



Graduate School of Development Studies

**How to Survive in the Absence of Effective
Protection Policy: The 'Aged' in Nakawa-Uganda**

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Dedication

In loving memory of my father William George Ddungu

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Table of Contents

List of Tables and Figures	7
List of Acronyms	8
Abstract	9
1 Introduction	10
1.1 Background	10
1.2 Indication of the Problem	13
1.3 Relevance and Justification	13
1.4 Research Methodology	14
1.5 Limitations	16
1.6 Structure of the Paper	16
2 Conceptual and Analytical Framework	18
2.1 Gender	18
2.2 Social Protection	20
2.3 Risks, Needs, Development and ‘Human Rights’ Associated with the Aged as the Last Stage of Life-Cycle	21
2.4 “Constructing a Gendered Social Protection”	24
3 Situating the Aged in Uganda	27
3.1 Demographic Trend and Characteristics of Nakawa	27
3.2 Who are the Aged?	28
3.4 Literature and Research Reviews on the Aged	29
3.5 Livelihood of the Aged	30
3.6 The Aged in Relation to Gender-Power Relations	30
4 The Aged Struggles Exacerbated by Social Exclusion	32
4.1 Of Exclusion and Deprivation	32
4.2 Complexities of Structural Adjustment Policies	33
4.3 Political Situation	34
4.4 HIV/AIDS Epidemic	35
5 Asking Questions to Reveal Aged Struggles	36
5.1 Struggles that Aged Women and Men go Through in Their Life Hardships	36

5.2	Survival Activities	39
5.3	Support if One Does not have Energy to Work	41
5.4	How the Aged Utilise their Strength or Resources for Survival and Continue to Support whomever is Dependent on them	42
5.5	Do they Encounter Exclusion?	42
5.6	What kind of Social Protection Arrangements or Related Strategies Exist in this Community?	43
6	Room for Expansion and New Ideas	44
6.1	Room	44
	6.1.1 The Evidence	44
6.2	Process Ideas	46
6.3	Possibilities	47
7	Conclusion	50

List of Tables and Figures

Figure

Figure 2.1: Constructing a Gendered Social Protection	24
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Tables

Table 1: Examples of Constraints that the Aged Face in Dealing with the Risks	22
Table 2: Shows the Population Type of Nakawa.	28
Table 3: Compares the male and female aged livelihood in Nakawa-Uganda	30

List of Acronyms

AIDS	Acquired Immune-Deficiency Syndrome
AM	Aged Men
AW	Aged Women
HIV	Human Immuno Virus
NGO	Non Government Organisation
NSSF	National Social Security Fund
URAA	Uganda Reach the Aged Association
UCPR	Uganda Chronic Poverty Report
UNHS	Uganda National Household Survey
SAPS	Structural Adjustment Policies
WB	World Bank
TASO	The AIDS Support Organisation
IDB	Inter-American Development Bank
CLWA	Children Living with AIDS
UNC	United Nations Conventions
ILO	International Labour Organisation
SHI	Social Health Insurance
CHI	Community Health Insurance
UN	United Nations
ISS	Institute of Social Studies
UMPED	Uganda Ministry of Planning and Economic Development
UPE	Universal Primary Education

Abstract

This research focuses on “aged”¹ women and men from 60 years old and above in Nakawa-Uganda. Its main objective is to contribute to a policy change and improve the well-being of the aged people. This was achieved through an interrelated analysis of the ways the aged struggle to make ends meet on one hand, and the shortcomings of inadequate state protection measures. Taking a feminist standpoint epistemology, the aged became the privileged subject of knowledge through social history stories. This research first introduces the story of one aged woman which brings home the difficulties faced by many poor, aged people in Uganda who have no family to turn to and no social protection system to help them meet even their most basic needs. It reveals how the structural shifts exacerbated by social exclusion disadvantage the aged. This research reviews the main concepts on gender and social protection to latter, the aged, their livelihood and the gender-power relations. Bearing in mind that although, both aged men and women are struggling to survive, they experience the same vulnerabilities differently and also exposed to different vulnerabilities. This is attributed to social construction of gender relations in Nakawa-Uganda. This research rules out the evidence of social protection that exclude the aged. As a result, it explores new gendered ideas and possibilities to transformative social protection. In spite of the unfulfilled obligations, a collection of different actors including the state, NGO’s, civil society and individual groups can come forward to provide social protection for the aged¹

Relevance to Development Studies

This research reveals that, the struggles faced by many poor, aged people normally stem from structural shifts in society exacerbated by social exclusion resulting to poverty, dissatisfaction and social disaffiliation (Paugam in (Daly and Silver 2008: 549) .This research contributes by reflecting on how policy makers can respond to a gendered policy change and improve the well being of the aged, because, state restructuring are producing new forms of inhumane injustices resulting to unequal treatment constructed as a social predicament in their own right, rather than factors that impair democratic performance.

Keywords

Aged, struggles, gender, social protection, social exclusion, Nakawa-Uganda

¹ Age is understood not only as the number of years that a person has but also as a social construct.

1 Introduction

1.1 Background

Feelings of internal melancholy engulfed my inner being on hearing the story of the struggles that aged women and men go through to survive. On Monday morning, 28th/07/2008, walking on a busy street of Nakawa-Uganda, near the market; I tracked an aged woman of 76 years with four children of about 2-4 years of age. She neatly sat on the side of the traffic lights with a 50 Uganda shillings coin on a plastic plate². I sat in a close range, to understand how she struggles to find ends meet for her life and support the children she had.

With a nasty smell from her breath, I pulled myself together as she looked through my eyes with pain as an angel from heaven for her rescue. I greeted her, “*wasuze otya nyabo?*”³ Where are you from? And she straight away told me her story with no hesitation that she was from Gulu (War zone area in the north of the country). She said that the parents of these children were killed in the war yet, at the same time, these children had HIV/AIDS. She has always been a domestic worker and her husband the breadwinner of the family. In agony with a stammering tongue, she lamented that, my husband was retrenched from the factory as a casual worker as a result of what she did not appropriately pronounce as the so called *SAPS*⁴.

After seven years, he died of lung cancer and I was chased from my matrimony home by the elder step children. My last son-Peter that time was very sick of AIDS in the hospital who later died, not because he was sick but also because; I did not have enough help. The political situation [rabble all over Gulu] was very bad that I could not even sell my papyrus mats to pay the hospital bills. This story brings home the difficulties faced by many poor, aged people in Uganda who have no family to turn to, and no social protection system to help them meet even their most basic needs.

In the note book I wrote, how can the social protection policy be changed to improve the well-being of the needy? Why are the aged people’s livelihoods different from the conventional times in Uganda?

The livelihood story about the struggles that the aged go through to survive reminds us of the complex interrelationship of Structural Adjustment Policies, political turmoil, HIV/AIDS epidemic curved by erosion of Social family networks. The story is divided into three phases: pre-colonial, colonial and post-independence.

The popular view is that, pre-colonial Ugandan’s social structure was organized around the extended family which knitted together a network of blood relations, in-laws and close friends (Kajjuka 2006: 1) . This network

²This is a sign of begging in Uganda.

³ Good morning madam?

⁴ Structural Adjustment Policies

acted as insurance against the aged (Brown et al. 1999: 3, Chappel 1990, Kosberg 1992: 2). Reciprocity and social cohesion, altruism and personal intimacies were the main pillars of social protection networks in good and bad times as Ouma (1995: 6) in Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler (2004: 14) describes it. This is a feed -forward approach in which the parents take care of the children and children in return will take care of their parents at the old age.

The erosion of these networks is attributed to the disruptive impacts of colonialism and commodification. Politically, colonialism undermined the village and clan-based power relationships in matters of socialisation and social control. This in return undermined its ability to help the vulnerable groups such as the aged.

In specific context of Uganda's post-independence, the political turbulence and state violence of 1970's and 1980's is often viewed as further eroding and demolishing of these networks.

Additional stress on these social networks is posed by the wake of the Structural Adjustment Policies in the 70's and 80's. A big proportion of the Ugandan population started getting poorer as unemployment, competition in markets, housing problems and costs for basic services increase, while incomes degenerate. The harsh economic conditions which most working Ugandans now face, severely limit their ability to assume the conventional social protection roles of taking care of the aged('Uganda Chronic Poverty Report' 2006: 2). Again, the weakening of the state with a dwindling economy and its regulatory role left it incapable of addressing inefficiencies, abuses and exclusionary practices to the aged. The aged group have been left without authority and legitimacy to pursue complementary and corrective measures to regulate such. However, certain policies are seen to be put in place.

With regard to the formal policy, chapter four of the Constitution of Uganda provides for social protection and promotion of fundamental human rights and freedoms ratified with the various United Nations Conventions (UNC). These include; Declaration of Human Rights (1948), ILO convention 102, enacted laws and approved policies to provide social protection for its population. For example, Uganda Ministry of Public Service 1994 Pension Act (Cap 286) for the retired civil servants, National Social Security Fund Act, 1985, Cap.222, a contributory scheme for workers in the formal sector, Social Health Insurance (SHI) and Community Health Insurance (CHI) by the Ministry of Health. As such, social protection in Uganda has been conceived in ways that exclude the need of the most aged who are not covered in National Labour Legislation (Obot 2006: 2).

With in the same period of time, when the livelihood of the aged seemed to be facing a down ward spiral, affected by the SAPS, HIV/AIDS epidemic hit Uganda harder than any other place (Oppong 2006: 662). Its impact to the aged was not a question at the time, because it was seen as a sexual behaviour and the aged are seen as not part of such behaviours. That is why Singhal and Rodgers.(2003: 37) argue that, the bottom line to eradicate HIV/AIDS is to change the sexual behaviour of people. Kitooka (2007) continues with the argument that HIV/AIDS is not a medical problem but a "behaviour change problem". Whether a sexual behaviour or not, for this

research, this implies pressing the already constrained resource bases of the aged.

From The AIDS Support Organisation (TASO), Dr Coutinho (2003) mentioned that 1,000,000 people were lost to HIV/AIDS in the past 20 years, with an estimated number of 2,000,000 orphans. HIV/AIDS has created an inter-generational gap leading to a creation of a huge proportion of orphaned children. The burden of raising orphans is born by AW yet; they are doing this in situations of abject poverty. Orphans have to attend school, housed, fed and provided with medical care whenever need arises ('Uganda Chronic Poverty Report' 2006: 2). The aged care for more than 500,000 out of about 2 million orphaned children in Uganda (Mugayehwenkyi 2004: 1). This does not necessarily mean that all the aged care for the orphans. It was surprising on conducting interviews in Nakawa, that majority if not all the aged women, had orphans to take care of in reference to their men counterparts. The researcher was astonished why aged women take care of the orphans and not aged men?

Given that, one of the conceptual tools in analysing this research is gender, it is important to state that, the gender- power relations, reflecting the social norms in Uganda, are integrated in all Ugandan institutions. These include; markets, state, households, civil society organisations and all political, social, economic, personal relations and activities. This imposes on the aged women to be in care economy say, takes care of the orphans which make them more vulnerable than their aged men counterparts. In this research, this implies pressures related to gender roles that although women are aged, they have to take care of their grand orphans. And societal processes expressed in institutions, relations and activities which tend to exclude the aged.

It is important to take into consideration the fact that being aged means that the physical appearance of the aged becomes an additional marker for their exclusion⁵. It is not only that they are discriminated against because they are women, but because they are aged as well (Chant and Pedwell. 2008) . The multiple-exclusion as Ruwampura (2005: 1) states is not about revealing simple and dualistic links relating to two social groups, such as men and women, or old and young, able verses disabled. The apparent nature and dynamics of discrimination is apparently a complex process, in which multiple positions of people have been shaped by a variety of social attributes⁶.

Church organisations, trade unions, traders association have intervened as a model of care. Nevertheless, despite the commendable efforts, the structures of exclusion are very heavy not only for the aged women and men

⁵ Social exclusion for this research will build on Daly and Silver (2008) argument, as a condition of multi-dimensional cumulative disadvantage. It involves the processes of persistent disadvantage by which the social rights of aged women and men are undermined.

⁶ Ruwampura (2005: 2) reveals that, at the root of discrimination lies the recognition that women are treated differently on perceived characteristics of their group rather than their individual capabilities.

but also for these organisations and as such, the struggles seem to be worsening. Other ideas have set in but not yet seen implemented. In February 2008, National Social Security Fund (NSSF) drafted a proposal to be presented in Parliament for universalising social protection for the most vulnerable especially the aged. These standards benefit the population if public measures against the social and economic distress are backed by legislation, policies, regulatory framework, political will and wide population coverage.

1.2 Indication of the Problem

Literature reviewed for this research often describes the aged as lacking whatever formal and informal protection they should have. They have been stereotyped as helpless, passive and dependent characters. The aged are rather active, decisive in the struggles they go through, not only situated as a collective as well as individual reflection and action, but also in a much wider range of purposeful actions, including bargaining, negotiation, deception, manipulation, subversion as well as the more intangible, cognitive processes to survive. The aged rely on casual labouring, such as urban farming and petty trading of local handcrafts (Maxwell 1994). They make claims on neighbours, begging, NGO's [church/mosque/ International NGO's] appealing for goodwill, and political action. At the extreme, they disperse off the family members especially orphans for child labour, sell their assets and finally migrate to urban areas (Chambers and Conway. 1991: 8). This has been evidenced when some of the aged are seen on streets begging with these orphans. In reality, the limited physical energy that the aged have, are limited from actively undertaking productive ventures which would otherwise guarantee them a regular source of income for survival.

It is noteworthy that, this research claims that, as much as the aged struggle to survive, their well-being is at the mercy of policy makers. They need social protection.

1.3 Relevance and Justification

Given that the aged constitute (6.1%) of the population (1,500,000) and given that mild research has been so far done on the way they struggle to survive, the present piece aims at contributing to a policy change and improve the well-being of the aged people in Nakawa-Uganda. This will be achieved through the analysis of the way the aged struggle to make ends meet. However, the conceptualization of their struggle would be incomplete if it is not combined by analyzing the state policy towards them.

On a practical note, social protection for all, regardless of their labor engagements, is urgent for alleviating poverty, vulnerabilities, such as physically weak or destitute, ill health especially hypertension, cancer, visual, hearing impairment, and other old-age ailments. This will enhance long time well-being of the aged and reduce the burden of inter-generation gap caused by HIV/AIDS in raising orphans.

In light of the SAPS which triggered increasing levels of exclusions associated with harsh economic conditions, and these trends seem not to

revert, it becomes a necessity for this research to answer the following objectives and questions.

The **objective** of this research is to contribute to a policy change regarding the aged in Uganda. This will be achieved through an interrelated analysis of the way the aged struggle to make ends meet on one hand, and the shortcomings of inadequate state protection measures.

By addressing this objective, this research's **central question** is

How do the aged women and men struggle to survive amidst inadequate social protection? And to what extent do different social relations of power create differences in the way they deal with their hardships?

Sub-research questions.

- i. What kind of activities do the aged engage in to continue and support whoever is dependent on them?
- ii. What kind of social protection arrangements if any, do the aged have to counter exclusion?
- iii. How can social protection measures be provided for by different state and non-state actors to help the aged overcome their daily hardships?

1.4 Research Methodology

This research took a feminist standpoint epistemology. This is because the researcher realized that knowledge of the aged is produced through social histories. This history became new resource of knowledge. That is to say, understanding the processes of exclusion, different levels of workings of power, struggles for survival and taking them into account as part of the research. The aged have always been viewed as object of knowledge by dominant groups. This research recognizes that, there is a need for a change in subject position (the aged) as a part and parcel of the project. Therefore the researcher made the aged to become a privileged subject of knowledge.

The researcher took a twofold approach to this research. One, to show the struggles that the aged women and men go through to survive. And two, to show how the state can extend social protection to include the aged bearing in mind that their livelihood is diverse. This meant interviewing all the aged women and men, not limiting myself to only aged women.

The researcher decided to take Nakawa division of Kampala district as the area of research. This is because Uganda Reach the Aged Association⁷ has connections to the aged women and men which were to be interviewed.

⁷ (URAA) was formed in 1991. The aims of the Association is to co-ordinate activities of age care organization in Uganda, tackle the problems of aged people, lobby for the mainstreaming of aged issues into development agenda by bringing a lasting improvement in their lives.

Nakawa is also conveniently located as a Division in Kampala district-Uganda with easy access.

This exploratory and qualitative research relied mainly on primary data. In-depth interviews covered 18 aged women and 18 aged men, as the target group through The Uganda Reach the Aged Association. This was during the last week of the month of July-August. The interviewees varied in age with the youngest being 60 years and the oldest 90 years. Their voices are more elaborated in chapter five. The researcher visited the aged in their different localities. These included homes, shacks, streets, and homelessness. The researcher also hijacked those who were walking on the streets. The researcher put focus on interviewing equal number of men and women to understand how they struggle to survive.

The researcher informally sampled from five parishes of Nakawa-Kampala district including Kyanja, Kivatule, Ntinda, Nagulu and Bukoto 1 as shown in appendix 1. This research was extended to include Rubaga and Central division of Kampala. The reason why this research was extended is because; aged women were seen in Central Division of Kampala on streets begging during the daily schedules of interviews. Kampala is the capital city of Uganda with several Divisions. Nakawa is a Division in Kampala yet; Central and Rubaga are also Divisions in Kampala. Their characteristics are almost the same and thus can be neatly placed into this research. The researcher had to cease the opportunity because this was part of the research and would add to literature and knowledge about the struggles that the aged go through to survive. Their livelihood is so diverse, am not claiming to have shown all of them but even with these few, to show how their livelihood is diverse.

This research sought for their insight into the activities, to gather narrative account of events, conceptions, experiences, perception, beliefs, practices, understanding and reality of their situation to reveal their livelihood. In narrative interviews, the researcher took up any open ended question to stimulate the interviewee to narrate with no intervention. In the process of narrating, the researcher took the role of being an attentive listener; maintained supportive gestures and non directive brief comments.

However, because of limited time, the researcher was not able to do follow up in order to have opportunity for a more active contribution but was done simultaneously. Such as, steering towards a certain life history, or a situation mentioned in the narrative [could you give me a little more detail about this situation?] Some of my respondents were incidentally a problem themselves. This is because of their so many old age ailments, which were reflected in non-verbal communication yet, interpretation was problematic.

Thematic analysis is being used which is inductive (Dawson 2002: 115). That is, themes emerge from the data and are not imposed upon it by the researcher. Data collection and analysis took place simultaneously. Even background reading is part of the analysis process, especially when it is helping to explain an emerging theme.

Secondary data on aged women and men in this research is ISS data base.

The scope of this research was limited to only Nakawa, Central and Rubaga divisions of Kampala District in Uganda. This is because URAA

facilitator operate in these areas. Interviews were focussed on the following aspects:

- How the aged struggle to survive?
- How different social relations of power create difference in the way they deal with their hardships?
- How do the aged utilise their strength or resources to survive?
- How do the aged cope or able to overcome or is there any kind of social protection arrangements?

It was easy to access my respondents, as representatives of an insight for the country in general. This is because there was adequate facilitation from a worker of Uganda Reach the Aged Association. Again, my home area is Nakawa; this made it easy for me to locate them.

1.5 Limitations

The paper focuses on a policy change to improve the well-being of the aged. This was achieved through an interrelated analysis of the struggles that they go through. Usually policy change for the needy covers the whole country. This research only covered Nakawa-Uganda as the biggest target group. This implies that, to some extent, it ignores the rest of the country. The reason why this research covered this area is because of limited time in carrying out this research. I had only four weeks to interview these women and men. I am not claiming to bring out the voices of all the aged, but even with this few, to show how they struggle to survive and how their livelihood is so diverse.

Patience was part of the requirement for this research. This is because; some of the respondents took their time to come out of the house, claiming to have problems with their legs, others sleep up to ten o'clock, yet, others keep quiet for a moment before they answer. This consumed a lot of time as I would take one hour and half, or a maximum of two hours on one respondent. The researcher also patiently waited for them because the aim was to capture their stories and from which, analysis of their struggles would be depicted. The researcher interpreted a moment of quietness as a period of pain, trying to compare what they are going through now in relation to the aged people during the time they were young [One of the respondents compared himself to his dead grand father]. The process ended up to be expensive in relation to the initial budget in terms of resources for use. During the entire period in Uganda, I used a motor-cycle, which needed to be fuelled every day yet the fuel price had increased at that time.

1.6 Structure of the Paper

The paper is structured in seven chapters. This first introductory chapter identified the problem statement of the aged, pointed out the main questions, and described both the methodological and the limitations encountered in the research process. The second chapter reviews the conceptual and analytical framework of the research. The third chapter situates the aged in the context of Nakawa and the fourth with the aged struggles exacerbated by social exclusion. The fifth chapter analyses the aged struggles in light with research

questions, gender as a concept and the methodological approach. The sixth chapter also brings to the fore room for ideas, ranging from protective to possibilities for social protection expansion to cover the aged. The analysis of this chapter is in light with social protection as a theory and practice with the aged needs, realities, development and human right.

2 Conceptual and Analytical Framework

The analytical perspective of this research is gender and social protection in which struggles through social exclusion problem of the aged can be analysed. This part contributes to policy change regarding the aged in Uganda. This contribution is achieved by analysing the struggles the aged go through given the inadequate state protection measures. The first section introduces definitions of gender and how they are used in the analysis section in chapter five. The second section introduces the definition of social protection by agency's and the paper's conceptualisation of social protection. This part goes ahead to show the life-cycle of human life and at the old age, it justifies the need for social protection. The third section reveals how a gendered social protection is "constructed" in theory and in practice.

Why gender and social protection as the concepts? Social protection interventions assist individuals, households and communities to better manage their communities. They address vulnerability, risks, levels of absolute deprivation deemed unacceptable through mechanism which are both social and public in character (Norton et al. 2001: 21). Gender on the other side helps this research to pay attention to gendered relations of power which position and affect different groups of women and men in different ways even in gendering social protection policies.

2.1 Gender

Gender, in this research is understood as a relational concept, constituted differently across various social, cultural and economic contexts in and through its interaction with new axes⁸ of social differentiation, such as tribe, religion, age, and language among other variables. These axes of differentiation create a cocktail of discrimination for the aged. A gender analysis therefore has necessitated paying attention to gendered relations of power which position and affect different groups of women and men in different ways (Laflame 2005:26). Contributing to a policy change in social protection with respect to the aged thus questions "the pervasive gendered constructs, roles and power relations which structure the wider social context" in which different forms of vulnerabilities arise.

Gender is the social construction of difference between men and women as (Okin 1989: 6) phrases it, *'the deeply entrenched institutionalization of*

⁸ New axes that came up during the interview sessions include tribe, religion, language and age. Interviewees kept using words such as "when you belong to this tribe, you will get help from what they called international organisation (Care International). This is because the people who work in the organisation are of the same tribe. Language goes hand in hand with tribe in Nakawa as well. In reference to religion, those who belong to Pentecostals would of course get help from the church and the mosque respectively".

sexual difference'. The applicability and relevance of the concept to the Ugandan context has generated a surprising amount of contestation among scholars.

Following the work of Amadiume (1995), Oyewumi (1997), Steady (2002), Tamale (1999), True and Mintrom (2001), they critique the concept's tendency to produce dichotomous models that do not adequately capture Uganda's reality. They question three assumptions they see as underlying the concept of gender.

First; the assumption of a universal subordination of women, which results in exclusive focus on power relations between men and women, is perceived as narrow because it overshadows other power relations based on, tribe, age, and religion which may be a more significant axis of subordination in some situations. Such a narrow focus in Ugandan's context for example may result in disembodied feminism.

Second, the separation between public and private; the assumption that men have privileged participation in the public sphere is criticized for consigning women to powerlessness. It also ignores the possibility that women could draw power from family, religious systems or female secret societies, or provide evidence that women's public participation can vary depending on life-cycle, with older women serving as elders in some communities. This is why Tamale, identifies,

“domesticity as the defining feature of women's subordination in Uganda”.

The third assumption, which is largely unacknowledged, in this research is that of a nuclear family model. This makes inevitable the use of gender as the organizing principle in any critique of hierarchy or differentiated roles within the family. Also, “*power centres*” are diffused through other kinship categories, which may be based on age, seniority or distinctions between those born into the family and those marrying into it.

Academic debates, presents the researcher with undertones in discussing relevant definitions of gender. There is a perception that, those who deny unequal gender relations as a central feature of Uganda's social relations are more likely to take a less politicized definition of gender. They are seen as being more likely to adopt neutral definitions, such as '*empowerment of both men and women*' commonly found in agencies which embrace gender '*mainstreaming*'. Those who take the view about unequal gender relations are central to women's subordination are more likely to take a political position that defines gender as being about *overcoming women's subordination*.

Scott (1999: 42-44) Scott did not only make a distinction between women as individuals and groups, and gender as an organising principle of social life operating on multiple levels, but also made a distinction between gender as social relation; organising principle of social life and gender as analytical category. Scott criticized Marxist feminist for excluding non-material aspects of social exclusion such as psyche, identity formation and symbolic systems. Scott sees gender as power; as *organising principle of social life, operating with in four levels*.

First, level of subjective identities; what does it mean to be a woman or a man in a specific society, of specific social group, in specific periods of time,

and how are specific subjectivities produced through social norms, and how specific individuals or groups resist the ascribed identities and struggle for new ones?

Family and social conventions can disable women's capacities to reason and act independently, and by obliging them to put the needs of others above their own. In response to this dilemma of women's acquiescence in their own social and economic subordination, feminist political philosophers have debated the minimum economic, social, and even psychological conditions under which women might be able to refuse or renegotiate the social arrangements in which they find themselves (O'Neill 2000: 163).

From this argument, this research's perspective is not to show the types of protection that one can claim by virtue of membership to a political community, nor the level of resources anyone or Ugandan government can use to build and provide human welfare. Instead, this research concerns itself with contribution to a policy change regarding the aged to improve their well-being. This contribution is achieved by revealing the struggles that the aged go through and even continue to support whoever is dependent on them and then a contribution to what can be done to protect them. The question is; how do they struggle to survive? Gender played a great role to reveal what it means to be an aged woman or man in Nakawa-Uganda.

Second, level of institution and organisations involves Institutional knowledge, practice and power, not just marriage, family, kinship, but also economic institutions and political institutions, are not only gendered, but also tribalistic, based on tribal exclusion and exploitation. These intersect each other for the disadvantage of the aged.

The third and fourth is the level of symbolic meanings, values and ideologies; which support institutions and organisations in justifying structures of exclusion and injustice. Familiarity of norms, values, beliefs with symbols and metaphors give meanings to our realities, naturalised norms of proper womanhood and manhood (political, religious, tribalism ideologies and their symbolic systems, say mother of the nation; definitions of 'traditions' often defined as universal and often a historical.

2.2 Social Protection

The initial issue to be addressed is the distinction between social protection and alternative term social security in circulation. Social security is associated with comprehensive and sophisticated *social insurance* and *social assistance* machinery based on statutory nature. That is, social security is enacted by law or regulated, [Benefits in cash or in kind provided on the basis of means or income test] whilst social protection includes social security, but also non-statutory or private mechanisms. As such, social security for the aged in Uganda is seen as inappropriate, where higher levels of absolute poverty, combined with financially and institutionally weak state; pose a set of fundamentally different challenges.

The more recent term social safety net is targeted *social assistance* often administered through social Protection. Norton et al. (2001: 21) and V. Ginneken, W (1999: 6) argue that, Social protection term has the advantage of

encompassing the umbrella of social security, [but also], the advantage over social security, is of being extensively used in both developed and developing countries, and can be provided by statutory or private mechanisms. Devereux and Sabates, extend the argument of Social Protection to include;

“All public and private initiatives that provide income or consumption transfers to the Poor, protect vulnerable groups against livelihood risks, embrace social status and rights of the marginalised; with the overall objective of reducing the economic and social vulnerability of marginalised groups (2004)”.

International Labour Office (ILO) defines Social Protection as the “set of public measures that a society provides for its members to protect against social and economic distress that can be caused by lack of work or various contingencies; provision of health care; and provision of benefits to families with children”(Bonilla and Gruat 2003: 32). Based on this definition, ILO has the main objective for social protection concept which is to guarantee access to basic services.

Inter-American Development Bank- defines Social Protection as the set of “public measures that lessen the impact of sudden events on the incomes and living conditions of the poor (IDB 2000: 1).

World Bank (WB) defines Social Protection as a collection of measures to improve or protect human capital ranging from publically mandated unemployment or old-age to targeted income support

For the purposes of this paper, Social Protection is the set of all initiatives including formal and informal, providing social assistance, social services and social insurance for the aged to protect them against risks such as discrimination, consequences of livelihood shocks and social equity. Social Protection coverage is categorised under protective, preventive, promotive and transformative measures (Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler 2004).

The key objective of Social Protection for this research is to contribute to the policy change of the aged in Uganda. When the policy is changed, it will reduce the vulnerability of the aged and thus improve their well-being.

2.3 Risks, Needs, Development and ‘Human Rights’ Associated with the Aged as the Last Stage of Life-Cycle

Having needs, risks and facing vulnerabilities is inherent in the lives of the aged given the HIV/AIDS epidemic, political insurgency, socio-economic and erosion of the social networks in Uganda. Nevertheless, the level and availability of resources to face those needs, degree of exposure to idiosyncratic risks, covariant risks and the social protection measures should vary greatly because the aged have been affected differently. Even among the aged, although all the aged people struggle to survive, aged men and aged women experience the same risks differently and at the same time, they are exposed to different risks (Kabeer and Shubramanian 1996). This is attributed to social

construction of gender relations, and the fact that some factors can apply to all but can be exacerbated by gender. That is to say gender-intensified⁹, gender specific¹⁰ and gender imposed constraints¹¹. A Gendering of the social risk framework elaborates the constraints which aged women face in comparison to the aged men.

Table 1: Examples of Constraints that the Aged Face in Dealing with the Risks

Idiosyncratic risks	covariant risks	
Individual or household level	Community level	(Inter)national level
<p>Women have disadvantaged position in household in the intra-household distribution of resources and power. This leads to decreased ability to claim resources due to their lower perceived contributions.</p> <p>Double burden-work and care.</p> <p>Women are biologically susceptible to illness; such as HIV/AIDS especially from child care.</p> <p>Loss of assets to husband's family claims.</p> <p>Social norms resulting in restricted movement of women.</p> <p>Men and women have different levels of education</p>	<p>Social acceptance of gender based violence.</p> <p>Disadvantaged position in the labour market.</p> <p>Women usually have insecure property rights.</p>	<p>Economic transitions, political insurgency, erosion of social networks have had gender differentiated impacts.</p> <p>Legislation discrimination against the aged, both men and women.</p>

. Source; Own elaboration based on, Luttrell, Kabeer and Subramanian (1996)

The life-cycle approach is important to understand the changing and dynamic ways in which the needs and risks manifest during the old age life. A

⁹Gender- intensified constraints evolve around gender- 'neutral' constraints and shocks that affect men and women differently. They usually reflect inequalities in opportunities and distribution of resources in households. This distribution reflects community norms, such as inheritance and ascribed forms of discrimination. See Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler (2004), Naila Kabeer (2003) Luttrell and Moser (2004). The common shocks here include; income shock-women are more sensitive to changes in household income than men and price shocks.

¹⁰ Gender specific constraints involve restriction from participation in household livelihood activities. The result of restriction is attributed to biological roles in reproduction and socially ascribed roles of caring. Biological and social gender-specific roles and features is important to understand how risks can be differentiated between genders, and thus how social protection should be designed to handle such constraints. Common shocks here include; health risks, life-cycle risks [divorce, widowhood/wer], household economic risks and social risks including social exclusion.

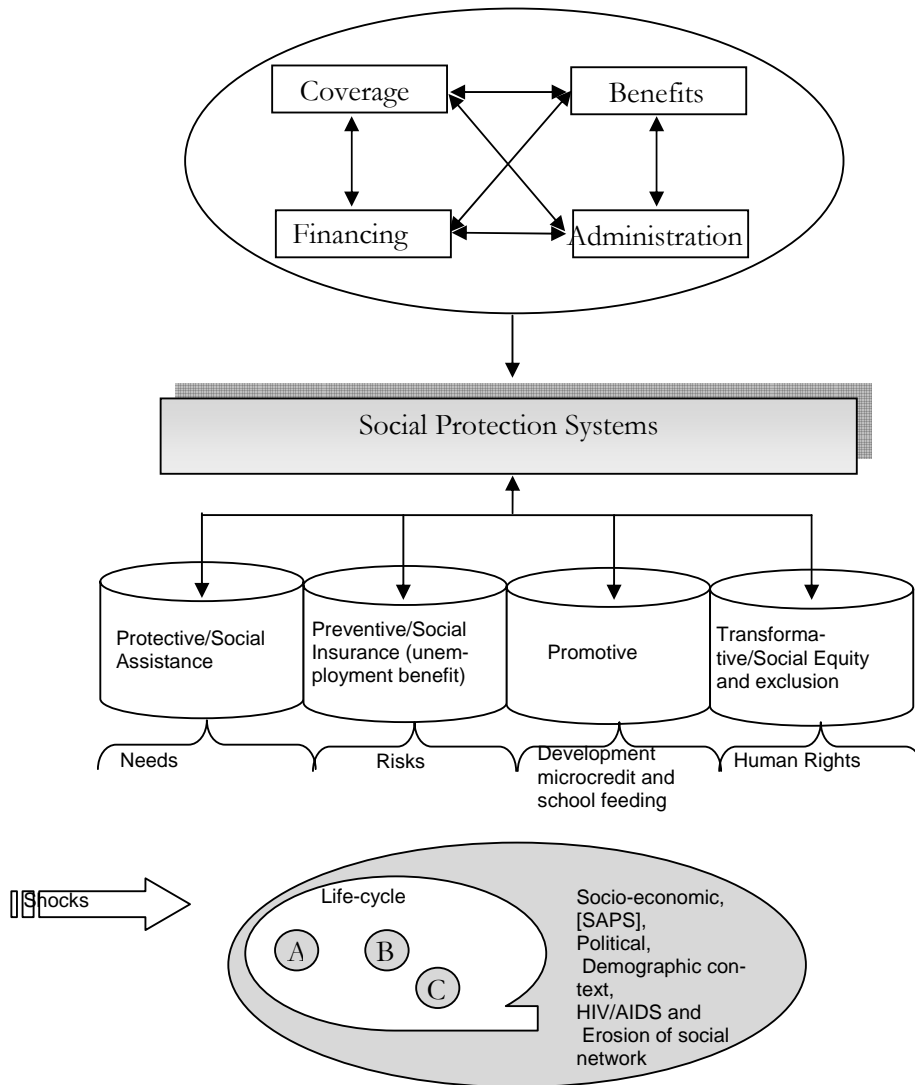
¹¹ Gender-imposed constraints are usually as a result of forms of disadvantage reflecting bias from those who allocate resources outside the community which exacerbates discrimination. See also Kabeer and Subramanian (1996) Cecilia Luttrell and Caroline Moser (2004).

life-cycle organises, people's life along a line of working period [A] as indicated in Figure 2.1, during [B] and after [C]. This implies that by the time a person is aged, he/she would have worked hard and saved for the old age period [c] in the life-cycle. Unfortunately, because of the political insurgency, socio-economic, HIV/AIDS epidemic disrupted the aged and were not able to work and save for the future.

A life-cycle is a period in an individual's life, when the whole set of risks and certainties that is exposed to them remains constant (Bonilla and Gruat 2003: 32). The last part of the life-cycle, that is, the aged, is shifting from positive to negative based on the vulnerabilities shown in chapter four. Some of the needs and risks that the aged face include disability and inability to work, sickness and illness, exclusion, and lack of voice. This therefore, necessitates a policy change to include the aged, because social Protection will then cover their vulnerabilities.

Development's intention is not to go beyond the conceptualisation of social protection, and broaden the scope to include all development activities but to income stabilisation for the aged who have the ability to work. For example, microcredit for consumption smoothing functions (Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler 2004: 10). From the human rights perspective, social protection will address the issues of exclusion. This will include changes to protect the needy aged.

**Figure 2.1:
Constructing a Gendered Social Protection**



Source: Own elaboration based on Agueta (2007: 13), Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler (2004), V. Ginneken, W (1999), IDB (2000), and ILO (2003) and ILO. (2004).

2.4 “Constructing a Gendered Social Protection”

As shown in Figure 2.1, Social protection can take a *protective* measure with the objective to provide relief to the deprived and redistribute income to face the needs. Protective measures are equated to targeted safety nets, in a conventional sense. That is, providing relief from poverty and deprivation.

Protective measures include *social assistance*¹² and *social services* for the chronically poor especially those who are unable to work and earn a living. Distribution should be done in the sense that women and men needs are considered equally. This is close to mainstream ‘social welfare’. Protective measures also include; targeted resource transfer to the disability benefit, old age financed publically out of tax base, with donor support and NGO projects (Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler 2004: 10).

Social protection can also take **Preventive** measures with the objective to *avert deprivation* or alleviation of poverty or to smooth income and consumption when the risks become a reality (IDB 2000). Preventive measures also include social insurance¹³ for economically vulnerable groups. Such as people who need help to manage their livelihood shocks.

Promotive measures aims at enhancing capabilities and incomes achieved through livelihood enhancing programmes at individual and household levels. This includes microfinance and school feeding. The main purpose is not to broaden social protection to include all development initiatives but for, one; consumption smoothing and income stability. Two; school feeding helps the aged especially women with the responsibility to feed the orphans now that Uganda introduced Universal Primary Education.

Transformative measures often seek the objective of *social equity*, empowerment, socio-economic and exclusion. It is very important for this research because it holds the human rights for the aged. Once it is a human right, the state will be held responsible to change the regulatory framework to protect the aged against discrimination and abuse. Again, this helps in Sensitisation programmes such as HIV/AIDS Anti-stigma campaign, Needs and struggles of the aged to both the general public and policy makers. This transforms public attitudes, behaviour and enhances social equity as will be discussed in chapter six.

Based on these social protection measures, the state can extend social protection through policy makers, NGO’s, conventional pillars such as family if any, market and the state can design policies for the aged, in relation to human rights perspective and more importantly because they have been poor throughout their lives. These programs as explained in transformative measures need to be gender sensitive, take a human right perspective for enhancing the eligibility of the aged to demand for Social protection on one hand, hold the policy makers accountable and guarantee efficient and effective social protection measures.

¹² Ginneken (1999) discussed social assistance as the ‘benefits in cash or in kind form that are financed by the state on the basis of a means or income test’

¹³ Sabates and Wheeler (2004).views social insurance as formalised systems of pensions often provided with tripartite financing. That is, the state, employee and employer. Such benefits include unemployment benefits, and health benefits among others Informal mechanisms are also part of preventive measures, Such as savings clubs and funeral societies.

As much as Uganda lacks an integrated social protection, there must at least be four constituent and inter-related parts of social protection effort (V. Ginneken 2003: 282). These constituents are included in Figure 2.1

First; *coverage*, which refers to the number of aged beneficiaries and scope of basic needs and vulnerabilities that are contemplated in the arrangement, second; *benefits*, which refer to repayments and settlements in periods of needs and risks, third; *financing*, implying resources, contributory or non-contributory, that support the benefits and finally the fourth; *administration* with the objective to deliver benefits, manage and organise public-private contribution collection if any.

3 Situating the Aged in Uganda

The first three sections of this chapter introduces us to demographic trend of the aged in Uganda and specifically in Nakawa, conceptions of the word being aged, literature and research reviews on the aged, which can be used to justify who qualifies for social protection as an aged person. The other two sections reveal their livelihoods and the aged in relation to gender-power relations. This helps the policy makers in their planning [coverage, financing, benefits and administration] in reference to the growth rates of the aged, what the aged people can do, and how the aged women and men relate in a whole range of life.

3.1 Demographic Trend and Characteristics of Nakawa

According to the 2002 Population and Housing Census, aged persons comprise 6.1% of the total population (about 1,500,000) as compared to 4.1% (686,260) during the 1991 Census. Their population is therefore growing at an annual rate of 7.4% and will double to 3 million in less than 10 years. The estimated number of the aged person by 'Uganda National Household Survey' (2006) Report is 1,200,000 of which 53% were female and 47% were male. Over the next five decades, the number of persons aged 60 and above will be nine times greater than it is today, and the share of elderly persons residing in urban areas will be 16 times greater (UCPR 2005:1).

However, Nakawa as the study area refers to the eastern part of Kampala District in Uganda. Nakawa Division is a local authority at the level of a sub-county under the local Government Act 1997. It is one of the five administrative units of Kampala District covering a total area of 47,450 square kilometres. Nakawa is bordered by Makindye Division, and Lake Victoria in the south, Central Division in the south west, Kawempe Division in the west and Wakiso District in the north. It lies 1133.8 meters above the sea level ('Nakawa City Planning Report' 2005/2006). Nakawa is named after a vernacular word "okukawa" which means "to get annoyed"¹⁴. Nakawa is comprised of 23 parishes and only five parishes were informally selected for this research. The land tenure system is predominantly mailo land in which individuals also own land. There is also customary lease of land by land owners to tenants who pay rent and in return have fragmented this land. Men mainly own land because of the dividend rights in which Nakawa is structured. Nakawa has a population of 240,624 people (Housing and Population census 2002).

¹⁴ This implies that if the chiefs told their stories and the by then King David Chwa is not impressed, he would get annoyed and the chief [narrator] of the story would be thrown into the lake. The area was latter named Nakawa (Jonathan Kiwumulo, one of the elders in the village told me this story)

Table 2: Shows the Population Type of Nakawa.

Population type	Figures	Percentages
Household	232,647	97.0%
institutional	7,920	3.3%
Homeless	38	0.01%
Hotels	19	0.007%
Totals	240,624	100%

Source: Housing and Population Census 2002

Table 2: Exhibits figures of the population type of Nakawa Division. However, the 0.01% reveals that these people do not only lack economic protection but also social protection. Homeless people also include aged people and orphans. The orphans are taken care of by their grandparents, creating a scenario of double homelessness. The total number of the orphaned children is 106,705 ('Nakawa City Planning Report' 2005/2006).

3.2 Who are the Aged?

A population is said to be aged when either its average (mean or median) age is increasing or when there is an increase in the proportion of the above a certain threshold age. The latter is usually used in academic and policy analysis (Shegwan 2000: 15).

The recently used threshold is the statutory retirement age that divides those expected to be economically inactive from those expected to be active. This statutory retirement age however, looks at the aged as a social group and absolves them from the requirement to work, yet it has virtually no physical justification about the increase of longevity and many of the retired people can still be engaged in some activities to survive (Shegwan 2000). 60 and 65 years are often chosen to be the threshold of the aged (UN. 1992b:43). The UN world assembly on aged held in Vietnam (1982) advocated for 60 years as a threshold of population (Dupeng. 1992: 15).

Vollering (1991: 21) in the piece of “care services for the elderly in the Netherlands” uses 55 as the age of threshold. Another threshold age is 75 or 80 years old is used to divide the aged persons into “old” “old” who are most likely to be suffering from severe disabilities and the “young old” below 75 years (Jackson 1994, UN 1992a, 1992b). Researchers use 60 years to be the threshold in analysing the aged situation in developing countries and 65 for developed countries. This research thus, has taken on 60 years as its target group.

3.3 Perceptions of the Aged in Nakawa-Uganda

Being aged as a concept varies according to sex and residence as some of the interviewee echoed. Definitions ranged from chronological, physiological features to social construct. Some aged men, looked at aged in terms of number of years (55 and above), while their female counterparts felt that it is much earlier (40 years and above). The women argument is attributed to childbearing, raising, household chores and farming activities; [domesticity]. For example, tilling and weeding; if not too much bending in trying to make art crafts for money.

Other features of an aged person included; retirement [for those involved in the formal sector employment], physical appearance such as grey hair, wrinkles on women's faces, bald head for men, and physiological state of the person. Important to note, was the stress of menopause as a signal of old age among women was a surprising incredible answer by an expected very old woman on appearance as some of the respondents definition of the aged. She argued that,

“Menopause brings discomfort, ill-health, general weakness and thus unable to conduct daily productive chores with ease which eventually render them old”.

Some familiar voices that echoed such attributes included, when a woman stops menstruation and can no longer conceive, then the process of getting aged sets in. Others perceived aged as ‘generally a body pain, physical discomfort; un able to walk long distances due to severe pain in the legs’. This was evident in most of the respondents interviewed.

From a social construct view, the aged experience physical changes and slowly vulnerability to diseases. At this phase of life-cycle, there is normally an interface of different disabilities and thus, the aged are indeed in need of both social and economic support. This is why Ahenkora (1999) stresses that, in poorer populations; age is linked to physical limitations and economic dependency. Amidst all these trajectories, the aged make immense social and economic contributions not only to families as providers of informal education to children and care for the orphans but also to the community and the nation at large.

On a sad note, their contribution and development right is always denied and seen as a minority interest and a case of pleading. This is why in a special UN summit meeting in Geneva (2000), a call was made to recognise the aged not only as beneficiaries of development but also as contributors.

3.4 Literature and Research Reviews on the Aged

Until the 20th century, researches on the aged did not take place. Substantial discussions on the aged was the 1930's, 1940's with a bulk of literature after the 2nd world war. In early 1950's though, researchers were more anxious on the assumption that slower population growth would cause the dwindling of demand and even deeper depression. Later, because of baby boom and economic boom after the post world war, pessimism relaxed and then the aged became periphery topics. However, after the baby boom, fertility resumed its downward trends, the aged now attracted more academic and policy attentions than before. Many economic theories on the aged have been produced (Jackson 1994: 35).

Life-cycle model has been largely used by economists. The life-cycle assumption is that, “an individual or a (couple) optimises his or (their) utility from consumption and savings over a certain period of time (Vollering 1991: 3-5). Razid and Saska (1995:128) used a different model to explain the intergenerational transfer in which the children can be seen as economic good and the ““poor man's capital””. Prof Fei Xiatong (1983; 1985) in Shegwan

(2000) made an argument that the later model is a “feed back model” in which parents foster children and in return children feed back the parents. He refers to the first one as the ““continued linear model”” in which children are not responsible for the financial support of their parents, the aged depend on pension or social security. Both the two models are true for Uganda’s case though they have their limitations. Social security or pensions is for only the formal workers and contributory schemes and not everyone. The increased HIV/AIDS death of the young ones deprives the parents to reap from their children though those who have their children to some extent have been helpful.

3.5 Livelihood of the Aged

Table 3: compares the male and female aged livelihood in Nakawa-Uganda

Urban/ Female	urban/ male
Petty trade (fresh food stuff, greens, bananas tomatoes on roadsides). Handicrafts (mats, baskets and weaving). Material support from children [if they are alive]. [Begging(pedestrians, neighbors)	Casual labor. Rent out land. Carpentry Material support from children Small scale business like picture framing, shoe repair

Source; (Najjuma 2004: 1)

As much as both categories struggle to survive, aged men are more involved in relatively secure activities compared to aged women counterparts in terms of income. Women are engaged in trading of agricultural foodstuffs, which are prone to seasonality and perishing. Women’s centres of operation are usually roadside stalls in the vicinity of their homes. Looking at the household micro-enterprises, The researcher may also be quick to conclude that women’s decision to engage in the sale of these products could be controlled by the fact that the food requirements for the family is also drawn from the stock. Again, handicrafts usually have a time element involved which sets limits to the quantity one can produce over a given period of time. Income from these activities is to meet their day-to-day expenses. These include; food, health and dependants.

3.6 The Aged in Relation to Gender-Power Relations

Pearson (1992:292) in Allen and A.Thomas (1999) asserts that, gender relations refers to the ways in which the social categories of men and women relate over a whole range of not only social organisation, personal relations or in biological reproduction but also in social activity, distribution of consumption, income or goods, exercise of authority and power. In Uganda, being aged is not neutral at all. Women have a triple burden in relation to men. This impact is more severe in societies with little support system for the aged (Messkoub 1997: 13) .

Being aged has more economic implications for women than men. This is basically because of deeply –seated gender inequalities in ownership of assets, employment history and control over family income and assets. Women for example earn less than men because of shorter and irregular labor force participation, child rearing and caring functions (UN 1989). The gender implication of being aged has to go beyond the economic position of the aged.

As Messkoub (1997) argues, the longer life expectancy of women has hardly been a factor in treating the female aged as a special care and thus in need of special attention. High women illiteracy means widows are going to be seriously disadvantaged at the death of their literate spouse. Again, migration and high rampant HIV/AIDS epidemic of the young ones deprive a vital source of support for the aged.

Being aged does not always equate to struggling for aged women or men, but as Saith (2004: 11) states, the problem is that market insurance excludes the needy, sovereignty of nation State is being eroded by international market forces such as the global firms. Women find themselves in places that expose them to risks, where neither the state nor the market is inclined to intervene. In major disasters, however, the States or the international community can intervene but often with crisis intervention, relief measures which do little to provide the foundation on which to build longer term developmental measures (Uganda Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development -(UMPED 2002)).

4 The Aged Struggles Exacerbated by Social Exclusion

This section sheds light on the way the aged have been excluded in Uganda. The first section introduces us to the conceptualisation and origin of the term social exclusion in order to understand how the aged are excluded from protection. The aged have had a down ward spiral in their livelihood since 1970's in search for survival based on various variables (Nuwagaba 1997). These variables include; Structural Adjustment Policies which disrupted the socio- economic lives of all the Ugandan's, although more focus is on how the SAPS impacted on the livelihood of both aged women and men. Political Insurgency, HIV/AIDS epidemic; gradual erosion and substantial breakdown of support for the aged form the last three sections of this chapter as the causes to their struggles. An overview of Social exclusion framework will initially be given in reference to exclusion and deprivation.

4.1 Of Exclusion and Deprivation

Social exclusion is a relational concept that implies an absence or deprivation of some kind. However, Daly and Silver. (2008: 549) defines social exclusion as a condition of multi-dimensional disadvantage. Social exclusion provides a framework in which re-envisioning of interrelations between social, economic, political and society is possible under conditions of social change.

Dzakuma (2007: 26) argues that, the concept of social exclusion came from the French literature in 70's to refer to people who were excluded from welfare state and not integrated to access such services as health. Social exclusion to Rodgers (1995) refers to complex ways in which some individuals in the society are unable to enjoy social rights, without help, suffering from low self-esteem and inadequacy in their capacity to meet their obligations, risk of long term relegation to the ranks of those on social benefits and stigmatisation. Barnes et al in Daly and Silver (2008:549) have identified indicators to measure social exclusion as multi-dimensional disadvantage. These indicators include;

Financial situation, ownership of durable goods, quality of housing, neighbourhood perception, personal social relations, Physical health, and psychological well-being. Yet, Room in Daly and Silver (2008:549) elaborates social exclusion to degradation in living standards.

In another way, it's a process in which some people suffer exclusion based on their tribe, age, gender and religion (DFID 2005).

Social exclusion also reveals the processes of persistent disadvantage by which the social rights of the aged women and men are undermined. It includes not only lack of access to goods and services which underlie poverty and basic needs satisfaction but also lack of security, lack of justice, lack of participation and representation (Bedi and Kurian. 2004).

The concept has been developed into three theoretical paradigms, and its empirical operationalisation is usually on long-term unemployment and degree of involvement in social relations¹⁵ (Silver 1994). These three paradigms include; One; The “*French Republican “tradition” of solidarisme*”, meaning a rupture of social bond. This normally results from failure of integrating processes, especially the values, beliefs and moral infrastructure solidarity. Second; The “*Anglo-American liberalism*” referred to as specialisation, which views social exclusion as a result of lack of access to economic and social exchange. Social exclusion prevents people from exercising their free choices in the exchanges and social interactions. The third approach is “*monopoly*” paradigm which stems from insiders earning rents by excluding the outsiders. This is from social closure by monopolising key resources by powerful groups especially the political power.

Struggling of the aged normally stem from four sources (Saith 2004). First, Structural or endemic deprivation; which occurs in a normal and stable trend process of social reproduction. The effects of structural deprivation are manifested in all social entities including individual, family to a wider social forum. The second one is systematic transitions or transformations representing rapid and dramatic changes in the social and economic framework of the society. The third one is the systematic orientation representing a clear break through from the previous path that remains with in the unchanging political and economic system. The fourth one is the episodic events, shocks, dislocations, famines and fluctuations. The aged in Nakawa have experienced similar trends that have necessitated them to have diverse livelihood. The next text captures the causes of the downward spiral of the livelihood of the aged.

4.2 Complexities of Structural Adjustment Policies

In the wake of Structural Adjustment Policies, a big proportion of the Ugandan population started getting poorer as costs for basic services increased, while incomes were degenerating. What does it mean for Uganda to adopt Structural Adjustment policies? The notion of Structural Adjustment Policies since 1980's was an outgrowth of IMF – stabilization programs implemented to put the economy on track towards recovery from severe balance of payment deficits and inflation which emphasized revenue increase and expenditure controls (Dumba 2002) .They were not only geared to immediate objective of curbing deficit and increase revenue, they aimed at achieving large scale changes in the roles of the state in the economy. This is because at their core, involved a radical shift away from the roles of the state as one of the provider and guarantor of universally accessible social services to one of providing essential services in a targeted manner only to those on the margins whom the markets had failed to reach (Dumba and Mugume 2002: 149). Does this mean

¹⁵ Social relations in social exclusion context refers to social solidarity, cohesion and social bond that knit people together. These relations have moral and symbolic elements, involving respect and recognition.

economic reforms were an advantage in disguise to the aged? The next text has it all.

Uganda was then declared as a dear darling to International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank policies¹⁶. However, the researcher in line with Busingye (2002) asks why these policies have now become a “bitter pill” for the country to swallow. There is actually a dark side to these reforms. Behind economic reforms was the Neoliberal school with the neutrality view which assumes the economy towards a general equilibrium, efficient and civilized global market. SAPs are linked to what is not appropriately stated as the Washington consensus (Williamson 1880s in Allen and Thomas 2000) which assumes liberalization, stabilization and privatization. This however, has an opera to optimally outcome as (D. Elson 1994: in Baker:1994:1934) argues “...*No one will be better off without someone else being made worse off*”.

Reforms have not placed productive assets in the hands of women (Jaquette 2003). Women and men respond differently to economic reform policies because the distribution of work and resources between them is unequal (W. Elson and Harcourt 1995). Women’s ability to respond to new economic opportunities jeopardizes their wellbeing. Gender division of labor and income in the family rather than being seen as optimal outcome of free choices may be seen as profoundly unequal accommodation reached between individuals to occupy very different social positions with very different degrees of social power (D. Elson 2004: 38).

World Bank (1994) showed that Uganda had registered an increased poverty, income inequality and social polarization. Poor people constitute 51% while 30% are in absolute poverty. Women are considered to be the poorest of the poor which has been termed as “feminization of poverty”. This goes beyond various dimensions of poverty in terms of geography, vulnerable groups, urban and age. “There is an on going gender imbalance, powerlessness, social exclusion and lack of “voice” in decision making among the poor as facets of poverty exist .

Corruption through privatization has opened the door of “*hot money*”, speculation from capital market liberalization leading to destabilizing capital outflow (Stieglitz in (Beneria 2003) -former World Bank economist and Noble prize- winner). When this happens, prices tend to rise and this will imply that the disadvantaged poor aged women and men with low income will have to suffer.

4.3 Political Situation

The wake of the publicized atrocities of Idi Amin Dada regime from 1971 to 1979 accompanied with the civil war that continued into the 1980s destroyed not only the Uganda’s international confidence but also the family

¹⁶ .Dumba (2002) in SAPRI (2002) reveals that Uganda is a dear darling to IMF/world Bank since 1987, and Museveni’s saps had performed remarkably well.. Growth had averaged 7% over the last ten years reaching 11.2% in 1996

networks as majority of the body abled were killed during the war (Nuwagaba 2007). Successive governments proclaimed their intention not only to salvage the economy but also to attract the foreign assistance necessary for recovery. However, none remained in power long enough to succeed. Political insurgency leads to socio-economic disruptions; displacements of people and property; wars claiming lives of not only sons; daughters or relatives but also friends who would otherwise provide socio-economic support to the aged. This demise of people due to war thus, exacerbates different kinds of livelihood among the aged. Despite the several national initiatives to curb poverty, it remains a pervasive and escalating problem for the aged (Oppong 2006: 660).

4.4 HIV/AIDS Epidemic

Poku (2005: 73) claims that some socio-behavioural practices have been demonstrated to increase HIV/AIDS epidemic. This epidemic claims the lives of energetic young productive persons and thus, creates intergenerational gap. The aged do not only take care of their adult children but also the burden of the orphans in terms of education, health and general well being is born by the aged (UCPR 2006). Although, the aged in most cases are not infected by the virus, they are most deeply affected by the social, economic and emotional implications of HIV/AIDS (Oppong 2006:663).

HIV/AIDS epidemic that swept across Uganda in the 1980's undermined and weakened the social safety net in Uganda (Beaubieu 2006). In 1990's, more than 100,000 people in Uganda died of AIDS each year (Uganda Bureau of Statistics 2006). Due to the associated stigma attached to HIV/AIDS, the actual total death may have been even higher. Majority of the casualties were young adults.

'Help Age International' (2007) shows that, HIV/AIDS has devastated economic, social, health and psychological effects on the aged. Yet, the impact of HIV/AIDS on aged people remains under-reported and not properly addressed. For example, the burden of caring for the orphans, and the risks of infection. This can be evidenced when aged persons are providing home-based care for their children with HIV/AIDS, and the grandchildren after the death of their parents. It is unfortunate, that the aged are not directly targeted by prevention and awareness campaigns. The aged thus lack knowledge of how to protect themselves against infection coupled with no income to support them.

5 Asking Questions to Reveal Aged Struggles

This chapter presents a series of questions that are intended to reveal the struggles of the aged. Revealing their struggles is crucial to highlight the need to seek policy change in social protection to cover the aged. Answers or reflections are from the interviews conducted with the aged.

5.1 Struggles that Aged Women and Men go Through in Their Life Hardships

Struggles in dealing with their life hardships in Nakawa in relation to gender is not only understood as a relational concept, but also constituted differently across various social, cultural and economic contexts in and through its interaction with other new axes of social differentiation, such as tribe, religion, age, among other variables. A gender analysis therefore has necessitated paying attention to gendered relations of power which position and affect different groups of women and men in different ways. Ways of achieving social protection with respect to the aged women and men addresses “the pervasive gendered constructs, roles and power relations which structure the wider social context” in which the aged live (Laflame2005:26).

In order to understand how the aged struggle to deal with their life hardships, they were asked whether they had energy/ability to work. Their responses are shown in box: 1

Box 1: respondents' energy/ability to work

No energy to work but I beg pedestrians to live/send the orphans to street and act as street children to get what to eat. Mercy of god
I dig and take care of animals
(look after pigs and chicken)
gods empower me to work on customers
I work with the furniture workshop
Work in the market
Politicians pay me

From the responses in box 1, only 9 out of 36 respondents indicated that they still have energy to work. 3 women out of the 18 interviewed have a farm. They are involved in piggery and poultry farming. Majority of the women have no energy to work any more.

However, this does not imply that women have no other ways to survive; it is interesting to hear in the next texts as to how they really struggle to survive. They rely on powers from gods to enable them to work on their customers. For instance one respondent echoed that gods empower her to work on the customers. Others work as carpenters (aged men) and politicians. The question here is that, what does this mean to be an aged person in Nakawa to the researcher as Scott (1999:42-44) sees gender in terms of power; as organising principle of social life, operating with in four levels is that; on the

First level; what it means to be an aged woman or a man in Nakawa at this specific period of time is that, the aged social roles and responsibilities are central to their experience of life. Women for example take a far greater role in home-making and care work, and participate less in formal politics and possibly less in wage earning. Ideas of women's lesser status and men's superior status are ingrained so deeply as to make this relation between women and men seem natural. For that reason, all the aged women interviewed had

orphans to take care of in comparison to men. Yet, at the same time, because of limited energy to work, even when they try to make ends meet, they do so in terms of hands to mouth. In other wards, women revolve around issues concerning the house [domesticity] and men to do with outside the house. Painfully, one of the women respondents lamented loudly,

“What can I do but to wait and die when my time is due? I was looking after four orphaned grandchildren but they left once I was unable to continue caring for them. I spend my day sited in front of my shack begging passers-by for money and food. I was recently given some clothes from a new church near my home but I do not receive any other State or NGO aid. I was also engaged in cultural ceremonies, I had my shrine and I would get money but now am blind and sick, I cannot work anymore”.

Again, even on the institutional level, it was evident in this research that, gendered exclusion between aged women and men hinges on a particular understanding of what is termed as the “public/private divide”. This divide sees women’s gender roles and responsibilities as lying in the family, caring and childrearing, and men’s gender roles as being to do with decision-making, formal politics, economics and the workplace. 9 men out of 18 men of 36 respondents interviewed are involved in politics and so they earn income. 2 men work with furniture mat [carpenters], 2 have land that they rent out to get money and 5 are farmers who sell their products at Nakawa market seasonally¹⁷.

This division of roles and labour was important for the researcher to understand why AW are in a worse situation in comparison to their male counterparts. The reason why aged men are better than the aged women is simply because the positions they occupy in the society setting is market, politics and ownership of land. In reference to the interviews done; it was evident that, as much as women may be involved in the farming, it is men who sell the products and so money ends up in their pockets. Decision making is majorly done by men not only in household sphere but also in public spheres. 9 men out of the 18 respondents interviewed get income from political positions that they occupy.

For the researcher, it was easy to conclude that, as much as all the aged face the same problem of being excluded from social protection, the situation of aged men is better than those of women because they can afford to take care of themselves. On the contrary, aged women find themselves in positions of abject poverty, left with no choice but to either claim to have power to use their mouth to bless, do some farming if they have the energy to do it, make art crafts for sell or beg to survive. Even among the aged women, those who have access to land are better than others because atleast they can have something to put in the mouth other than begging. The situation is so alarming

¹⁷ Products included fruits [mangoes, passion fruits], maize, beans and birds.

for those who have no access to land, those with no energy to work and the “old, old” because of the associated vulnerabilities attached to their age exacerbated by the dependants to cater for. Such illnesses ranged from health-high blood pressure, diabetes, blindness, hearing ailments, physical body pain to the basic needs such as housing, food and clean water. There is literally no one to rescue them per se.

It is not surprising that in Nakawa, Ideologies and conventions about women's subordination to men and the family, are often rooted in assumptions about what is 'natural' or 'divinely ordained' in human relationships. These perspectives on women's rightful subordination are legitimated not by appeals to protection but by socially embedded convictions about honour and propriety; convictions felt to be beyond the realm of protection (Goetz and Shireen 2003). This was evident in relation to symbolic meanings, values and ideologies that women uphold. One of the women respondents argued that, even if I make these art crafts, my dear husband has to keep “our” money. These support institutions and organisations in justifying structures of exclusion and injustice (Scott 1999). “Our” money to the researcher seems to have a lot of meaning to this aged woman. She makes the mats by herself without any contribution from the husband. At the end of the day, the husband sells the mats, keeps the money and decides what to do with it. With a low tone, as if some one was near to listen to what she had to say, she lamented,

“What is so painful is that, this man drinks all the money and I have nothing to feed the orphans. I wanted to take them to at least a UPE school but I cannot even afford their uniforms and lunch food. But what can I say? It is natural for all men to decide what they do with their wife’s life, whether money or working for him in the farm, he is my king. What the king says, no one answers”.

The researcher valued a bottom up approach to research analysis. Information presented begun by asking questions about how AW and AM live their lives, then the picture was built upwards accounting for the various influences that shape women’s lives. Specific inquiries were made about the experiences of AW living as women, aged, with orphans to care for, in their religion, tribe, at the margins, the poorest of the poor, and suffering from multiple exclusions. The analysis reveals how practices and policies shape the lives (struggles) of those impacted, as compared to the lives of those not subject to similar influences. Ideologies and the outcome of these interactions in terms of power as (Davis 2007) put it, leads to different ways of dealing with life.

It is interesting to know that as much as most of the aged cannot work anymore because of their limited energy, they have some activities they engage in to deal with their lives in relation to survival as indicated in the next text.

5.2 Survival Activities

Box 2 provides the respondents survival activities

What do you do in order to survive? Digging Mat selling sell of food I have land for rent I have a farm Native 'doctor' for women about marital relationships

In order to survive, 3 women respondents engage in Cultivation (specifically digging), and 5 are men. Others engage in selling merchandise on a small scale. 2 men have land and they survive by renting it out, and 2 women engage in selling herbs to women who are in need of winning their husbands. What then happens to the rest of the respondents? If the passers-by do not give them something a day or neighbours or faith based organisations, the street will be the answer to their problems. In case they are very old and cannot walk, they sit in front of their shacks for some one to help them. Unfortunately, that some one to help them might not pass by their shack that day and so they will go hungry for a couple of days. Gertrude [preferred her name to be mentioned], one of the respondents echoed a similar voice when she was interviewed. She did not know whether her old age would treat her like this. First, she complained of being blind, with six orphans to take care of, who latter left for Kampala and have never returned because she cannot help them. It is so alarming to see that the situation of the aged is worsening everyday with no one to fix it.

In Nakawa however, 3 AW out of the 18 interviewed, expressed a certain degree of free will individually in their social action according to the degree of constraint they experience from the structure as Walsh in (Chris 1998) says. Some aged women had fewer choices than others because of structural factors. For example, not belonging to a certain tribe, social norms, Institutional arrangement, being a woman and being very old as a woman, yet other circumstance create less choices for all such as poverty, user fees in the government hospitals that hinder many to access medical treatment.

The researcher however, argues that, some AW and AM have their survival ways which are not only situated as individual reflection and action, but also in a much wider range of purposeful actions, including bargaining, negotiation, deception, manipulation and resistance as well as the more intangible, cognitive processes of reflection and analysis. For example one respondent disapproved the way women have been represented as passive, victims of historical and institutional arrangements. In the constraints of different structures of subordination and exclusion, women resist the dominant male order by subverting the hegemonic meanings of cultural practices and redeploying them for their own interests and agendas. One respondent echoed openly that,

“I have a farm and in this farm, I do not only have food for consumption but also for sell in Nakawa market. I make mats and buts for sell. The only problem is that the prices for my products are very low that whatever I earn is just enough for one meal a day, and this only happens in harvest periods”.

The Consciousness of such aged women encompasses meaning, motivation and purpose of survival which they bring to their activity and the power with in. This research thus, captured the economic and cultural relations upon daily life for survival. Claiming of the aged woman as the owner of a farm, able to sell food, mats and huts and even make a decision concerning use of money in the household is used as both resisting economic and “traditional” way of life to survive. The usually subordinated subjects in this case, the aged women constantly try to manipulate events to turn them into opportunities. Their ways of survival, are calculated in the actions they take because they lack autonomy and are acting in the physical or social space which is not their own. They operate in isolated actions, take advantage of opportunities and depend on them. The opportunity is that they assume power to sell and manage their finances in the names of taking care of the family. This has given them more mobility to be sure and accepts the chance of offerings of the moment.

In the analysis of this research, this does not imply that all aged women consciously act with this motive but also unconsciously, perhaps, use instruments of their oppression as a means to assert their value individually through the positions they occupy in the society. This include, child initiation ceremonies, herbal treatment, blessing business people including men, and activities that they organize in their marriages and so insisting on their dynamic complementarities with men. This in itself is a means of resisting and setting limits to domination. Aged women thus have the capacity to realize one’s interests against the weight of customs, tradition, transcendental will, or other obstacles whether individual or collective. Thus, the humanist desire for autonomy and self expression constitute the substrate, the slumbering ember that can speak to flame in the form of an act of resistance when conditions permit.

Family and social conventions have tried to disable women's ability by limiting their capacities to reason and act independently, and by obliging them to put the needs of others above their own. Aged women have been able to do, to be and have continued to support whoever is dependent on them. Just like Mukhopadhyay et al (2003) argues, meanings, practices and relations between and within these AW and AM are now differing across cultures, have changed over time, and are constantly shifting, in other wards fluid.

However, most AW are disadvantaged in access to resources when compared with men of the same age, tribal group and suffers double exclusion. In cases were women have access to land, it is for domestic consumption and if it is for sell, income comes back to the household. For this research, this does not only imply cultural inheritance of land by sons and not daughters but also the social construction of the society in which women and men are socialized. Art and crafts that some argue that they engage in, they now have limited market because of the competition from the global market thus earn less than their capital and so tend to give up. Some say that their eyes are giving way implying that their speed for making art crafts has really reduced with their age. This makes women vulnerable in comparison to men even when they struggle to make ends meet coupled with the responsibility of caring for orphans.

Nakawa being a patrilineal society with men and not women inheriting property from their families attributes to different realities of how the aged struggle to survive. The argument is that, women may re-marry and shift the property to other lineages. In addition, property co-ownership between men and women in Nakawa is still a myth, compounded by the supposed low status attached to women in terms of education. This is reflected in land ownership for men which have reduced their vulnerability in comparison to women during their old age. Men convert their land into hard cash by renting it or selling portions for survival.

Most aged women are cheated not only by their husbands but also by their beloved grandchildren especially boys, in the process of marketing their handcrafts. Boys are preferred to do the marketing simply because it involves a lot of vending, which is very strenuous for girls or aged women. Unfortunately the returns are not forwarded after the sales. Similar voices include an aged woman who recalled the last time she closed the business because all her capital for raw materials was used.

“I made two mats but my grand child, who is also my last born’s son that I lost to AIDS, sold it and did not give me the returns. I was expecting about Uganda shillings 5000/= (Euros 2) but I did not receive a single penny”.

This does not also mean that aged men have had it easy. The gradual down ward spiral which caused abrupt income loss has had serious consequences on them. The men who were retrenched as a result of SAPS have had it rough with the rest of their life without income to survive. The political insurgencies in the country has not only deprived them to enjoy the benefits of care from their children and wives that they lost to the war, but also led to a dwindling economy because the markets have been disturbed. Aged men have had difficulties in getting involved into household functions owing to the stigma attached to men getting into domestic work.

5.3 Support if One Does not have Energy to Work

Different realities were unveiled when asked about where they get support for survival in case they do not have the ability to work as indicated in previous text.

Box 3: Support if one does not have energy/ability to work

orphans bring after begging
family members
I do not ask for help am a man
Neighbours
Moslems on Fridays and on festival seasons
give rice, sugar and meat.

Respondents without ability to work revealed that they get support by engaging both themselves and orphans to making claims on neighbours pedestrians, and religious institutions and on a lesser scale from family members. However, some respondents especially men do not ask for help despite their inability to work. For instance one male respondent echoed that,

“I do not ask anyone for help. I am a man. I have to work. In ‘Buganda’, here it is not cultural for a man to beg. It is women’s habits who expect to be given by men”.

From this argument, this man simply meant that, the social norms that underlie the subjective identity as Scott1999 put it, of what it means to be a man in a specific society, is for a man to prove his manhood by making ends meet through other ways even when he is dyeing but not begging.

5.4 How the Aged Utilise their Strength or Resources for Survival and Continue to Support whomever is Dependent on them

Box 4: Resource Utilization to support dependents

Farming
Own land, sold part of the land and use the rest for farming
Farming production is less but what we get we sell
Sell mats

In order to support those who depend on them, the aged respondents get involved in various activities. Most of the activities hinge around farming, both for home consumption and commercial at a small scale. Those with land have sold part of it and have left a portion for farming.

5.5 Do they Encounter Exclusion?

Box 5: shows different ways in which the aged are excluded

State
Community/Neighbourhood/Action Aid
Religious institutions
Family/Household
Women themselves

The kind of exclusion in Nakawa is layered from the state to the women themselves. On the state level, one male respondent cited that, we are supposed to receive some help from the government but in Nakawa, you cannot understand how the authorities work. Some people in 2000 received some help in form of food but I did not receive anything. I do not understand the criteria they use to identify aged people who are in need.

Amongst women, tribe and religion played a very important part for either inclusion or exclusion for help. At the community level, one respondent sarcastically argued that,

“Even Action Aid (organization) that claims to help people only cares for ‘Banyankore’ tribe in this community. They have even built for them houses. Most of these workers are women. Help is supposed to be for all the aged People but because the workers of Action Aid

here are of that tribe, they favour Banyakore and not us. Even if it was me, of course I would help my people first”.

For religion, Muslims and Pentecostals stand a better chance for help. Moslem; have a program for helping the aged people, at the mosque especially in lent periods. One respondent echoed that, some of our friends who are not Moslems cannot benefit from it even when we talk to the sheikh. I hear the Pentecostals of the Miracle Centre Church in Rubaga also help their congregation. I need to join either the Moslems or the Pentecostals because when they find out that you need help, they will come for your rescue ‘Amen’. One of the respondents revealed the tactic of affiliation, religion and tribe. This implies that, the aged who do not belong to any religion or a different tribe will be excluded.

5.6 What kind of Social Protection Arrangements or Related Strategies Exist in this Community?

Box 5: Protection arrangements in the community

From care international Government Church/Mosque Neighbours
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Majority of respondents explained that there is no social protection arrangement in the community but 3 respondents out of 36 accepted and cited Care International as the social protection provider. Others argue that Care International is for some and not all so they do not see it as a form of social protection arrangement. One who cited the Government argues that, they do not understand the criteria it uses to verify those in need. However, he acknowledged the government hospital, but added that, even if it is in place, we cannot afford because you have to pay the user fee. Most of the respondents interviewed use traditional herbs not because they do not believe in hospitals but because they are poor.

How can social protection in Uganda be extended to break the exclusion of the aged? The next chapter has it all.

6 Room for Expansion and New Ideas

The chapter reveals examples of experiences and ideas that will break the cycle of aged exclusion and guarantee gendered provision of social protection. This provision will have an impact on its ability to cover the national expenditure over now and next decades, in the face of the dwindling national resources. Many current policy cross-national analysis¹⁸ tend to focus on theory testing and description and fail to provide practical information that indigenous policy makers need (Tracy 1991: 11).

6.1 Room

Two frame works of analysis have been used by academic cross-national studies on social Protection programs. The descriptive research approach compares the development of social programme across a nation, examining expenditures and technical provisions. In Uganda for this approach, the level of development would be to measure the extent to which industrial models have been developed (Tracy 1991). This implies that the approach would be based on the degree of social insurance coverage for lost income contingencies associated with a wage economy. These may include unemployment, sickness, disability, retirement and death. Will this benefit the aged? How about the second one? The second comparative approach tests the macro, social, political and economic theories of development. It uses aggregate databases to correlate specific political and economic indicators including social program expenditures, political parties, interest groups, government legislatures, age programs, demographic data, economic data and the level of benefits.

In relation to these academic models, other international bodies have provided technical information and assistance. These include; International Labour office (ILO) , World Health Organisation (WHO), International Social Security Association (ISSA), Office of International Policy (OIP), The International Federation of Ageing (IFA), The American Association for International Ageing (AAIA) and The Centre for International Research (CIR). These present descriptive programs although they tend to compare features and expenditure levels of social program of nations at similar stages of economic development. At the analytical level, they tend to make the goal of these technical aspects of programs very efficient and effective.

6.1.1 *The Evidence*

Evidence indicates that social protection has been extended to the aged. Under protective measures, mutual aid groups such as burial societies, “muno

¹⁸ Descriptive cross-national researches on provisions of the aged are available in International social security review, published by the International Social security Association. See also Dierkes, Weiler and Antal (1987) on Comparative Policy Research: Learning from Experience.

mukabi”¹⁹ have been formed to assist the population. Their effectiveness in providing social protection is limited due to low capital base, limited financial management skills and small contributions by the members (Devereux and Wheeler-Sabates 2004). The kinship protection where it exists, tend to exploit women to the benefit of other members and actually not guaranteeing their own social protection. For example, it is the aged women to take care of orphans (Kasente et al. 2002). On the preventive side, social security legislation covers pensions for those who worked in formal sector during their working period of the life-cycle. This is therefore inapplicable for the aged who mainly belonged to own- account, self-employment and unpaid family workers.

In 1996 for example, ILO and UNDP submitted a commissioned report to the government of Uganda on the development of Social Protection. This recommendation had a three-tier structure of social protection. These included; One, a tax financed tier of primary level services and minimum incomes for those in greatest need. It is actually not possible for the Uganda Government because of the narrow tax base (Ouma 1995: 15). The ILO/UNDP in (1996) acknowledged many uncovered sections of the population with unmet needs, but offered few ideas to extend coverage in tier one. Two, a compulsory social insurance tier relying on solidarity and resources contributed by employers and employees. (NSSF) was established for private sector employees and Public Service pension scheme (PSPS) for public sector employees. NSSF operates on 10% of employers’ wages, 5% of employees’ wages whilst the PSPS operates on defined general revenues. Social protection again excludes most aged because they do not form part of the contribution. Three, a complementary tier giving scope to individuals and employers to obtain additional protection as required.

On the institutional level in Uganda, policies are in place but not seen to be implemented. For example Article 32 of the Constitution states that;

““Notwithstanding anything in this Constitution the state shall take affirmative action in favour of groups marginalized 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.”” (Constitution of the republic of Uganda in (Baryayebwa 2005) . However, this has in return favoured the formal sector and not others.

The National Planning framework has a long term framework vision of 2025 for the aged. They want all aged persons to have access to basic services and other social amenities. Their Vision states ““A society with older persons age with security and dignity”” (Baryayebwa 2005). The principle of respect for the aged persons ensures that, the aged should be protected from any form of abuse and reduces on their vulnerability. As such, all these beautifully written policies are in place but not seen to be implemented.

¹⁹ “Muno mukabi”- implying a friend in need. Also see Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler (2004)

Messkoub (1997) affirms that, many aged people face poverty because governments cannot afford pension for those over 60years. In such circumstances they rely on informal networks. However, in Uganda, literature shows that there is a growing tendency among income earners to diffidence care and support more to nuclear than the extended families. This is because of the harsh economic conditions which most working Ugandans now face, severely limit their ability to assume these “traditional” roles (Uganda policy Brief 2006). On the market levels, normally exclusion occurs in consumption of services because the aged lack purchasing power. Again, the aged are not actively engaged in income generating activities due to limited opportunity available to them in the labor market (Rodgers 1995: 45)).

In 2000, however, a paper was presented to the Presidential Economic Council by the Director of Economic Affairs titled, A Contribution Towards a Comprehensive View of Social Security Reform in Uganda (Suruma 2000: 3-4). The paper adopted a broader definition to include, income for every citizen of Uganda. This implied every citizen to have a right in accessing basic needs. And as such, civil society is responsible to arrangements of protection of all categories. Suruma’s paper advocates for protection that cares for the destitute, the orphaned, unemployment and sick. As much as the paper was presented, not much has been seen to be done for the aged because, of the contradictions between those who contribute and those who do not.

6.2 Process Ideas

While all these protection approaches might work to help Uganda advance its social protection for the aged, they do not provide a method that serves the pragmatic interests of national policy makers and planners. A policy maker who turns to the book for a clearer structured method of analysing the countries social protection policy issues and problems is going to be disappointing.

The argument of the researcher is that, the government of Uganda, to set up a meaningful gendered social protection program should; first, understand how such programs have developed in other countries and judge if all or part of another countries program would be transferable to its own circumstances. Secondly, Policy makers need to answer some of these questions such as; what cultural, social, economic and political circumstances led to the development of specific program and provision? What were their goals designed to accomplish? How about the strategic value of the program in addressing the social issue associated with the aged population including access to services, poverty, and family responsibility especially the orphans? And the question of the government’s formal responsibility on social protection must be critically assessed.

For this research of the aged, emphasis need to be placed on; one, what is the governments’ constitution authority in providing social protection? And two, what is the dominant conceptual or ideological position regarding government intervention in providing social protection? If answers are provided for these inquiries, then the policy makers will be able to assess the government’s bona fide commitment to the provision of social protection.

Again, this will be an indication whether the program will transfer to a nation because of legal or ideological conditions. In adopting a specific policy, provisions must be gender sensitive to affect the services of the aged. For example, how does the government define the problem, identify issues and assess needs? The aged have different needs and are in different categories. What are the governments' goals and strategies? How is the program going to be implemented and administered? How is the program going to effectively address the identified problem and meet the specific objectives? And what are the implications of analysis for policy?

The researcher does not presume that Uganda necessarily follows a systematic problem-solving process, but rather suggests that a diagnosis of the context in which a strategy has been formulated is critical to making an informed decision about its applicability of the provision. The researcher is still sceptical whether the policy makers will generate a program that will satisfactorily address the pressing needs of the aged with limited financial resources with so many priorities other than the aged? This is because Uganda lacks the social and economic prerequisites to make it possible to adapt to the industrial models of social protection programs. The social and Administrative infrastructures cannot support social policies as those of industrial nations.

6.3 Possibilities

In view of the dynamics of the aged population, possibilities of expansion of social protection are suggested.

Social awareness building: This will serve as a foundation to raise social consciousness about the need for a comprehensive scheme for the aged. There are two aspects of awareness building. One is the clear understanding of the dynamics of the aged and secondly, the generation of the public understanding of the multitude of the needs of the aged (Irudaya 2008: 215). This research however, focuses its intention on understanding the dynamics of the livelihood of the aged. Generation of public opinion might be critical for policy design and implementation but clear understanding of the various underlying issues is of fundamental significance at this juncture. To be able to understand their different ways of livelihood, in-depth studies including this piece are essential in order to focus on alternative support systems for the aged on a cost-effective basis.

Update and fortify the existing facilities: In Uganda, there are already existing Non-governmental organisations such as the church organisations/mosque, Uganda Reach the Aged Association that have tried to reach the aged though their support is limited in coverage due to limited income. International NGO's have been seen to intervene, though on a limited scale. One logical step towards a comprehensive provision would be to coordinate, streamline and strengthen these various programs.

Inclusion of new ideas: Provisions should not only be for a wider coverage but also incorporate institutional mechanisms for financial viability on a sustainable basis. The underlying goals should be greater coverage of the country's aged population, financial sustainability, flexibility and adaptability to

changing circumstances. Again as a panacea for the aged strained finances, a non-contributory social protection scheme should be provided.

Social exclusion is a deficit for the state to address. Therefore, social inclusion ways to deal with state failure may include; improving policy efficiency through better coordination of economic and social policies, health care, child care, income provisions among others. This holds the state as the key actor and stress obligations to the entire society as a whole not only individuals, family or group. Acts of inclusion are thus done with self-interest. If you take the Republican paradigm for example, the social policy implications of social exclusion calls for multi-pronged joined up programs, anti-discrimination safe guards, and stake holders dialogue in decision making and provision. This is because economic redistribution and benefits are no longer enough for this multi-dimensional task. On interviewing these aged people, they have a lot of information regarding how the state can help them in some of their narratives even if not asked. They need to be involved in the processes of inclusion.

On the protective/promotive social protection level, school feeding for the orphans is very important since UPE is in place. Free school meals serve immediate consumption transfer to orphans who are malnourished and encourage them to attend school. The basis of this argument is that, school feeding increases school enrolment, improves educational outcome, generates higher income and thus indirectly, off burden the aged (Bennet 2003).

On a transformative level, most of the policy literature on social protection for Uganda agitates for economic support which includes food aid and cash transfers. The argument of this paper is not to discard what has already been done but to extend this work beyond the 1990's discourse of safety nets which agitated for smoothing consumption in the face of income variability. In other wards, social protection for the aged should concern itself also with direct issues of social risks and non economic vulnerabilities. These may include, social exclusion, discrimination, violations of human rights among others. This can be done through campaigns on anti-stigma²⁰, anti-discrimination²¹, whether on the basis of tribe, religion, age, gender or sexual orientation which is part of the emerging agenda around upholding social, economic, political and cultural rights. CEDAW can be used as an example of the convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination. Social assistance interventions of social protection are significant for meeting the needs of PLWA, the aged caring for orphans with AIDS and CWA. This can be in form of care, food, health, housing and education. These measures

²⁰ Such campaigns should carry messages such as AIDS is a disease not a disgrace with the objective to have PLWA and CWA be treated with care and respect to gain their self-esteem and a sense of belonging in the society.

²¹ The objective here is to challenge and change attitudes, practices and policies that discriminate PLWA and CWA in order to receive care, access to drugs and live as useful citizens in the society.

address the reality of HIV/AIDS and indirectly pay for the social costs²² of HIV/AIDS. Such activities are addressing the social rather than the economic.

The reason why the paper emphasizes social interventions rather than the economic is that, the aged have limited energy to work, even if one increases a minimum wage as most of the policies advocate for. Social interventions actually have the potential to cover not only the protective and promotive interventions but also the transformative as well. Targeting of beneficiaries is valid but should be done on the basis of citizens with entitlements rather than victims. The argument against targeting is that, it stigmatises and patronises beneficiaries. This is in line with Hickey (2003) description of Uganda's recent history of political manipulation of targeted programmes. Targeting has created a situation of distrust for targeted interventions. Narrowly, targeted interventions reinforce projectisation approach which is associated with instrumentalist, residualist social safety net interventionist that are actually incompatible with the new thinking that advocates institutionalised, mainstream social protection.

²² These social costs are related to the problems faced by the aged in having children with HIV/AIDS, death of their children implies that they will have grand children referred to as orphans with AIDS who in return will need care from these aged people. Costs are also associated with stigma, social exclusion, risks of being abused or neglected by the orphans.

7 Conclusion

When this research began, it seemed reasonable to think in relation to literature that the aged are passive that is why they struggle to survive. After all, faith based organisations; International organisations and the constitution of Uganda are in place to protect them. After a few interviews, it became clear that, a number of Variables such as socio-economic, HIV/AIDS, political insurgency and SAPs negatively influence the livelihood of the aged and their extent of influence (both perceived and actual) varies. There is differential influence on the livelihood of the aged women and men across different categories of differentiation which indicate the necessity for initiating different appropriate gender sensitive realistic interventions of social protection. This is because their livelihood is different.

It was also clear that, provision of social protection for the aged is not to benefit all but depended on tribesmen/women and same religious affiliation. On the existing provision schemes, social protection did not seem likely to benefit the aged at least not under the current political, fiscal and legal organisational context. The aged are entitled to protection only when they have contributed to it. Moreover, the arrangement of protection schemes does not give space for innovation or expansion. Apparently, the papers presented are focused on helping the aged but do not indicate how the aged should be included or helped.

It was evident that although the aged engage in some activities to find ends meet, there is an economic wide gap between men and women in terms of needs, interests and ownership. Majority of the aged irrespective of their inability to work, illness as they echoed, have to find a way to survive.

This paper thus, concludes by saying that, amore proactive role for social protection should be rooted in a transformative perspective. The reasons for supporting this perspective is that, transformative social protection is fiscally affordable for Uganda than economic social protection. Many policy makers have discarded economic social protection by arguing that, it involves large transfers of public resources to low or zero productivity(Mcdonald et al. 1999).

Again, in the paper, the researcher has noted a very strong synergy between the economic [preventive, protective, promotive] and the social [transformative] roles in social protection. There is a thread linking for example the consumption transfers such as school feeding scheme to providing immediate protection against malnutrition and investing in durable asset, which is human capital through education of the orphans. This endows the intervention with both protective and promotive potential. By challenging attitudes and practices against discrimination and stigma, which is transformative, this paper is already bringing new ideas of inclusion of not only the orphans who lost their parents to AIDS but also the very aged who are responsible for caring and upbringing of these children with dignity and respect to become better citizens in the future. In spite of the unfulfilled obligations, a collection of different actors including the state, NGO's, civil society and individual groups can come forward to provide social protection for the aged.

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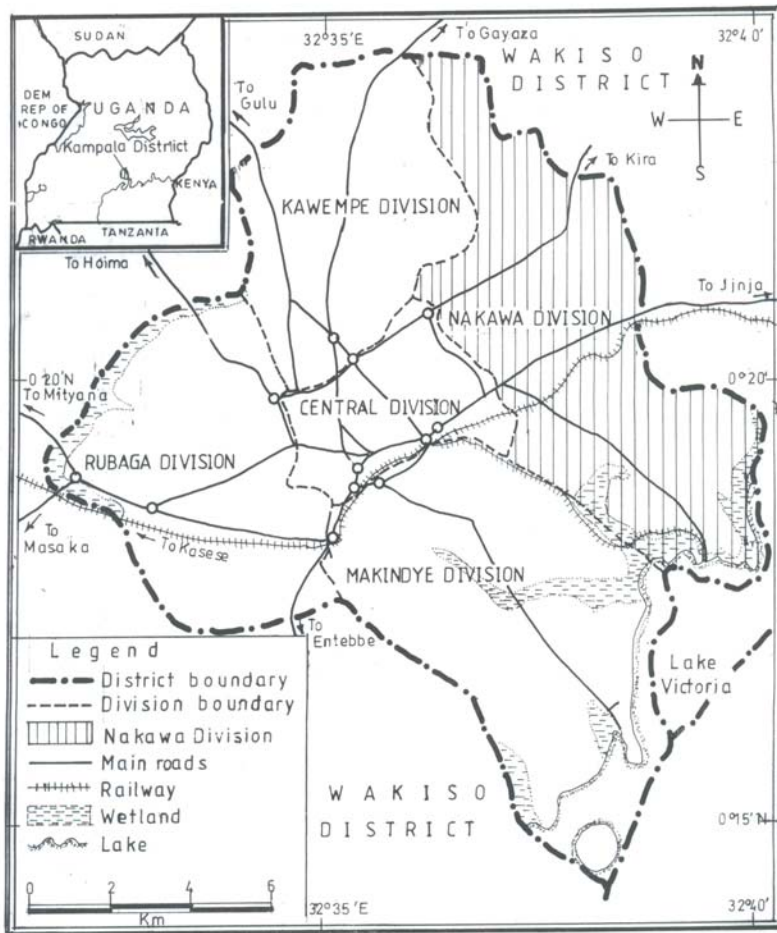
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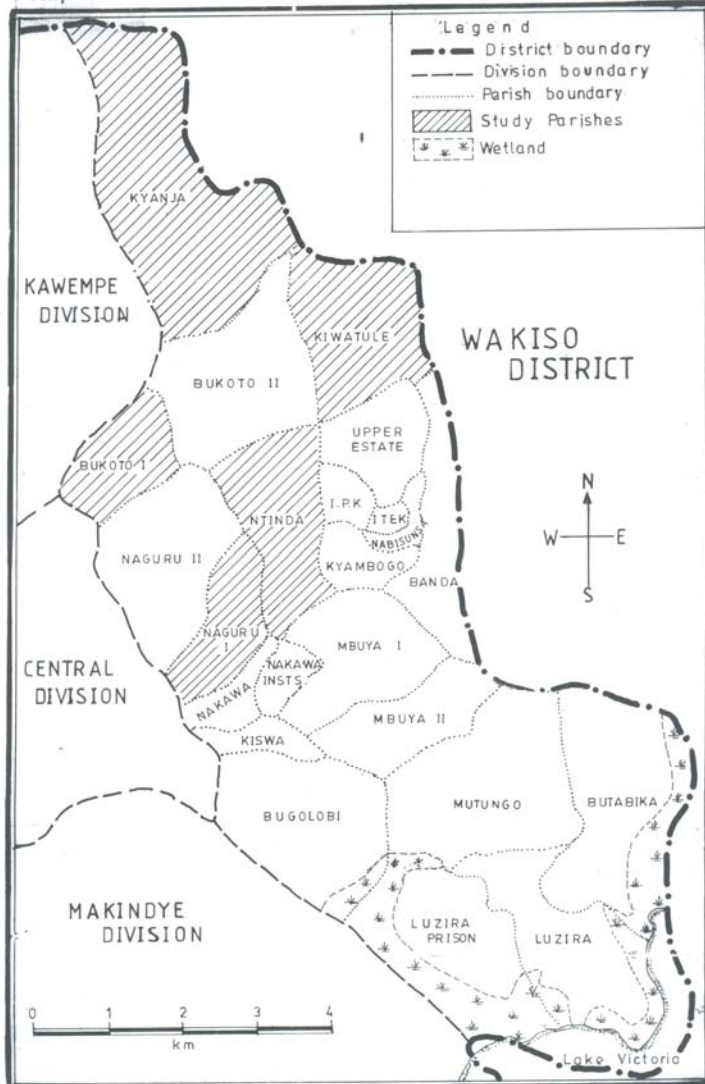
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Appendix 1.

Map1. LOCATION OF NAKAWA DIVISION IN KAMPALA DISTRICT.



Map 2. NAKAWA DIVISION SHOWING THE STUDY PARISHES



Source : Adapted from Census map of Kampala District, 2002 .