section.

The participants' negative perceptions of what emerged from the discussion of laws and programmes were reported by some key informants to be linked to negative societal attitudes towards focus group participants (this has been discussed in section 4.3.2); a lack of rules and policies that guide the implementation of the laws; a willingness of legislators to implement the laws and policies, but no funds being available and these laws/policies not being a priority to government; and a lack of enforcement, for instance, through penalties. Even when the laws are violated, there is no evidence of government taking action. In addition, some of the parties responsible for implementing these policies and laws are ignorant about disability issues and are disability insensitive. Also, there is a dearth of PWDs with relevant educational qualifications who are able to influence the implementation process in specific government departments.⁷²

Summary

What emerged from the above findings and discussion is that although the existing policies and laws in Uganda are ideal, many of them have not been applied in reality in that they inadequately address disability issues and deny PWDs the ability to access equal opportunities. They are merely rhetoric, with the hope of attracting funding and legitimising the policy process in Uganda. An analysis of the existing laws and policies reveals that there is a need for policy intervention in order to put the policies into effect, so that focus group participants can achieve socio-economic development.

Conclusion

In regard to the findings and discussions set out in this chapter, it can be concluded that men and women with different types of disabilities were involved in similar IGAs, although some physically disabled men and women tended to be involved in multiple IGAs. The involvement of some physically disabled men and women in multiple IGAs was linked to their ability to finance these IGAs, and whether these IGAs could accommodate their type of impairment irrespective of their gender.

⁷² These specific government departments include: MGLSD to implement the 2006 Employment Act, Ministry of Local Government to influence the 1997 LGA, PEAP and PMA to be implemented in favour of PWDs and the Ministry of Transport and Communications to adequately implement the 1998 Uganda Traffic and Road Safety Act.

The fact that PWDs were motivated and able to engage in IGAs through various means implies that they have the capacity and potential to survive in society and benefit from their IGAs in various ways. This shows that they were not disabled in the ways in which society portrays them. These PWDs only have an impairment of their bodies, which does not preclude them from participating in their IGAs in society. All they need to enable them to participate in their IGAs are incentives like capital and the elimination of discrimination and negative stereotypes from a gender and disability perspective, which are critical challenges in their participation in their IGAs, and which serve to compound their exclusion from support services, social and economic opportunities, and participation in community life. The findings and discussions in this section reflect the social model of disability that looks beyond a person's impairment and views societies and institutions as discriminatory and responsible for many of the barriers that prevent disabled men and women from participating in the informal sector (Barnes & Mercer 1995, Mitra 2005 and Silvers et al. 1998).

In trying to counter the challenges disabled men and women encountered in starting, running and maintaining their IGAs, stakeholders like government and NGOs, through local organisations, allocated socio-economic resources to disabled men and women, although government's input was barely recognised by focus group participants. Even the long-term initiatives such as laws, policies and programmes that government put in place with the hope of benefiting PWDs and reducing the challenges disabled men and women encountered in their IGAs were not applied in reality. They inadequately addressed disability issues and did not grant disabled people equal opportunities. Disabled men and women still encountered serious shortcomings like unsustainable and short-term donor programmes, insufficient resources and corruption at LC level by government and local organisations. Nevertheless, the efforts of local organisations to provide resources to PWDs in their IGAs showed that these organisations used a social development approach in their resource allocation, whereby they promoted the socio-economic welfare of PWDs through engaging disabled men and women in various socio-economic programmes that offered them resources to improve their social and economic welfare.

From the abovementioned findings and analysis of the study, conclusions are drawn and recommendations offered. These are set out in the next, final chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This study has attempted to explore and describe the gender and work challenges disabled men and women encounter in their participation in IGAs in the informal sector of the economy in Mubende and Mityana districts in Uganda. In this, the final chapter, conclusions are drawn and recommendations offered in the field of gender, disability and the informal sector.

5.1 Conclusions

The study aimed to explore the differences in the types of business activities disabled men and women were engaged in. It explored the nature of the challenges they encountered in the informal sector and how they addressed them. The study also established the type of resources disabled men and women obtained for their IGAs and the criteria used by governmental and various non-governmental organisations to allocate these resources to PWDs in the Mubende and Mityana districts. Lastly, the study explored disabled men's and women's perceptions of the policies and legislation in Uganda that impact on their participation in the informal sector. Conclusions are drawn from the analysis of the data generated in respect of each of these research objectives.

5.1.1 Differences in Types of Income generating Activities

The majority of the focus group participants were engaged in the retail trade, and this comprised the sale of goods purchased wholesale, herbs, charcoal, handcraft weaving, second-hand clothes and products from the participants' farms like food crops, poultry, animals and milk. Other focus group participants were engaged in services like: bicycle repair, carpentry, catering, hairdressing, party decorating, shoe repairing, tailoring, off-loading heavy trucks and farming, which included bee keeping.

It was noted that for the most part, disabled men and women were engaged in similar IGAs. A few physically disabled men, however, were engaged in carpentry work and shoe shining and a few physically disabled women were engaged in bee keeping, hairdressing and tailoring. The similarity in IGAs was likely to be a result of the limited range of IGAs that disabled men and women could engage in, considering the nature of their impairments, limited finances and the limited skills that they possessed. In addition, when

skills training workshops were held, disabled men and women were trained together, which not only enabled them to engage in similar IGAs, but also promoted gender equality in resource allocation among disabled men and women.

It was evident from some key informants that some disabled men and women in the study were engaged in different IGAs. The difference in IGAs among some disabled men and women was linked to men's masculine traits whereby they used a lot of energy and movement compared to WWDs. This showed that, to some extent, gender impacts on the IGAs disabled men and women are engaged in. However, since the majority of the disabled men and women were engaged in similar IGAs, gender seems to have little bearing in this regard.

With regard to the WWDs, two contradictory issues were encountered in the study. On the one hand, much as the majority of the WWDs were engaged in IGAs similar to the men with disabilities, most of these types of IGAs that WWDs were engaged in were within their social surroundings, which enabled them to carry out their socially constructed gender roles concurrently. This, however, had a cost implication of WWDs remaining trapped in relatively unproductive and lesser-paid activities, resulting in their having inadequate funds to engage in highly productive and better-paid IGAs (Lorenzo 2004, Disability report 2003, UNESCO & ILO 2002 and Hasting 1998).

On the other hand, the findings indicate that some WWDs, especially physically disabled women, were moving from IGAs that accommodated their traditional gender roles to any type of IGA that could accommodate their type of impairment and which they could easily finance. IGAs that were cited by some key informants were bee keeping and beer brewing, which had less competition in the market compared to the IGAs that were within their social surroundings. This argument confirms an earlier stated position of Albu (2005), Disability Advocacy in Action (2005) and ADD (2001) that due to advocacy initiatives by feminist organisations, governmental organisations and NGOs, disabled men and women are resorting to carrying out IGAs that they can easily finance and which can accommodate their type of impairment. This finding shows that gender has little bearing on disabled men and women with respect to the IGAs they engage in.

Whereas the findings clearly indicated that visually and hearing impaired men and women were mainly involved in a single IGA in the informal sector, most physically disabled men and women were engaged in

multiple IGAs. This was linked to visually and hearing impaired men and women lacking or having insufficient capital and skills to engage in multiple IGAs, as compared to physically disabled men and women. The fact that visually and hearing impaired men and women were mainly involved in a single IGA led to most of them benefiting less or not at all from their IGAs and physically disabled men and women being more socio-economically empowered.

The fact that focus group participants were able to engage in IGAs is evidence that their impairments do not preclude them from participating in IGAs. However, people with disabilities are disadvantaged in society. Conclusions are drawn around the various challenges they encountered in their IGAs in the section that follows.

5.1.2 Challenges in the Informal Sector

The disabled men and women in this study encountered various challenges in starting, running and maintaining their IGAs in the informal sector, and these included insufficient capital, expenses, a poor working environment, a limited market/clientele, insufficient/no training workshops, sexual abuse, and exploitation and oppression.

The most frequently mentioned challenges that focus group participants encountered and that were mentioned by key informants in starting their IGAs were insufficient capital and a poor working environment. Although focus group participants, especially physically disabled men and women were able to acquire capital from various stakeholders to start their IGAs, they reported that they had pressing demands like providing for their own basic needs and those of their families, which led to some of them redirecting the capital to meet these pressing demands. From my analysis, it is likely that some stakeholders supporting PWDs may argue that if capital were put to more effective use, PWDs would be able to make sufficient profits in the long term to deal with their broader financial demands. While this longer term perspective has validity, the findings in this study indicate that the current financial realities of recipients of start-up capital cannot be ignored (also see under "Types of resources and criteria used in the allocation of resources" below).

The poor working environment that was a major challenge among focus group participants and that was mentioned by key informants, in running and maintaining their IGAs comprised inaccessible infrastructure, stigmatisation, negative attitudes, communication problems, insecurity and theft. For instance, inaccessible infrastructure, which included transport problems and an inability to access business places, contributed to

focus group participants incurring expenses like having to hire helpers and guides to help them in their IGAs. Not only did this impact negatively on the profits of the focus group participants, but it could also potentially jeopardise the future existence of the IGAs of those focus group participants disabled men and women that have small turnovers and low profit margins.

With the above-mentioned as the major challenges that focus group participants encountered, some focus group participants were able to overcome some of them through diversification, storage of goods and forming alliances. In the same vein, key informants mentioned that disabled men and women had overcome some of their challenges through alliances, self adaptation and personal initiatives. Few visually and hearing impaired men and women managed to overcome the challenges they encountered in their IGAs, because they had not attended skills training workshops. In the event that visually and hearing impaired men and women were afforded an opportunity to attend skills training workshops, it is likely that they would link or form alliances with other focus group participants to support one other and to seek support from various institutions for their IGAs, and to gain skills, awareness, knowledge and confidence that would possibly enable them to diversify to other IGAs.

It should, however, be noted that much as most focus group participants tried various ways to overcome the challenges they encountered in their IGAs, some of the challenges like insufficient capital may worsen over time due to: the burden of family members who cannot support themselves socially and financially, but rely on the heads of the households, who may not only be single, but disabled; negative attitudes; and stigmatisation of society towards disabled men and women.

5.1.3 Types of Resources and Criteria Used in the Allocation of Resources

Findings indicate that government and NGOs provided socio-economic resources for focus group participants to start, run and maintain their IGAs and to reduce the challenges they encountered in their IGAs. These resources included funds, loans at low interest rates, animal projects, personal equipment such as wheelchairs and white canes, and various training programmes in business management and practical skills, for example tailoring, carpentry and animal rearing for their IGAs.

Arising from an analysis of the resources that were allocated to focus group participants, it appears that the physically disabled men and women stood a better chance of acquiring socio-economic resources compared to the visually and hearing impaired men and women. The reasons for this were linked to the fact

that in Uganda, physically disabled men and women are a big population and have a stronger voice compared to men and women with other types of disabilities; physically disabled men and women fit more into the mainstream compared to visually and hearing impaired men and women, who cannot do without assistive devices, which are expensive and have to be imported to Uganda; and the biased attitudes of different stakeholders in project design, project management and the allocation of socio-economic resources to PWDs at national and local levels. The NGO leadership at national level mainly comprised physically disabled men and women. It seemed as though they tended to marginalise men and women with other types of disability. This research thus points to there being an inequitable distribution of socio-economic resources by government and some NGOs to men and women with some types of impairments.

In failing to support some PWDs in their IGAs, not only is the country missing out on PWDs' potential contribution to the GDP, but intensifying the level of poverty in the country, as has been argued by scholars like Albert, McBride & Seddon (2002) and Charlton (2000). Secondly, the government is violating the United Nations 22 Standard Rules for Equalisation of Opportunities for Disabled People, which redresses discrimination against disabled people. This, in spite of the fact that the Ugandan government has signed and ratified these rules, and introduced the 2006 National Policy on Disability in Uganda which calls for the government to give priority to PWDs by removing barriers that hinder their full participation in all areas of national life.

As previously indicated, the findings also reveal that when disabled men and women were allocated socio-economic resources, many of them diverted these resources to meet their basic and other pressing household needs. This without doubt indicates that disabled men and women in the informal sector need socio-economic resources for their IGAs as well as disability grants to cater for their pressing household needs given that many of them are heads of households and single parents. The diversion of resources from their IGAs not only led to focus group participants injecting less capital into their IGAs, but also led to less returns from their IGAs. This calls for stakeholders that are responsible for PWDs' welfare to ensure that when they allocate resources to PWDs, they should consider their basic needs.

Whereas some physically disabled men and women and key informants mentioned that government used the criterion of a revolving fund to allocate social resources to physically disabled men and women, most focus group participants and key informants mentioned that organisations in Mubende and Mityana districts used the criteria of membership of the organisation, attendance of regular skills training workshops,

possession of necessary skills and equal distribution of resources to allocate socio-economic resources, which reflected gender equality in the allocation of resources. Some key informants reported that a few organisations like MFDG considered disabled single mothers and NUWODU considered WWDs having an IGA. It was evident among government and NGOs that in case a PWD did not get resources in the first round of allocation, priority was given to him/her in the next round of resource allocation. However, based on interviews and literature reviewed, most of the criteria used in resource allocation, physically disabled men and women seemed to be at a greater advantage to access all forms of resources compared to the visually and hearing impaired men and women (the reasons why some focus group participants did not acquire resources are discussed at the end of this section of "Types and Criteria used in the allocation of resources").

Nevertheless, with regard to the role of government and NGOs, two additional points should be made. Firstly, we cannot ignore the conducive political climate created by the Ugandan government that has increased the confidence of donor agencies and has led to the growth of NGOs for and of PWDs to fill the gaps in the government delivery of services to PWDs through donor support. These NGOs include international, national and local NGOs, for instance, NUDIPU, the PWDs' national umbrella organisation, which has over 30 registered NGOs; ADD; NUWODU; UNAD; UNAB; and DWNRO. International NGOs and donors that have been very supportive of PWDs' activities in Uganda include the UK Department for International Development, Danish Council for Disabled Persons, Catholic Association for the Disabled, DANIDA and the Norwegian Association for the Disabled.

Secondly, much as findings indicated that the government has provided socio-economic resources to PWDs, very few focus group participants acquired these resources. Whereas some focus group participants linked this to corruption at the various levels of local governance, key informants argued that there were inadequate funds to facilitate and implement PWDs' IGAs. Government's inadequate funds to disabled men and women for their projects shows a deep institutional problem in the failure to appreciate that PWDs are a marginalised group that require special attention. However, it is important to acknowledge that government has put in place long-term initiatives such as laws, policies and programmes from which PWDs will benefit. What is required is the implementation of these initiatives by people who are aware of disability issues and are disability-sensitive.

5.1.4 Participants' Perceptions of Government Policies and Laws that Address PWDs

The laws and policies that were enacted to address the plight of PWDs and central to this research study are the 2006 National Policy on Disability; the 1997 Local Government Act (LGA) (Act 13 of 2001); the 2006 Employment Act (Act 6 of 2006); the Uganda Traffic and Road Safety Act (Act 15 of 1998); the Poverty Eradication Action Plan; and the Plan for Modernisation of Agriculture. The findings of the study revealed that focus group participants hardly benefited from these laws and policies, and that many of them were partially implemented and were violated due to the negative attitudes society had towards PWDs; lack of rules and regulations to guide the implementation of the laws; government's insufficient services with regard to disability issues; and a lack of enforcement of laws and policies, for instance, through penalties.

From the study, it was evident that these laws and policies have not been applied. The rights of PWDs are not being adequately protected and they have not afforded them equal access to socio-economic resources. The cost implication of this has been inadequate socio-economic resources to start and boost their IGAs, which has resulted in the failure of PWDs to compete favourably with able-bodied people in the informal sector. This partly explains why some focus group participants, especially visually and hearing impaired men and women, had not benefited from their IGAs. If government sensitised society to the laws and policies related to PWDs and set up rules and regulations to guide the implementation of these laws and policies, it is certain that disabled men and women would encounter fewer challenges and would benefit more from their IGAs.

It is anticipated that the 2006 National Policy on Disability will in time result in focus group participants and other PWDs benefiting from their IGAs, since various actors, including central government, local authorities, parents, CBOs, the community, DPOs and the private sector are included as important implementors of this policy.

5.2 Recommendations

From the literature reviewed and the findings of the study, the following recommendations are presented for the consideration of NGOs dealing with PWDs, current and prospective donor agencies, CBOs, planners, policy makers, parents and guardians of disabled men and women, and researchers. The recommendations aim to promote appropriate action so as to deal with the challenges that confront disabled men and women in their IGAs. It is recommended that:

1. In order for disabled men and women to benefit from the laws and policies enacted to assist them, implementers of these policies and laws should be disability sensitive and aware of disability issues. Little, if any, evidence of disability sensitivity and awareness of disability issues was reported by participants in the study with regards to the Ministry of Local Government, MGLSD and the Ministry of Works and Communications in the implementation of the 1997 LGA (Act 13 of 2001), PEAP and PMA, the 2006 Employment Law (Act 6 of 2006) and the 1998 Uganda Traffic and Road Safety Act (Act 15 of 1998), respectively.
 - The Uganda Traffic and Road Safety Act should be applied in practice whereby, road constructors should ensure that the roads they are building are accessible to disabled people with wheelchairs, and traffic lights should have audio signals, as in developed countries, to help the blind.
 - It is necessary for PWDs to be sensitised about the 2006 National Policy on Disability, since many of them are illiterate and the policy is written in English. There is a need for sign language experts to interpret it for hearing impaired men and women and a version in braille made available for visually impaired men and women.
 - The consequences of breaking laws should be consistently applied in the case of rapists. For instance, government should impose penalties on men who rape WWDs similar to those imposed to men who rape able bodied women.
 - Government should inform the public of laws and policies that protect PWDs through programmes and advertisements in the media, awareness campaigns and posters.
2. There is a need to gradually sensitise society to stop the negative attitudes towards and stigmatising of disabled men and women carrying out IGAs, especially the visually and hearing impaired men and women. Organisations involved in supporting various members of society in their IGAs should engage PWDs in their activities and provide them with the necessary facilities to enable them to fit into the mainstream, so that community members interact and participate with them. This will to some extent change family and community members' negative attitudes towards and the stigmatisation of PWDs. Government and NGOs supporting PWDs should sensitise society about PWDs through programmes and advertisements in the media, awareness campaigns and posters.
3. The needs of disabled men and women need to be viewed more holistically by stakeholders that support PWDs. It is recommended that, in addition to the support Government and NGOs currently give PWDs, these stakeholders also consider providing shelter, medical facilities, accessible water and food to PWDs, as and when necessary, so as to reduce the need for PWDs to divert resources allocated to them for their IGAs, towards meeting their basic needs.

4. Prior to implementing projects and programmes for PWDs, service providers should engage in dialogue with PWDs to create an opportunity for prospective beneficiaries to share their experiences and views on the types of resources allocated to PWDs, and then develop views on how and what resources will be allocated to PWDs. This may not only enable PWDs to participate more fully in their IGAs, and gain more income and a sense of belonging regarding the programmes and projects, but may also promote the sustainability of projects..
5. Organisations for visually impaired and hearing impaired men and women, respectively, like UNAB and UNAD, should strengthen their role of mobilising visually and hearing impaired men and women and training them in various income generating activities skills. In order for visually and hearing impaired men and women to participate effectively and efficiently in their IGAs, these organisations should also provide them with the necessary equipment.
6. Since there is limited research done on PWDs in the informal sector, there is a need to capture data on the activities of people with different types of disabilities in the informal sector in periodic national surveys and census. Researchers should join forces with DPOs to create societal awareness of the plight of disabled men and women. The findings obtained through research should be widely published and made available to DPOs to strengthen their advocacy strategies; to government institutions like MGLSD and the Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development for the purposes of policy making, planning and the distribution of resources; and to academic institutions for education and research purposes.

In conclusion, the findings of the study showed that there are measures that need to be undertaken by current and prospective donor agencies, CBOs, planners, policy makers, and parents and guardians of disabled men and women so as to address the challenges PWDs experience in their IGAs and the constraints they face during resource allocation. It is only when these challenges and constraints are addressed that disabled men and women will be fully socio-economically empowered and will benefit maximally from their IGAs.

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GENDER AND WORK CHALLENGES IN THE INFORMAL SECTOR OF UGANDA. A STUDY OF THE DISABLED IN MUBENDE DISTRICT

Appendix 1: Interview Schedule for key informants

In-depth interviews with key informants: MPs, Programme Managers in Ministry of Gender, Labour & Social Development & National Organisations for PWDs.

1. Biographical details:

| Name (optional) | Sex | Age | Type of disability (if any) | Current Position | Period of service in current position |
|-----------------|-----|-----|-----------------------------|------------------|---------------------------------------|
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |

2. Policy & Legislation

- a) Are you aware of any government policies and laws that are meant to address disabled men and women's participation in the informal sector?
- b) If there are any such government policies and laws, which policies and laws have been implemented and to what extent have they been effective?
- c) In instances where PWDs as a specific group are not included in government policies and laws with regard to the informal sector, what is normally the explanation?
- d) As policy makers, what future plans do you have for the disabled men and women to see that they get more involved and retain themselves in the informal sector?
- e) Are you aware of any government policies and laws that address the Women with disability with regard to their participation in the informal sector?
- f) If there is a policy or law in place, how effective has it been?
- g) If nothing has been done, what explanation would you give for not including WWD?
- h) Do you have any idea if Uganda has become a signatory to any of the international and African convention and charters with reference to PWDs and the economic sector (explore)?
(ii) inquire about the barriers of implementation of some of these charters and conventions.
- i) Do you have any recommendations you would like to make relating to policy and legislation in relation to:
 - ✓ PWDs in the informal sector
 - ✓ WWDs in the informal sector

4. Resource Allocation

Are there any government, non-governmental and private sector programmes that support PWDs in their participation in the informal sector?

- a) If there are any government programmes or non-governmental programmes supporting the PWDs in the informal sector, how successful has each one been in supporting them?
- b) Are there any specific government programmes and non-governmental programmes that support WWDs in their participation in the informal sector?
- c) If there are any government programmes or non-governmental programmes supporting the WWDs in the informal sector, how effective have they been in supporting them?
- d) As MPs / Programme Managers how have you supported or enabled PWDs to get involved and retain themselves in business activities in the informal sector?
- e) What suggestions do you have for improving the productive activities of PWDs in the informal sector? What should be done by:
 - ✓ Men with disability;
 - ✓ Women with disability;
 - ✓ Disabled people's organizations and;
 - ✓ Policy makers (government) (at district and national levels?)

5. Challenges

- a) What challenges have you encountered in the process of setting up and involving the PWDs in business activities in the informal sector? (probe)
 - ✓ From government
 - ✓ From the Institution (being interviewed)
 - ✓ From other organisations
 - ✓ From PWDs
 - ✓ Other
- b) What is your thinking around how these challenges should be dealt with?

6. Formal Sector

- a) What is your thinking towards merging or separating the informal sector with the formal sector?
- b) What would be needed to merge the two sectors?

7. General comments, suggestions and recommendations

Do you have any other comments, suggestions or recommendations you would like to make relating to the business activities of disabled men and women in the informal sector?

**Appendix 2: In-depth interviews with Key Informants:
Program Managers of PWDs Organisations at district and county level**

1. Biographical details:

| Name (optional) | Sex | Age | Type of disability (if any) | Current Position | Period of service in current position |
|-----------------|-----|-----|-----------------------------|------------------|---------------------------------------|
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |

2. Activities in the informal sector:

- a) What productive activities are the PWDs involved in, in the informal sector?
 - ✓ WWD
 - ✓ Disabled men
- b) Are you aware of any productive activities disabled (specific disability) are involved in?
- c) How have the disabled men and women managed to start business in the informal sector? (probe) and how have they managed to retain themselves in this sector?
- d) How have other disabled (specific disability and gender) managed to start business in the informal sector? (probe) and how have they managed to retain themselves in this sector?
- e) Have the disabled men and women benefited from the business activities they engage in?
 - ✓ If yes, how have they benefited?
 - ✓ If no, what might be the likely causes for failing to benefit from their businesses?
- f) How have other disabled (specific disability and gender) benefited from the productive activities they are engaged in (*if different from the above*)

3. Challenges encountered in the informal sector:

- a) What challenges do the disabled encounter in their daily business activities in the informal sector?
- b) What challenges do other PWDs (specific disability & gender) face while engaging in informal sector activities?
- c) What adaptive strategies has your organisation/association utilised to help the disabled men and women overcome these challenges
- d) Do you have any idea which adaptive strategies PWDs have used to solve these problems
- e) What challenges have you encountered in the process of setting up and involving the PWDs in business activities in the informal sector? (probe)

- ✓ From government
- ✓ From the Institution (being interviewed)
- ✓ From other organisations
- ✓ From PWDs
- ✓ Other

f) What is your thinking around how these challenges should be dealt with?

4. **Policy & Legislation**

- a) Are you aware of any government policies and laws that are meant to address disabled men and women's participation in the informal sector?
- b) If there are any government policies and laws, which policies and laws have been implemented and to what extent have they been effective?
- c) In instances where PWDs are not included in government policies and laws, what is normally the explanation?
- d) As policy makers, what future plans do you have for the disabled men and women to see that they get more involved and retain themselves in the informal sector?
- e) Are you aware of any government policies and laws that address the Women with disability with regard to their participation in the informal sector?
- f) If there is a policy or law in place, how effective has it been?
- g) If nothing has been done, what explanation would you give for failure to include WWD?
- h) Do you have any idea if Uganda has become a signatory to any of the international and African convention and charters in reference to PWDs and the economic sector?
- i) Do you have any recommendations you would like to make relating to policy and legislation in relation to:
 - ✓ PWDs in the informal sector
 - ✓ WWDs in the informal sector

5. **Resource Allocation**

- a) How has this NGO/Association supported disabled men and women in their businesses in the informal sector?
- b) Have specific disabilities been put into consideration for support in the informal sector or has support been done on a general basis?

If support has been granted to specific disabilities, how has this been done?

If support has not been granted to specific disabilities, why haven't they been considered?

- c) Have WWDs been put into consideration for support in the informal sector or has support been done on a general basis
 - If support has been granted to WWDs, how has this been done?
 - If support has not been granted to WWDs, why haven't they been considered?
- d) What additional support measures might be required to ensure that specific disability categories and WWD are able to participate fully in the informal sector?
- e) Are there any government, non-governmental and private sector programmes that support PWDs in their participation in the informal sector?
- f) If yes, how effective have they been in supporting them?
- g) Are there any specific government, non-governmental and private sector programmes that support WWDs in their participation in the informal sector?
- h) If yes, how effective have they been in supporting them?
- i) What suggestions do you have for improving the productive activities of PWDs in the informal sector? What should be done by:
 - ✓ Men with disability;
 - ✓ Women with disability;
 - ✓ Disabled people's organizations and;
 - ✓ Policy makers (government) (at district and national levels?)
 - ✓ Private sector
 - ✓ Other

6. **Organisation/Association Challenges**

- a) What challenges have you encountered in the process of involving and retaining the PWDs in income generating activities? (probe)
 - ✓ From government
 - ✓ From the Organisation (being interviewed)
 - ✓ From other organisations
 - ✓ From PWDs
 - ✓ Any other sources?
- b) What is your thinking around:
 - ✓ how these challenges should be dealt with?
 - ✓ Who should deal with these challenges?

7. **Plans & Suggestions**

- a) As a Program Manager, what future plans do you have for the disabled men and women to see that they get more involved and retain themselves in the informal sector?
- b) What suggestions do you have for improving the productive activities PWDs in the informal sector? What should be done by:
 - ✓ Men with disability;
 - ✓ Women with disability;
 - ✓ Disabled people's organizations and;
 - ✓ Policy makers (government) (at district and national levels?)
 - ✓ Private sector
 - ✓ Other

8. **Formal Sector**

- a) What is your thinking towards merging or separating the informal sector with the formal sector?
- b) What would be needed to merge the two sectors?

9. **General comments, suggestions and recommendations**

Do you have any other comment, suggestions or recommendations you would like to make relating to the business activities of disabled men and women in the informal sector?

Appendix 3: Focus Group Guide for Persons with Disabilities

1. Biographical details:

| Name (optional) | Pseudonym | Sex | Age | Marital status | Family size | Type of disability (if any) | Business activity | Current Position | Other source of income |
|-----------------|-----------|-----|-----|----------------|-------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|------------------|------------------------|
| | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | |

2. Activities in the informal sector:

- a) What productive activities are you involved in, in the informal sector?
- b) What productive activities are other disabled (specific disability and gender) involved in, in this county?
- c) How did you manage to start business in the informal sector? (probe)
- d) How have other disabled (specific disability and gender) managed to start business in the informal sector?
- e) In what ways have you benefited from the business activities you are engaged in?
- f) If you feel you have not benefited, what might be the likely causes?
- g) Explain briefly how other disabled (specific disability and gender) have benefited from the productive activities they are engaged in (*if different from the above*)
- h) Do you get any profit?
- i) What motivated you to start a business?

3. Work challenges encountered:

- a) What problems do you encounter in trying to set up business activities (probe)?
- b) (i) What problems do you encounter in your daily business activities in the informal sector?
(ii) What problems do you encounter in maintaining your business activities in the informal sector?
- c) What work challenges do other PWDs (specific disability & gender) face while engaging in informal sector activities?
- d) What adaptive strategies have you utilised to overcome these challenges?
- e) Has government or association or NGO of the disabled in your district helped you overcome these problems?
- f) If yes, which of these institutions has done so?
- g) How has it done so?

4. Policy & Legislation

- a) Are you aware of any government policies and laws that are meant to address disabled men and women's participation in the informal sector?
- b) If there are any government policies and laws, which policies and laws have been implemented and to what extent have they been effective?
- c) In instances where PWDs are not included in government policies and laws, what is normally the explanation?
- d) Are you aware of any government policies and laws that address the Women with disability with regard to their participation in the informal sector?
- e) If there is a policy or law addressing WWDs in the informal sector, how effective has it been?
- f) If nothing has been done, what explanation would you give for failure to include WWD?
- g) Do you have any recommendations you would like to make relating to policy and legislation in relation to:
 - ✓ PWDs in the informal sector
 - ✓ WWDs in the informal sector

5. Resource Allocation

Government:

- a) Do you receive any form of resources from government?
 - ✓ If yes, which departments in government provide you with resources?
 - ✓ What resources does it provide you with?
- b) When government provides resources, what criteria do they use to allocate resources (probe⁷³)?
- c) How effective has government been in providing PWDs resources?

Non-Governmental Organisations:

- a) Do you belong to any NGO/NGOs?
- b) If yes, what benefits have these NGOs provided you with in relation to your business?
- c) When these NGOs are providing resources, what criteria do they use to allocate resources (probe⁷⁴)?
- d) Have you encountered any problems with these NGOs with regard to their assistance (probe)?
- e) If yes, what are the problems?

⁷³ probe with regard to gender and type of disability

⁷⁴ probe with regard to gender and type of disability

- f) How have you dealt with those problems?

Business Sector:

- a) Do you receive any form of resources from the business sector or private sector?
- b) If yes, what resources do they provide you with?
- c) When the business sector or private sector provides resources, what criteria do they use to allocate resources (probe⁷⁵)?
- d) How effective has government been in providing PWDs resources?

Business Groups:

- a) Do you have an association or group of the informal sector in your county (district)?
- b) If yes, what is its name?
- c) Is this group/association for the disabled only or for both disabled and able bodied?
- d) How has it been gainful to you in your daily productive activities?
- e) Do you have any problems with these associations/groups with regard to assisting you in your daily productive activities?

Family:

- a) To what extent has your family been resourceful to your business in the informal sector?

10. **What are your future prospects (probe)**

11. **General comments, suggestions and recommendations**

Do you have any other comment, suggestions or recommendations you would like to make relating to the business activities of disabled men and women in the informal sector?

⁷⁵ probe with regard to gender and type of disability