Corvinus University of Budapest
Faculty of Social Sciences and International Relations
Institute of Sociology and Social Policy
Post-development and gender in Uganda

Prepared by: Paul-Baschar Ilse
Sociology BA
Equal Opportunities specialization
Professor of thesis writing seminar
Dr. Andrew R. Ryder
Content

1. Introduction
   1.1 Post-development Theory

2. Literature review
   2.2 Public health approach: The SHARE project
   2.3 Masculinity in Uganda: Male Promiscuity: The Negotiation of Masculinities by Motorbike Taxi-Riders in Masaka, Uganda
   2.4 Colonization and Gender: The Subaltern in Africa’s Political Space: African Political Philosophy and the Mirror of Gender
   2.5 Post-development critique: Post-Development, Foucault and the Colonisation Metaphor
   2.6 Gender discourses in Uganda: Masculinity and Shifting Discourses of Gender Difference in Urban Uganda

3. Methodology
   3.1 Methodological perspective
   3.2 SWOT Analysis
   3.4 Ethics
   3.5 Interview description
      3.5.1 Interviewee description
      3.5.2 General Topics discussed

4. Research findings
   4.1 SINA
   4.2 AWS
      4.2.1 Fürsorge und Bildungsstiftung
   4.3 GIZ
   4.4 Gender and development in Uganda

5. Conclusion
   5.1 Literature review and interview findings

6. Appendix

7. Bibliography
1. Introduction

*Development* and *development aid* are concepts whose implementations, at first glance, seem appealing. Considering modernity and the rise of technology and a morality embossed by ideas of: equality, progress, fairness and ultimately the desire to share western advancements with the rest of the world, regarded as *under-developed*, we can say that the project of development has not been successful for the nations, cultures, and localities seen as *non-developed*.

*Post-development* theory and its proponents (early examples are: Escobar, Esteva, Rahnema, Latouche, Rist, Sabelli) argue that the discourse that emerged around development was ultimately what created the *third-world, second-world*, and the idea of under-development (Esteva, 1992). This argumentation has many theoretical implications of relevance to the topic of development approaches and practices in development aid.

1.1 Post-development theory

First: That the perception of an industrial model of society as evolutionary more advanced than any other to be misled and that it has not led to an improvement in the developing world but rather widened the gap between the richest and the poorest part of the world (Sachs, 1992).

Second: That *development-discourse* has become an apparatus to create knowledge and exercises power over the third world. (Escobar, 1995; 9 cited in: Exploring post-development: Theory and Practice, Problems and perspectives) At the same time the omnipresence of the discourse led and still results in critics of development not departing from the frames of development-discourse but to stay within its boundaries.

Third: Development as “*a threat to people’s autonomy*” (Rahnema, 1997, p. 9). In his sense the discourse’s rhetoric and practice of development is Eurocentric and does not respond to the actual needs and aspirations of the targeted populations but rather imposes a Eurocentric model of *livelihood* and economic productivity. While this approach rather focuses on the exploitation of the “third-world” in the name of productivity and capitalism, the implications of a Eurocentric development-discourse on gender derived from Rahnema’s claim are vital.

Fourth: The proposed alternative to development, practice and rhetoric lies in *grassroot* movements and organizations as a beacon of what should be the aim of targeted
development aid. In this sense post-development theory argues that countries, populations, and communities have their own goals and ideas of development and that these are the point of departure to develop knowledge and effective practice in tackling inequality (Escobar, 1995).

While in post-development one can see a thought of autonomy and a morality emphasizing exploitation and western domination the issue of gender puts forward a more delicate problem. The perception of gender, especially concerning female emancipation, produced in western societies (most of western Europe and the U.S.A and Canada) in particular. Its rhetoric is focused on equality and opposes exploitation, nevertheless it originates and is only practiced in the north west of the world. A question that ultimately needs to be asked is if these perceptions of gender inequality should be imposed on other cultures and their practices. In other words; is imposing a Eurocentric gender perception worse than structural oppression of woman in, for example, Ugandan society? Furthermore, the analysis and practice of aid must consider tensions between local communities and development projects from a different country promoting LGBT/gender rights as well as sexual education and if aid received by these groups is therefore actually liberating. Subsequently such aid could lead to marginalisation of the elements of identity that remain non-adapted from those that are adapted.

In concern of this problem within the post-development theory my research question will be twofold: What other theoretical approaches can be incorporated within a scheme of post-development and gender? What are the insights we can gain from the experiences of local organizations funded by NGO’s in the realm of gender and sexuality in Uganda?

The topics of concern within my research will therefore be: present organizations in Uganda tackling female-emancipation, and sexual education (“Ask without Shame”, “SINA”, “Fürsorge und Bildungsstiftung”) and approaches within these organizations towards: funding, sexual education and development. (The link to gender in this case would be education about: contraceptives, homosexuality, sexual assaults)

The various sociological terms, theories and approaches discussed by this research will include: post-development theory; a post-developmental perspective on development as well as the Foucauldian dispositif and naturalization employed by Brigg (2002); masculinity specifically in Uganda; prior approaches to development aid within the realm of gender in Uganda; macro analysis of the colonial impact in Uganda.
2. Thesis literature review

As the theoretical ground to the thesis paper, a thorough research on existing approaches and experiences in development aid is needed. The following part will cover these topics, while linking them to the post-development thought and gender. In this regard the literature review covers a public health approach to gender violence in Uganda, a study on masculinity in Uganda and the linked consequences for gender norms, as well as an article on colonial impact on gender roles in Africa, a critique of post-development thought, and lastly a study concerning the shifting gender discourses in Uganda and the links to masculinity.

2.1 Public health approach

The following will cover and discuss a publication concerning intimate partner violence (IPV) in the Rakai district in the south of Uganda (Wagman et al., 2013). The SHARE (Safe Homes and Respect for Everyone) project, discussed in the article was implemented by RHSP (Rakai Health Sciences Program) which operates in approximately 50 communities in the Rakai region. SHARE was conducted in 15 of the 50 communities in this region (Wagman et al., 2013).

In regard of the severe consequences, on the macro as well as micro level, of IPV (e.g. physical and emotional harm (emotional also for the surroundings e.g. children and friends), STD’s, social level; absenteeism at school and low productivity at work, increased cost of healthcare (Wagman et al., 2013) it must be a topic of concern. As to Uganda, the quantitative data illustrated by the article should give reason for apprehension. Uganda’s Demographic Health Survey data estimates that 48% of adult women have experienced physical IPV at some point in their life (35% in the past year), and 36% had ever experienced sexual IPV (25% in the past year). Most Ugandan adults (70% of women and 60% of men) believed wife beating is justifiable under certain circumstances (Uganda Bureau of Statistics [UBOS] & Macro International, Inc., 2006)

In order to tackle this issue, the SHARE project was applying a public health approach to intervention consisting of three steps namely: 1. Identifying the problem. 2. Identifying protective and risk behaviour. 3. Developing and testing a prevention program. (Wagman et al., 2013)
As to the first step the Rakai Community Cohort Study (RCCS) contributes qualitative and quantitative data on IPV in Rakai. The study was a longitudinal cohort study that conducts survey interviews every 12 to 18 months with all consenting people aged 15 to 49 in approximately 5,000 households in 47 to 50 communities throughout Rakai (Wawer et al., 1999).

Quantitative data

RCCS findings suggested Rakai women’s experiences of IPV were relatively common. Among adult Ugandan women, 30% and 50% reported physical IPV (Koenig et al., 2003; UBOS & Macro, 2006), and 24% and 37% reported sexual IPV (Koenig et al., 2003, 2004a; UBOS & Macro, 2006) at some point in their lives in Rakai and other rural Ugandan areas, respectively. In the year before the survey, 20% of women experienced physical abuse (Koenig et al., 2003), while 15% experienced sexual violence (Wagman & Charvat, 2008). Among 15- to 19-year-old female adolescents, 14% reported that their first sexual experience involved physical force (Koenig et al., 2004b) (Wagman et. al., 2013, p. 1392).

Qualitative data

Qualitative investigation revealed that sexual violence occurs in Rakai along a continuum and involves forced sex and other forms of coerced intercourse (resulting from threats or other pressures), unwanted touching, verbal harassment, and transactional sex (Wagman et al., 2009). Overlap was found between women’s experiences of physical and sexual IPV. Almost all (96%) women who reported lifetime experience of sexual violence also reported enduring physical violence at some point in their lives (Zablotska et al., 2009, as cited in Wagman et al., 2013).

From the above data the problem to be identified, as the first step of a public health approach, seems rather obvious. This appears to be illustrious to a clear point of critique towards a post-development approach. As the post-development school implies the solutions to “underdevelopment” lie within the local, the grassroots movements (Escobar, 1995), they become an easy target for accusations of romanticizing the local. This has been a widely acknowledged critique expressed by several authors as for example: Berger 1995, Lehmann 1997, Crew and Harrison 1998, Pieterse 1998, Kiely 1999, Storey 2000 (Escobar, 2007, p. 22). In this sense one could argue that the above illustrated data on IPV in the rural communities in Rakai defies assumptions of post-development and the
capability of the local to provide solutions to the issues of concern, namely gender and development.

Concerning the second step, identifying protective and risk behaviour, these were subdivided into three categories namely: individual level factors, relationship level factors, and society level factors (Wagman et al., 2013). Toward the individual level risk factors the study identified: (SV – sexual violence. PV – partner violence.) Younger age (SV), ≤15 years of age at 1st sex (PV&SV), having >1 sex partner in the past year (PV&SV) (Wagman et al., 2013, p. 1394). Protective factors at the individual level were: older age (PV&SV), higher education (PV&SV), having many (≥6) children (PV), personal beliefs that IPV was unacceptable (PV) (Wagman et al., 2013, p. 1394).

Relationship level risk factors included: male partners alcohol use before sex (PV&SV), Woman’s use of alcohol before sex (PV), perception that male partner is at high risk for HIV infection (PV&SV) (Wagman et al., 2013, p. 1394). Protective factors at the relationship level included: being in longer duration (10+ years) intimate relationships (PV), being in relationship where safe sex behaviours were practiced (PV&SV) (Wagman et al., 2013, p.1394).

On the society level the article does not illustrate any factors having protective influence. For the risk factors they have found: community based disputes are male dominated and therefore do not represent female struggles, as well as patrilinear inheritance (Wagman et al., 2013). Furthermore, it mentions: only 7% of women owning registered land (estimate) and therefore the majority of women is economically dependent on men (Ellis, Manuel, & Blackden, 2006). Family support traditionally stops for women after marriage, leaving them less opportunity to oppose violence due to the dependence (Orubuloye et al., 1993). Bride prices perpetuating unequal gender roles in marriage found by a qualitative study (Kaye, Mirembe, Ekstrom, Kyomuhendo, & Johansson, 2005). Lastly, research from other settings indicate that attitudes favouring VAW (Violence against Women) increase the likelihood of IPV. (Uthman, Moradi, & Lawoko, 2009). And that most adult men (70%) and women (90%) believed wife/partner violence was justifiable under certain circumstances (Koenig et al., 2003)

Discussing each of these risk and protective factors in detail would exceed the limits of this literature review. Important is the clear distinction of different factors and influences in order to build a full and sound analysis. Nevertheless, it is necessary to concentrate on
some of these findings from a post-development perspective. Firstly, one needs to acknowledge the value of the bride prices in terms of economic redistribution. This is not to say that they do not perpetuate unequal gender roles, at least in terms of partner finding, but that taking this society level factors as a point of entry for intervention lacks consideration of culture and indigenous social mechanisms. Secondly, it is important to, again, bring to question the existing attitudes towards IPV. As they have been found to be in support of IPV (Koenig et al., 2003, as cited in Wagman et al., 2013), we come back to the critique of post-development concerning the romanticising of the local critiqued in post-development (Escobar, 2007). This is of high relevance as it does not simply illustrate a situation containing violence against women, but it is perpetuated in local attitudes. This would bring up another question, namely in how far one can assume western gender roles to be something to aspire on a global scale, and if they are not, does that justify violence against women and how can one incorporate human rights into this scheme? Although these questions are of high relevance they are not to be the centre of discussion in this paper.

Coming back to the SHARE project, a discussion of their theoretical approach as well as the actual implementations is in order. These aimed at fulfilling their goals namely: (a) reduce levels of physical IPV; (b) reduce levels of sexual IPV; (c) increase the proportion of community members who agree IPV is not justifiable under any circumstances; (d) raise awareness about human/women’s rights; and (e) integrate high quality, culturally appropriate violence-related services into the health and social support structure that already existed in the intervention areas of Rakai (Wagman et al., 2013, p. 1397). This theoretical approach is illustrated in Figure No.1. The part of this intervention plan that is most interesting to our post-development approach to development aid and intervention seems to be the third step. This is both in terms of the actual community level change characteristics of the SHARE program as well as the stage of preparation within the TTM (Transtheoretical Model). Firstly, we should mention that the characteristics of the third stage do not seem to be of particular interest from the perspective of gender norm reconfiguration through grassroot movements, unless these characteristics exist prior to the intervention. In that particular case, from our post-developmental perspective, it would be rational to implement the very same third step: network building. Illustrious of this approach is the networking done by the EGS (Enda Graf Sahel) NGO is Dakar Senegal. The EGS has a strong focus on grassroot organizations and local initiatives and
supporting them through their networking activities (Matthews, 2007). The focus lies in particular on facilitating application for funding through EGS employees and their knowledge about application processes that might not be so prevalent within the local initiatives (Matthews, 2007). This distinct network structure lacking hierarchy, that can be titled as “messy”, are in alignment with the local network forms and therefore facilitate the submergence into the local dynamic (Matthews, 2007). This is not entirely unique to the EGS but can also be found in the approaches of the WSF (World Social Forum) and the Zapatista support network (Matthews, 2007). Specific attention has also been given to forms of cyber networking such as: Escobar, 2004: 350–356, Olesen, 2004, Russell, 2005 (Matthews, 2007).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage</th>
<th>TTM stage of change</th>
<th>individual level change</th>
<th>SHARE phases of community level change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Characteristics</td>
<td>Name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Precontemplation</td>
<td>Individual does not intend to change behaviours in the next 6 months.</td>
<td>Community assessment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Contemplation</td>
<td>Individual is strongly inclined to change behaviour in the next 6 months.</td>
<td>Raising awareness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Preparation</td>
<td>Individual intends to act in the near future (generally in the next month).</td>
<td>Building networks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Action</td>
<td>Behaviour has already been incorporated for at least 6 months.</td>
<td>Integrating action</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As to norms of masculinity in Uganda a study conducted in Nyendo and Masaka Municipality in southwestern Uganda will be of guidance (Nyanzi et al., 2009). The study was explorative in nature and used an interdisciplinary perspective while relying on an inductive approach (Grounded Theory Approach) (Nyanzi et al., 2009). The study specifically examined promiscuity and the negotiation of masculinities, in the two mentioned municipalities, by motor bike taxi drivers (Bodabodamen) (Nyanzi et al., 2009). As to not assume homogeneity the distinctions between the two districts should be enunciated. Nyendo is a peri-urban peripheral with a relatively flourishing economy and a buoyant night life. Masaka on the other hand, is a small urban municipality with a relatively good infrastructure (Nyanzi et al., 2009).

Furthermore, the study employed a symbolic interactionist perspective, linking the symbolic traits of gender and sexual behaviour to the whole of a culture. This also implies that the findings of the study were all qualitative in nature. They are of high value to this paper as they illustrate notions of masculinity, of the Bodabodamen respectively, and offer a ground for further analysis of the negotiations of gender roles from a local perspective.

**Findings**

First the study identified stages of manhood in Uganda and the terms for them in the local language Luganda: Male infant (muwere) → boy (mulenzi) → youth (muvubuka) → grown-up (mukulu), manhood (asajjakudde) → real man (musajja ddala) → old man (mukadde/mzee) → dead (mufu/mugenzi) (Nyanzi et al., 2009). The boundaries between these stages are fluid depending on social context. One might be at home a boy, while a...
real man with his lover (Nyanzi et al., 2009). The progression between these stages does not have to be linear. One can be a youth and become a real man by having a child and taking responsibility (Nyanzi et al., 2009). Furthermore, when discussing what constitutes masculinity, male privileges were identified as well as strong differences in socialization. Male children play: cars, fathers, fights, and getting drunk. Females playing the counter part of: brides, housewives, and dolls (Nyanzi et al., 2009). It also became clear that men were disproportionately prepared for social interaction, leadership, while females were endowed with domestic chores and responsibility (Nyanzi et al., 2009). The study also found the existence of techniques to ensure male births, such as charms (Nyanzi et al., 2009). These were explained to be necessary due to the patrilineal inheritance system, as has already been discussed above in the article by Wagman (Wagman et al., 2013) (Nyanzi et al., 2009). Moreover, the interviews of the study discussed men with feminine traits, and vice versa, females with masculine traits. Men with feminine traits were labelled, as “not real men” (sexually inactive, weak willed, indecisive). While women with masculine traits are characterized as: employing men, choosing their own sexual interactions, build houses and speak strongly in public. While there seems to be a clear discrimination and negative stereotype towards feminine traits (feminine traits for Bodabodamen respectively) endowed by men, masculine traits in females were not connotated by a negative coefficient (Nyanzi et al., 2009). From this one could conclude, that there is space for mobility by females in to domains of masculine behaviour and social space.

In conclusion the article identifies four concepts related to masculinity that are not clearly distinct but interact and overarch (Nyanzi et al., 2009). These are: physical maturity, monetary income, independence from the family, sexual activity (Nyanzi et al., 2009). As already said all of these interact, especially in relation to sexual activity they all seem to reconcile. In this sense monetary income was articulated as a necessity to maintain the lifestyle of manhood. Nevertheless, one is not a man, no matter his money and material possessions, if he is not sexually active he is “just a rich grown up” (Nyanzi et al., 2009, p. 82). The same is applicable for the findings about the independence from the family. Here the significance of the separation of homes was emphasised. The necessity of separation of homes was mostly discussed to be due to “loving women”. In this sense the “loving women” and moving out goes hand in hand, but only the social cultural processes associated with moving out (feeding children, making own money, sexual lovers) that
convey manhood (Nyanzi et al., 2009). Lastly, sexual activity was prevailed as the “maker of a man” (Nyanzi et al., 2009). This also stood in connection with fatalistic attitudes concerning HIV as well as the necessity of a multitude of partners (Nyanzi et al., 2009). The identified male promiscuity was justified as a continuation of traditional Kiganda culture in which many wives constituted status on an economic, social and political level (Nyanzi et al., 2009). Here again we can find that the local does not seem to hold attitudes supporting gender equality, but on the contrary, perpetuates systems in favour of men. This specific example stands in alignment with Bourdieu’s analysis of gender roles, where he describes women as capital bearing objects that themselves do not pursue capital accumulating strategies (Bourdieu, 2002). Bourdieu’s analysis has been widely critiqued for being strongly limited to the structural, and not taking into account agency and reflexivity of women (Thorpe, 2009). In other words, Bourdieu does not consider the historical evidences of females acquiring male positions, which seems to lie in contradiction with his conception of Habitus and its reproduction, that are deterministic (Lovell, 2000). In our example in Uganda the fact that Bodabodamen clearly acknowledge women with masculine traits and describing them as such, is illlustrious to the Bourdieu-critique’s point. Nevertheless, we should keep Bourdieu’s “Habitus analysis” as well as his notion of “regulated liberties” in mind as they can be of great value to the analysis (Bourdieu, 2002).

To conclude we must still mention that the topics of HIV as well as economic advantages of small families were part of the discussion elaborated in the article (Nyanzi et al., 2009). Although not the centre of discussion, an awareness was clearly identified, therefore one could suggest that there is a possibility to take sexual activity as a point of entry for intervention. Not in the sense that it should be diminished, as again it would cause a lot of resistance and backlash, but rather to suggest a safe sex promiscuous practice. May be even perpetuate health and sexual activity as masculine norms.

2.3 Colonial impact

Regarding the impact of colonialization on gender roles in Africa and specifically Uganda a theoretical article analysing the dichotomy of the private and public sphere will provide the theoretical ground. Among the issues discussed in Ipadeola’s article, we can find: arbitrary ethnic landscapes in African nation states and therefore lack of reconciliation, corruption caused by the same issue, as well as a distinct treatment of men and women
by the colonial forces (Ipadeola, 2017). Of particular interest, although all these points should be kept in mind, is the last one. Essentially the argument made is: differences in gender roles existed prior to colonization, yet the dichotomy of public and private space was introduced by colonial forces (Ipadeola, 2017). This is not to say that women and men were equal before the colonizing forces, but to illustrate that we do not know the differences and importance of the private and public sphere prior to colonization (Ipadeola, 2017). Furthermore, the arguments are made that, in the colonial era, men were in direct contact with the suppressors in a public sphere, while women were limited to the domestic, thus leading to increased frustration and violent behaviour in the domestic life by men (Ipadeola, 2017).

Beyond the colonial era Ipadeola illustrates that education, introduced by development practice, became a new measure for capability to take part in society (Ipadeola, 2017). A similar critique on the “brainwashing” traits of education has been taken in post-development thought (Rahnema 1997 p. 116). Rahnema’s stand point has been widely critiqued for its lack of recognition of counter movements to development, as he portrays the targets of development (namely the underdeveloped) as unable to emancipate from the thoughts entailed by development that have been internalized (Ziai, 2007). Education is also mentioned by Escobar as an operation of subjection: ‘new forms of domination and subjection (concerning areas such as education, demography, housing, psychiatry, cultural values, ethnic oppression, etc.)’ (Escobar 1985, p. 393). In conclusion education in this context has been acknowledged by post-development authors in a similar context.

Lastly, the article gives an example of how gender roles in the pre-colonial era might have been quite different from what they are today, illustrating the above made points, namely: The interference of colonial power with native culture and their blending causing a change in gender roles, at least to some extent. In the Ganda kingdom of Buganda, Hanson (2002) states that before colonialism destroyed the existing indigenous political structure,

“the queen mother’s authority mirrored that of the king. The king appointed ministers of various kinds, allocated land to them, and collected taxes. The queen mother appointed her own ministers (who matched those of the king), placed them on lands that were exclusively under her control, and received a portion of all taxes collected. Each of the aspects of the queen mother’s royal prerogatives reinforced her autonomous power. The queen mother’s prime
From this we can take that, at least the marginalization of women might have been caused by colonial interference and the following development process. The fact that, historically, cultures had women in political power positions may give hope to the post-developmentental inquiry of finding solutions in the local and grassroots. Nevertheless, we must not omit, as has also been widely criticized about post-development theory, the already existing influences of the colonial era and the following development era (Ziai, 2007). The mentioned critique is again of great importance as it brings about another criticism of post-development, namely the assumption of cultures to be homogenous within themselves and not having differences between the participating individuals (Lie, 2007). In this regard we should come back to the above data collected on masculinity in Uganda, and the discussions between the Bodabodamen were some brought up arguments such as HIV and economic advantages of small families, while other had fatalistic attitudes towards HIV and thought of a large family as a necessity. The weakness of the essentialization of cultures done by some post-development authors seems apparent in this context. (Ziai, 2007).

2.4 Critique of post-development

Morgan Brigg in his article from 2002: “Post-Development, Foucault and the Colonisation Metaphor” criticizes post-developmenttal thought on numerous levels. The discussion illustrated is of interest as it allows for a more differentiated picture of development practice and therefore gives a way out for one of post-development’s great weaknesses: assuming development practice to be homogenous in its entirety (Ziai, 2007).

Brigg starts of by explaining the distinction of sovereign- and bio-power. (Foucault, 1981) The colonial power exercised over, what we term today third world is (as well as parts of the second world) sovereign power in the Foucauldian sense. This definition requires there to be a monarch, which in this “metaphor” are the European societies claiming a right to exploitation of the inferior societies. In this sense colonial power was exercised through deduction (Brigg, 2002). Bio-power in contrast works differently. It is rather the governing of life and making it calculatable. Bio-power does not operate in accordance with the symbol of the sword, but instead with the symbol of progress and mutually
beneficial actions (Brigg, 2002). It is directed towards the growth of forces and their dictation, rather than destroying and impeding them. The analogy from colonialism to development seems obvious in this context. (Brigg, 2002). As the ex-colonies became nation states and the use of “sovereign force” became unacceptable, a new modality of power emerged, namely the directing of humans and their newly founded states in the ex-colonized world in the name of their development. This led to the diminishment of oppositional differences between the “developed” and the “under-developed” world (Brigg, 2002).

The point made, concerning the directing of humans in the ex-colonized world, is in alignment with a crucial critique towards development by post-development, namely: the assumption of unilinear (Eurocentric) trajectories of change (Gibson-Graham, 2004, p. 411). These linear trajectories, from a post-developmental perspective, could be seen as imposed through Foucauldian bio-power.

Brigg goes on to deconstruct the colonization metaphor applied to development by post-development authors: Rahnema (1992, p. 124) writes of the “colonising of the mind.” Escobar speaks of the “colonizing mechanisms of development” (1992, p. 142) and the colonisation of reality (1995, p. 5). Esteva (1992, p. 11) refers to Latin American dependency theory as “colonizing anti-colonialism” for its role in naturalising the concepts of “development” and “underdevelopment” and Alvares (1992, pp. 229-230) says that development based on modern science constitutes an 'actively colonizing' power. These statements are flawed as they, rhetorically, refer to a sovereign practice of power, when the reality, that post-development itself describes, speaks of an exercise of bio-power and the thereby caused poverty. In this sense we should perhaps dismiss, or at least rework and redefine, the colonization metaphor (Brigg, 2002). The point most criticized by Brigg is the flawed prescription of intention to the development project. In this sense, there needs to be a space for contingency and error when analysing the faults of development. He utilizes, as an example, the rigor with which Esteva marks Harry Trumans fourth point in his inauguration speech, as the mark of the extension of U.S. hegemony. As George Rist (1997, p. 70) shows, this was rather a PR (Public Relations) move than a lengthy planned assault on the aspirations of third world indigenous cultures. In a broader sense, the idea of agency of the west as a sovereign power is flawed. This is also in support of Foucault’s point that power is a strategic complex situation. What we
regard as powerful are the coagulated sets of relations. (although these are constantly renegotiated) (Brigg, 2002, p. 425).

Brigg’s critique is well refuted by post-development authors pointing out the frequent reference to: development relating to desires and aspirations of the people in the third world (see: Esteva, 1992, p. 6, 11, 18, Rahnema, 1997, p. 9, Sachs, 1999, p. 5) (Ziai, 2007). Although, as Nustad points out, the power of development discourse lies in its conditioning and disciplining (2001, p. 485), this does not leave much room, within the analytical framework, for agency and leaves developing world populations as passive. Even though resistance to the “power of development” is perceived, it cannot be theoretically grounded from this perspective (Ziai, 2007). This regard brings us back to Brigg’s critique that this view also has negative implications for the “victims of development” (as characterized by post-development authors), as it, similar to the discourses it critiques, renders them inaudible by framing the picture as a binary relation between a master and disciple. (Brigg, 2002).

Further down Brigg’s critique he attempts to redefine the perspective while taking the valuable criticism employed by post-development along the way. In doing so he explains the Foucauldian dispositif and the process of normalization. I have found both of these are very useful in order to ground an analysis discussing gender from this perspective.

Foucault’s dispositif is:

“thoroughly heterogeneous ensemble' of discursive and material elements-for example, 'discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical, moral and philanthropic propositions', and so on-and the 'system of relations ... established between these elements” (Foucault, 1980, p. 194).

Brigg takes development as a dispositif allowing the recognition of the good intentions of agents while taking into consideration the negative and positive outcomes, and at the same time providing a scheme of analysis for the operation of power governing the third world. In his words: “it does not aggregate the operation of power or allow default to the oppositional position that development is 'bad'. “ (Brigg, 2002, p. 427) The manner through which large scale governing effects occur through the dispositif can best be understood as a macro level operation of the mechanism normalization:
“brings five quite distinct operations into play: it refers individual actions to a whole that is at once a field of comparison, a space of differentiation and the principle of a rule to be followed. It differentiates individuals from one another, in terms of the following overall rule: that the rule be made to function as a minimal threshold, as an average to be respected or as an optimum towards which one must move. It measures in quantitative terms and hierarchizes in terms of value the abilities, the level, the ‘nature’ of individuals. It introduces, through this value-giving measure, the constraint of a conformity that must be achieved. Lastly, it traces the limit that will define difference in relation to all other differences, the external frontier of the abnormal.” (Foucault, 1979, p. 182-183)

This is applied by Brigg to the nation states and the development paradigm that emerged in the post-war period (after 1945). In this extension of Foucault’s normalization, the individual is constituted by the state. He describes the international institutions, regulations, and discourses as a dispositif on a nation state level. He states that this application of the notion of normalization departs from the one Foucault initially articulated, as he mostly focused on individual subjects being normalized, but falls into the realm of his notion of power, as the normalization of the nation state relies on the operation of normalization on a range of other levels, such as the individual subjects. The nation state, in this analysis, can be found as central to the development dispositif yet it does not constitute power. Although development refers itself to the state, as the concept of bio-power illustrates, the state is not sufficient in (they lack omnipresence and rigor) exercising the entirety of the development dispositif as this is constituted by the intricacies and differential motivations of institutions and people which emerge at the site of development effort. (Brigg, 2002, p. 9) In this sense the state is not the executer of power but the fulcrum through which it operates within the whole of a development dispositif (Brigg, 2002). The critique on post-development continues by claiming to fail in integrating the five operations of normalization into the theoretical scheme correctly. He claims them to rather refer to the use of the “abnormal” as a colonial exclusion. This usage, he claims, is flawed as it does not see that the claim of a third world being “underdeveloped” is not the end goal, but rather an inclusive effort integrating them into the development dispositif and normalization. The latter, in the above definition, clearly does not operate through exclusion. Normalization does not set up a limited number of desirable position within the whole, but instead aims to create a space of continued
differentiation, where the gaps and capacities of the individuals (in this application nation states) are measured. In this sense the Third-World is integrated into a large dispositif of development that normalizes towards the goals of development (Brigg, 2002).

In conclusion the critique employed by Brigg allows for a more differentiated stance on development practice while also being able to integrate gender. This integration can be done by taking the five mechanisms of normalization and applying them, similarly to Brigg, to gender in the context of development efforts. I have employed this incorporation as follows:

1. Individual actions to a whole that is at once a field of comparison, a space of differentiation and the principle of a rule to be followed:
   On a nation state level this can simply be constituted by the differences in gender equality between states measured by international gender indices.

2. It differentiates individuals from one another, in terms of the following overall rule: that the rule be made to function as a minimal threshold, as an average to be respected or as an optimum towards which one must move:
   This would-be gender equality as perceived by the western nations, which is mostly measured through employment. – Again, here we could apply a concept from above, that the normalization of an inferior domestic role and a striving towards a shared responsibility between the two sexes for this role. This would be in the sense of Ipadeola and her elaboration on the dichotomy between the public and the domestic sphere (Ipadeola, 2017).

3. It measures in quantitative terms and hierarchizes in terms of value the abilities, the level, the 'nature' of individuals:
   Social sciences and the whole of gender studies and indices.

4. It introduces, through this value-giving measure, the constraint of a conformity that must be achieved:
   Development funds tied to conditions in the realm of gender.

5. It traces the limit that will define difference in relation to all other differences, the external frontier of the abnormal:
   This seems to be a little more complicated as the “abnormal” in this case is very stratified. On the one hand, in the western nations, it is still common for woman to stay in the “submissive domestic” role, which is not an external frontier, at the same time the development dispositif strives to normalize equal wages and
employment. Here it seems that the normalization is apparent on all levels of the scale of normalization, yet regarded as more urgent in one than in the other. As an external frontier of the abnormal we can still point out things such as rape culture, and on the other hand as the, to be achieved norm, a Scandinavian gender model.

2.5 Shifting gender discourses in Uganda

As to contemporary gender discourse in Uganda an article by Wyrod, (2008) will be of help. It also includes information about the role of the British colonial forces in shaping today’s gender roles therefore it is aligned with the overall gist of the theoretical analysis.

Starting off the analysis Wyrod first gives a base to understanding the ethnic “ground” in Buganda culture and its relation and understanding of human rights. In this sense the notions of rights and liberties are non-foreign to Buganda, which is mirrored in their language Luganda:

“human rights” is translated as eddembe ly’obwebange (personal rights) or eddembe ly’obuntu (rights of humanity). Eddembe itself can mean freedom, liberty, peace, or simply leisure (Murphy, 1972), and eddembe is used to describe various aspects of human rights, such as eddembe ly’okwogera, or freedom of speech (Wyrod, 2008, p. 805).

This is also in alignment with a general analysis of pre-colonial African societies, which exhibit constituent components of the modern notion of human rights (Lauren, 2003). The conclusion that Buganda does have a human right understanding is criticized by Karlstrom (1996) by claiming that the Buganda human rights (which essentially discusses the relation of the individual to society) are not based on an equality of persons but on a hierarchical system of superiors and subordinates and their relations to each other. Thus, we can conclude that the understanding of individual rights in Buganda both facilitates and impedes progressive gender norms.

Going on from there Wyrod cites Tripp (Wyrod, 2008, p. 806) and an insight on the fusion of customary law and common law under the British colonial forces, giving the prior new presence in the realm of family matters related to women’s status, most commonly widow’s rights and property ownership (Tripp, 2000). This insight fits well in the application of Foucault’s normalization, copied off Brigg’s application of the same to a
development dispositif, on gender. (Brigg, 2002). It also aligns with Ipadeola’s claims on the dichotomy of private and public spheres through colonization, in the sense that the public sphere (in this case constituted by the blend of customary and common law) became dominant over the private sphere (Ipadeola, 2017).

Coming back to the actual research discussed in Wyrod’s paper, he identifies three discourses regarding gender namely: Gender inequality, gender equity, and gender equality (2008). The first was the predominant discourse in precolonial Buganda society. The second has mostly been perpetuated through government programs for the inclusion of women in political processes. The third has mostly been disseminated through NGO activities.

Lastly, he discusses the negotiations of these discourses giving the following results (Wyrod, 2008). Male superiority as tied to nature (e.g. physical capability to work, sexual offensiveness) as well as social statuses (breadwinner status, family negotiations to be male centred). The two notions of nature and family role also became apparent when interviewing women on the same issue. When analysing the issue of reconciliation with the gender discourses among men, it became evident that a discourse of equity was much more appreciated than one on equality. This was also mirrored in statements explaining men and women to be different yet complimentary (Wyrod, 2008).

3. Methodology

3.1 Methodological perspective

Concerning the methodological perspective of this paper a critical interpretative approach will be employed. It will also contain feminist elements although, as of the topic and theoretical perspective assigned, these will be rather subtle. Furthermore, I intend to make the research as positivist as possible, in the sense that it should not be grounded in grand theoretical approaches (This still means post-development theory is the approach, nevertheless it will not act as a rule book but rather as a guide in this context which will also become apparent in the literature review) but instead employ a grounded theory approach, in which the taken theoretical assumptions are deducted from the actual data available. Lastly, the research is intended to give insights and a proposal on “the way to go” for development aid in the region of concern namely Uganda.

3.2 SWOT Analysis
The strengths of this paper lie in the post-development approach and the modifications done to it by several authors. This form of discourse analysis will allow for a clear and rational perspective on development and gender in Uganda without antagonising or romanticizing the local or development. This is also where the weakness lies as the approach of post-development clearly assumes a post-colonial responsibility of the ex-colonizing forces towards the “third-world”. This brings into question the rationality of basic assumptions on poverty and cultural differences as well as the applicability of human rights.

A clear threat to this research is the possibility that it might not find a solution from its perspective. Namely that there is no local ground to development aid for gender emancipation, and that no grassroot organizations and movements exist that strive towards a gender egalitarian society. Yet again this also implies the opportunity this paper provides. As it, partially aims, to identify discourses and ways to view gender that might not be in the realm of western thoughts on this issue. In this sense that the Eurocentric assumptions on gender equality and the necessities implied within it are flawed when approaching a culturally different ground.

3.3 Research methods

The employed research methods will include: (a) Desktop research and a literature review; (b) Content analysis; (c) Qualitative interviews.

The points (a) and (b) will both be part of the literature review, while (b) will also be part of the qualitative interview conducted as part of (c). In this sense this paper aims to link the reviewed literature and analysis in the realm of development and gender and apply as well as enlarge the gained insights through qualitative interviews with persons involved in development in Uganda on these issues. Through the focus on qualitative interviews this paper can also be described as an interpretive research aiming to build a theory rather than confirm or disprove a hypothesis (Walsham, 2006). Furthermore, as it challenges conventional development thought as well as methods applied in development it can be described as a critical research (SAGE, 2006).

At this point it is important to mention that it was very difficult to reach out to the interviewees as well as finding appropriate times to conduct the interviews as they do not live in Budapest and have their own schedules in a different time zone.
3.4 Ethics

As to the conformity with the sociological codes of ethics the guidelines concerning this matter by the ISA (International Sociological Association) will be referred to. The planned research will be conforming and embracing the following parts of this guideline:

1. Sociology as a field of scientific study and practice
   The planned research will comply with the idea of mutual exchange and practice. This is done through the extensive literature review, as well as the qualitative interviews planned for this research. It will discuss existing ideas and elaborate on them while taking into account the body of scientific knowledge produced about the subject of this paper. Furthermore, it takes into account the possibility of an impact that the produced knowledge and findings might have on society as a whole. This is, to the best of my knowledge, going to have an impact that embraces the aim of sociology, to raise the quality of human life. Lastly it will be done according to the principle of openness allowing all sorts of criticism while protecting the rights of everyone involved.

2. Research procedures
   As this research paper does not involve any financial sponsoring and costs and rewards these are not of concern.
   Considering the gathering of data the research will comply with: disclosure of methods; security, anonymity, and privacy of research subjects will be protected; the privacy conditions of accessed data done prior to this research will be subject to the same security, anonymity and privacy; the consent of subjects and informants (Those who have not published their information publicly respectively) will be gathered prior to data collection.

3. Publication and communication of data
   Any person or group that contributed to this paper will be mentioned in form of citing or in more detail, if involved in a different manner than serving as a scientific ground to research. No databases that have been disclosed publicly will be used without prior consent. Furthermore, every information cited in the article can be subject to investigation of other scholars.

4. Extra-scientific use of research results
   The findings obtained by this research will be open to the public while considering the possible obscuring of the given information to unintended purposes.
I (Paul-Baschar Ilse) will not claim expertise as the ground to any inquiry offered by this work unless this expertise is justified through evidence.

3.5 Interview description

Prior to the interview the interviewees were sent a letter of informed consent that can be found in the appendix.

3.5.1 Interviewees

1. Ruth Cynthia, the founder of “Ask without Shame”
   - The “Ask Without Shame” is an online platform and call centre anonymous consultation on issues of reproductive health (Askwithoutshame.com)
2. Etienne Salborn, the founder of “SINA”
3. Sotheary Yim, a Cambodian psychologist and feminist
4. Kozmoss Getu Salilew, an expert for refugees in Uganda
5. Maja Opua, GIZ (Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit) development worker in Uganda
6. Fortunate Kai, former IT expert in “Ask without Shame”
7. Julia Ilse, board member of the “Fürsorge und Bildungsstiftung”

3.5.2. General topics discussed

As my research was interpretive in nature the interviews where done semi-structured. My aim was to discuss the organizations the interviewees take part in and relate it to the general analysis of Uganda, gender and development. Therefore, the questions asked in the interviews were context based and aligned with the information I received from the interviewees about their projects and work in Uganda. The question guide reflects this approach:

- What is your personal career as a development agent/project-founder/ social entrepreneur and what is your project in Uganda?
- How does the project operate?
- Their project and gender (AWS, SINA, Fürsorge und Bildungstiftung)
- Gender in Uganda?
  - Indigenous culture and gender?
  - Colonization and gender?
  - Development projects/aid and gender?
Gender equality programs by the Ugandan government

To reiterate the focus of interest in my interviews and of this research paper, lies in the approach taken to development by the different organizations that the interviewed are/were involved in. In other words, how do the GIZ, SINA, Ask without Shame, and the “Fürsorge und Bildungsstiftung” do development work and how does it relate to the gathered data on development from the literature review.

4. Research findings

The findings of the qualitative interviews will be divided into 4 parts: 1. SINA; 2. Ask without Shame; 3. GIZ in Uganda; 4. Development and Gender in Uganda. I will refer to several interviewees for each of these, although one will always stand at the centre due to their knowledge of these specific areas.

4.1 SINA (Social Innovation Academy)

Etienne Salborn the founder and team member of SINA (Social Innovative Academy), started as a community service replacement worker in Uganda in an orphanage. There he founded Jangu e.V. which at the time funded high school education (secondary education) for orphans in Uganda. “The first generation of school graduates couldn’t find jobs and couldn’t go to university because it was too expensive.” “The goal wasn’t reached that the grown-ups would self-sustain.” The solution to the lack of sustainability was the SINA academy with the goal to provide education that empowers. When asked how he would change and adapt SINA if he had all the means to do so, he said: “I don’t think I can answer the question. Because it changes and improves on a daily basis. So, it’s a self-organized system, so its not really me, although I’m the founder, its not really me who makes the decisions. I have roles and decisions to fulfil within my own role, but there are 180 different roles. And they all make their own decisions in their roles. So, changes happen all the time on all levels. I would only try to make the system more efficient. It is most important that they understand that they have to make their own decisions. This is hard to understand for the youth coming from a very hierarchical background. Having never been able to make decisions or create something and then they are in charge. And also face the consequences when decisions don’t work out.” The self-organized structure could be seen as an example of development help that hands the development to the targets of development as proposed by post-development authors, without imposing their own, or contradicting the native structures and solutions.
The SINA education system is based on five steps:

1. “Confusion stage” where the scholars unlearn limiting beliefs. “This is done in a way that makes people reflect, we don’t tell them what to think. We don’t prescribe solution but help them to question themselves and their surroundings.”
2. “Emerging stage”. In the second stage the scholars have to start taking up responsibilities in the Academy. “So, we don’t have staff, but the students do the trainings and accounting for each other. So, they run the Academy and therefore also know how to run an enterprise. This gives them the skills and experiences.”
3. “Concentration stage”. Ideas are developed and constantly refined.
4. “Mentoring”. The scholars start testing out their ideas for projects. “We take them through to test the idea to go out and find out what can and what cannot work. That is together with mentors.”
5. “Linking”. In this stage the scholars learn how to network their ideas and find funding for their own enterprises.
6. “Mastery”. The scholars have created a self-sustaining social enterprise

The SINA five step program aims to have the attending students reflect and actively critique their environment. The further goal is to change it and/or build a future for oneself. Although some could critique that the education towards networking and enterprise building is based on none native trajectories of change (Latouche, 1986, cited in: Ziai, 2007), the biggest success stories came from projects that were inspired by the scholar’s personal experience. “…Biggest success story is definitely Ruth and Ask without Shame. So, a woman that went from an orphan to a young powerful lady who met the queen of England and has a lot of impact with Ask without Shame.” “We also have other success stories. Especially people that have taken their own background to create social enterprise they have deep motivations and are often the most qualified. For example, a street child will know how to make a project for street children, much better than may be a psychologist.” “We have a story like that with one that has a blind mother now is bringing breast cancer detection using blind women. Which has been done in Europe but not in Africa.” In contrast to post-development authors suggestions, the SINA program does not support grassroots organizations and social movements, but it facilitates their creation. When asked about failures of SINA projects Etienne said that failures are part of the process and important to find out what works and what does not. Furthermore, it should be mentioned that the fifth step of the SINA program mirrors the third step in the
public health approach, namely building a network in the targeted community (Wagman et al., 2013), as well as the networking done by the EGS in Dakar Senegal (Matthew, 2007). Although SINA does not build its own network to facilitate funding for grassroots organizations and initiatives as the EGS, or to find a ground to transmit their agenda like the SHARE program, but instead it hands over the networking capabilities to the social entrepreneurs. Interpreting this approach, it becomes apparent that it imposes less conditions and foreign development trajectories than SHARE or to some extent EGS.

When consulting Kozmoss and discussing the SINA project with him, he pointed me towards the direction of “Asset-Based Community Development Theory” (ABCD). In brief, ABCD encompasses that underdeveloped communities can drive their own development through already existing assets in their community that need to be identified and mobilized (Mathi, Cunningham, 2003). Conventionally the focus of ABCD lies with informal networks and social relations within communities and their potentials (Mathi, Cunningham, 2003). As of the SINA example these did not seem to be of importance, but rather the individual background and personalities of the social entrepreneurs such as Ruth. In this regard questions about the applicability of a SINA concept in more socially isolated communities might be of great importance. This is also confirmed by the conflicts encountered by Ask without Shame in the rural community research they have done that will be covered in the next part of the analysis.

4.2 Ask without Shame

Upon interviewing Ruth Nabembezi, who went through the SINA educational program to then founded the sex educational program: “Ask without Shame” (AWS), it became clear that the point Etienne made in the earlier interview, about the strength the scholars generate from their own experiences, was also central to her success. The death of her sister caused by HIV, motivated her to start the program. She told me: “*She would probably still be alive if she were treated by medical experts.*” We then went on to talk about the process through which she started gaining information about HIV knowledge. “*I started building awareness, talking to my friends about HIV.*” “*It was more like conversation. Peer to peer conversation.*” Through these talks she created a picture, for herself, of how much people knew and what they thought about HIV and protection. Furthermore, Ruth explained to me: “*...when I started working on Ask without Shame I had to give it a lot of time to see ... progressing and I had to make sure that I am achieving*
what I wanted to achieve at the end. But I was also a student at a medical school and I had to give it a lot of time. So, I had to choose between education or I should concentrate on Ask without Shame. My passion is more into Ask without Shame although I also love medicine because it changes many lives of people. So, I had to choose. ... So, I made the decisions and decided to go for a gap year where I could establish Ask without Shame and then go back to study. The medical school was a government scholarship because I was doing so well. So, everyone was like how would you drop a government sponsorship to concentrate on this thing where you are not even sure if it will work out.” “It was conflicting deep, and I had to choose between not caring about what other people thought of me, but I also had to think about what I felt about the current situation. So that was really tricky... I was so judged... I was looked as someone who ... dropped out of a sponsorship.” The apparent conflict between the expectations to follow the formal procedure of self-sustainable adulthood (in Ruth’s case becoming a doctor) is illustrious to the limiting beliefs in young adults that the SINA education is actively trying to tackle.

Ruth and I then spoke about the approach AWS is trying to apply. She explained to me: “During the period where I went through coaching, mentorship I used to come up with different ideas that I for one, I thought that choosing technology in a developing world, because I know this issue effects Uganda and Africa at large and some parts of other countries. So, I realized that an app would be more effective because for each there is high confidentiality when it comes to data and also conversations made. Why I really thought of the app in particular because many people in most cases even if they visit clinics... they don’t talk about it, because it’s a taboo topic they don’t want to talk about.” She further emphasized that the answers given to the clients by the platform do not pursue an agenda but are meant to inform in the most neutral manner. “In most cases we don’t have to tell our users a solution, but we give them information they need, so that in the end they make their own choices.” Ruth went on explaining that they use a question approach to understand their clients better. This means that they ask questions to the clients in order for the information to be most appropriate to them. “If we ask how old you could be, because we need also to provide information that is appropriate to age... a 7-year-old boy asks a questions you will not give all the details.” The experiences of the question approach were described as mixed. “Some people are really into sharing... every question we ask they respond. “So some people will be like why you have to ask my age, but then it again comes to you explaining it to them: I ask for your age for this and this
reason. But if you just ask them and you leave it without explaining why you are asking
them they become biased they will become insecure and think you just want to use their
data against them.” Again the approach and understanding that Ruth has of the problem
is of particular importance to the success of the AWS. When asked how the project
improves over time Ruth elaborated on the internal improvement procedure. “The phone
call agents listen to different audios or goes through different messages that was sent by
the clients and start following step by step ... if it was the appropriate way to respond,
what could be changed, how would it be improved next time what would the client think.”
Furthermore, the AWS team engages in client communication skill courses by the Mari
Stopes International organization.

The period of coaching, mentorship as well as “coming up with ideas” that she spoke
about, were part of the SINA program. Ruth’s background determined her to make this
project and helped to build the ground for understanding it. In other words she was aware
of the taboo problem surrounding sexuality and reproductive health and SINA helped to
give her the necessary skills to tackle the problem and find a solution to it.

Apart from Ruth, I was also able to organize an interview with Fortunate, who was
responsible for the IT work being done for AWS. He came into the project via an
application process and attended a job interview at SINA that consisted of problem
solving activities.

When speaking to him about confrontations that AWS had, I originally intended to speak
about confrontation on social media. Fortunate did not have much to say about social
media but told me instead about building up of AWS and a project that they had done.
“Yes yes, people have confronted us. It wasn’t actually on social media but when we went
for an outreach program, going to communities to speak to young people and about
sexual productive health and the other challenges there.” “The biggest issue we had was
people confronting us, starting with the name Ask without Shame. People would usually
associate the name with, you know in Uganda we have strident rules of values in
relationship to comprehensive sexual education. We do not want to tell people, oh you
don’t want to be telling people there is another option than being male or female. They
get worried, what are they going to tell our young people. What’s the package you have,
is it good for our young people. We would have to answer many questions. And of course,
you can’t talk about sexual productive health without talking about the real issues. People
don’t find that amusing, they think those are private issues, that should be handled in the bed-
room. So, there is a lot of issues about this. Who should talk about it and who should hear about it.” Again, the taboos surrounding information about reproductive health are standing at the centre of the opposition to intervention.

4.2.1. Fürsorge und Bildungsstiftung (Care and Education Foundation)

(The interview with Julia Ilse was conducted in German therefore the analysis features my translations. I have made them as accurate as possible.)

Relating to the EGS as an example of post-developmental development help (Matthews, 2007), it is important to understand how AWS received their initial funding by the Care and Education Foundation (CEF). In contrast to the EGS’s approach of supporting popular initiatives (grassroots) the CEF has an explicit agenda for the spending of their foundation’s budget as board member Julia Ilse explained to me in the interview. “There must be a cause to the foundation, and this is being supervised because foundation spending is tax exempted.” Although the legal requirements for a foundation’s cause, at first glance, seem to be rather restrictive to funding procedures and organizations that aim to adapt the social initiatives of targeted populations, Julia explained to me that: “These terms are put into a broad scope, for example: a project concerning water supply could be considered a health project, if it supplies clean water to a community or group of people.”

Originally the aim of the interview was to discuss specifically how AWS had received their funding through the CEF. Throughout the interview it turned out that the way in which the CEF operates is of relevance to this research. The CEF board is composed of four philanthropes with different backgrounds of which Julia is the only one with experience in development work. Furthermore, as she explained, the CEF has: “Internal board decisions, these we make internally but they can be changed, if needed. One of these is that we spend 50% of our budget on investments and the other 50% on welfare (Fürsorge) by which I mean continued expenses.” The divide in the budget that obliges the CEF to have running costs with projects counters a problem explained earlier by Etienne regarding the investments into large projects that are not sustainable. Concerning the CEF’s funding application: “You can send us an application without an application formula that must be fulfilled. Someone could give us a handwritten application it wouldn’t matter.” “Anyone can come to us. Most people with us do not have the
development jargon, everyone in our foundation looks at applications as active citizens (aktive Bürger). They just look at it and conclude what they like and what they do not and what they find logical. If we like an idea but are not sure if it works out, we give the opportunity to applicants to come to us and introduce the project ideas.” Lacking exclusive elements that restrict the access of individuals or social initiatives to funding procedures, that have also been emphasized in post-development literature (Matthews, 2007), the CEF illustrates a way in which the targets of development can be empowered to make their own development. Nevertheless, the question comes up how the funding process is supervised and who is the guarantor. Julia explained: “we work with the people we give money to on a trust basis. From 30.000 euros upward, we know the people personally and we establish personal relations with them. If these personal relationships do not work out well, we end our collaboration.” “In the case of Ruth, we didn’t meet her for a while, but we knew Etienne already. But then we went to Uganda and met Ruth.” “We also do it (proceed in this manner) because we all do our foundation jobs voluntarily (ehrenamtlich).” Interpreting the CEF approach, the strength lies within the personal relationship established between the initiative (be it a social entrepreneur from SINA or a grassroots organization in Dakar). The relationship is not dominated by a development jargon or a hierarchical relationship with strings attached to funding as criticized by post-development authors (Matthews, 2007) as well as by Etienne, Fortunate and Ruth.

Coming back to the funding of AWS: “Etienne introduced Ruth’s idea to us and I knew it is the best idea I had heard in a long time.” “Ruth never wrote an application to us, this was SINA in the end. So, this was done by SINA, Ruth had to deliver everything because Etienne couldn’t do that, but SINA wrote the application. In Ask without Shame Etienne had a big role to play.” “We would have not given Ruth the money on her own, it wasn’t secure enough, too non-binding (unverbindlich).” Although Ruth not applying by herself, but the application succeeding through a personal relationship existing prior to AWS between Etienne and CEF gives the impression that CEF is not so approachable after all, it is fair to say that the ground to AWS remains Ruth’s experiences and the empowerment strategies employed by SINA. Moreover, the realization of the potential of Ruth’s idea without an official funding process involving donor expectations can be titled a great success.

4.3 GIZ in Uganda
Maja Opua is a development worker for the GIZ in Uganda. Originally, she comes from health and reproductive sciences. Her field of work in Uganda include gender mainstreaming and HIV. When asked about gender mainstreaming, she told me that there is no actual “gender-project” in Uganda by the GIZ; however, they have condoms in the toilets of all their offices and sights. Her job and the GIZ gender mainstreaming process are divided into two categories. Firstly, external mainstreaming: this is done via a questionnaire that is evaluated in the GIZ headquarters that give the OK and recommendations. The evaluation is done through the OECD (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development) gender equality marker. This OECD measure puts development projects on a 0 – 1 – 2 scale, where 0 refers to: A project that does not target gender equality at all and does not consider it as an outcome criterion. 1 refers to: Gender equality being a deliberate objective of the project while it is not the principle reason for its execution. Lastly 2 refers to: Gender equality being the principle reason for undertaking a project. The minimum threshold for projects by the GIZ must be 1 Maja explained. Secondly, there is an internal mainstreaming which consists of gender educational activities and exercises that are also evaluated by the GIZ workers on sight.

When speaking of the general approach to gender in Uganda practiced by the GIZ, Maja explained, that the focus had shifted from HIV to gender due to international trends as well as the realization that negotiations of sexual practice and information distribution about condoms and HIV are of great importance.

Asking Maja what kind of fatalistic attitudes were present she told me that generally males are a lot harder to approach when it comes to sexual behaviour and HIV. Women are also easier to approach because they come to the health centres more often to get checked, especially when they are pregnant. In the GIZ counselling projects, the attendance of male partners is preferred so in those situations they do manage to incorporate the males. Furthermore, Maja explained to me that in the fisher villages at Lake Victoria, the population has the highest HIV prevalence in Uganda, even higher than risk groups usually associated such as sex workers, truck drivers, and homosexuals. “They laugh at you if you show them a condom.” She pointed out that the attitudes are very fatalistic and do not consider planning into the future. “They are also not included
in programs by the state in a lot of ways.” “The wives of the fishers are not there, but there are a lot of women there and these mostly do the selling of the fish.” About the selling of the fish Maja told me: “Most of the fish goes to big industries and is exported, this fish is sold directly, while the left overs that are sold within Uganda are mostly marketed by women. They also process the fish.” She explained that most of the women living and working in the fisher slums were single divorced or widowed and needed income for their families. Lastly, she explained the phenomenon of: “Fish for sex trade: males that catch the fish have a female trader that has sex with them to have the right to buy the fish first.”

At the end of our interview I asked Maja what the general problems of development aid in Uganda would be. Her answer was that Ugandan’s are used to development corporation and that they make use of it and then fall back into old patterns. “(They)...say yes yes sure but do not perpetuate the changes. If the project is done people fall back into old routine” She describes it as a negotiated relationship between the development work and the locals. They understand that they profit form development help, but they do not internalize the aimed for behaviour. At the very end, Maja also mentioned that a lot of development projects have good intentions but ignore local structures and therefore harm the people they are trying to help. She gave the example of labour market participation of women.

4.4 Gender and Development

While conducting the interviews, the last part was devoted to a more general picture and the interviewees views on how development should be done and what must be considered about the gender roles in Uganda. The answers were quite different but gave very good insight on the mixed situation.

Starting off, I asked the interviewees how they see the gender roles in Uganda. Ruth explained to me that, concerning the topic of HIV, female promiscuity is often prescribed as negative. “Some of my friends especially the guys... it was the women to be blamed for the spread, especially if someone was in a relationship with another person, then it must be the woman that brought the HIV into the family and the relationship.” Furthermore, when speaking about the impact of colonization on gender and traditional gender roles in Uganda she explained: “I think when I look at the time and things that used to happen before colonization, I think there was a lot of inequalities, where a woman was more of a servant to her husband. And really there was more, women were so mistreated and they
believed that is how things are supposed to be done. What I see currently is, I see a lot of women especially in the urban areas, that are now so empowered that they now are taking the charge of their families.” Here she clearly describes an improvement towards a more equal picture of women. This conforms with findings of Nyanzi elaborated in the literature review, that women taking upon male roles and activities in society are not rejected. Nevertheless, Ruth added: “However, there is also another thing. There is a lot of single mothers and not because the husband died, the husband is there but he neglected the family because now the women is empowered and if she needs to look after the family if she wants us to be equal.” “So, there is still a lot of single parents just because this man thinks she has enough money to take care of herself, however on the other hand there is a lot of conflict and domestic violence cases.” This on the other hand points towards a masculine culture that does not accept women in an equal relationship to men. Concerning this area of discussion Fortunate added: “Feminists in the country, are putting up a battle on the... we are in patriarchal society were men are the heads of family. So, the feminists are crying out for their rights. That would be the situation in Uganda. There are many programs now trying to promote childcare rights, child education. And the biggest criticism they face is, where are the men? So, if you look in Uganda, 80% of the organizations are looking at what the woman is going through. They are looking at cultural organization. But there is no organization looking at men.” He further pointed out: “...people’s mentality, women are supposed to stay home, parents and men are supposed to go look for money. I think that is something that was in use before formal education even came. So, we really have a long way to go to say a woman can go to work. Women who worked and have become more successful, society portrays them as women who don’t respect their men. So, it’s still a complex issue and very fragile.” Clearly, he points out that the gender roles were already unequally perpetuated prior to colonization. The critique towards post-development to romanticize is confirmed by the views of Fortunate and Ruth for Uganda. Etienne on the other hand pointed out that once women surpassed certain degrees of empowerment, such as female ministers, they were easily accepted. When asking Sotheary the same questions for Cambodia and her take as a feminist and psychologist, she explained that the Cambodian gender roles where also unequal prior to colonization and did not change through its impact. Beyond confirming critiques of post-development, the qualitative findings in the conducted interviews also confirm the three discourses identified by Wyrad (2008),
namely: inequality, equity, equality. The inequality discourse was pointed out by Fortunate when speaking about pre-colonial gender roles as well as Ruth and Etienne. Etienne heavily emphasised the heterogeneity of Ugandan culture and gender norms yet pointed out that gender roles are still generally unequal. Discussing equity, Ruth agreed with Wyrad, that the government programs for gender equality have rather aimed at an equal representation of women than equality (Wyrad, 2008).

When speaking about development and gender in Uganda Fortunate Etienne and Ruth all agreed that large projects with terms end conditions (strings attached) would not be the way to go. Here Etienne pointed out an interesting example: “The most famous example, is water access. So, a village doesn’t have a close water access, so you build a closer one. But this can destroy local structures. For example, if women are happy to fetch water for a long time because then they can socialize and get away from other things that might disallow them to have social contact with other women. So, going for water might be more of a social event than work. But then you put the well right next to the house and they don’t have that anymore.” Similarly, Fortunate said: “Projects that work with what people have, are more reliable and more sustainable.” “And they usually get better engagement, because people are more committed.” The weaknesses, in traditional development efforts that are associated with the world bank and government aid, that are pointed out by post-development authors (Ziai, 2007) seem to be clearly understood by the interviewees. In contrast to this take on international big projects, Sotheary pointed out that most of the work done towards gender equality was done by foreign development agencies. She also pointed out that in Cambodia the law was very well adjusted to an equality of sexes, nevertheless the practice did not hold up to these values. She explained: “When we speak of law it is mostly written. And Cambodia’s law is very, very, very well written. A lot of foreigners to write them correctly but it doesn’t change the way it works. We speak a lot about gender equality and mainstreaming. Ten years ago, when I started to work on this topic gender was already in the agenda of the government we have been speaking about it for a so long but its seems from the lips not from the heart.”

5. Conclusion

5.1 Literature review and research findings

Concluding my research and answering my research questions the literature reviewed and qualitative research done hold ambiguous results from a post-development perspective.
On the one hand the often-mentioned critique to romanticize the local holds truth in light of this research. The SHARE project, as well as in the analysis of gender discourse in Uganda, both found that Ugandan attitudes towards gender do not hold a ground for an equality of sexes (Wyrod, 2008) (Wagman et al., 2013). Furthermore Ipadeolas (2017) argumentation for an introduced dichotomy between the public and private sphere, during the colonization of Uganda, having disadvantaging consequences for the role of women and the importance of the private sphere, did not seem to hold against the views expressed by the interviewees. They felt that the gender norms prior to colonization reflect the inequality of sexes in Uganda today. Nevertheless, the approach of the SHARE project mirrored the proposed solution to development by post-development authors, namely supporting grassroots initiatives. The SHARE project did not support any such organizations, but as part of their public health approach they analysed strength and protective behaviours which could be interpreted as a first step towards supporting local dynamics instead of introducing foreign development trajectories. Exemplifying to such a development approach, as has been mentioned several times throughout this paper, is the EGS networking done in Dakar, Senegal (Matthews, 2007). An approach towards supporting grassroot movements was not identified in this research, which might be due to its limit or a sheer absence, nevertheless the collected data does not indicate that an attempt towards the support of grassroots organizations and movements is flawed. It does however indicate that the attitudes towards gender held in Uganda do not give much hope for grassroot movements to be in support of gender equality. Nevertheless, this research found an approach to development that did not involve the identification and support of grassroots movements but instead in capital building of disadvantaged youth by the SINA project. Although SINA does not recruit grassroots movements it has created projects that own characteristics of grassroots movements as described by post-development authors. Namely they are highly informed about their environment and take into account the circumstances and structures. Moreover, they do not follow a European trajectory of change but encompass different approaches to problems as for example AWS’s aim to put people in a position from which they can make an informed decision instead of telling them what to decide on. In this sense this research’s take on grassroots in post-development is ambiguous. As the last theoretical critique in post-development, Brigg’s (2002) critique of the colonization metaphor applied in post-development and the importance of a paradigm that does not antagonize development intentions and agents but allows for a bigger picture involving contingency and mistakes held truth in all respects.
Firstly, the development efforts done by SINA and its sponsoring organisation in Germany Jangu e.V. as well as the approaches taken by the Fürsorge und Bildungsstiftung cannot be titled as exercising power or imposing foreign trajectories of change. Brigg’s (2002) reworking of post-development and using Foucault’s naturalization in order to approach development from a more neutral perspective proved very useful to this research. We are able to acknowledge the faults of the GIZ’s use of centralized OECD gender marker, without prescribing bad intentions, if we assume it to be the fourth point of Foucault’s naturalization which, as formulated in the literature review, encompasses constraints through value giving measures. In this case, that a GIZ project is cancelled if it does not conform with the OECD gender marker. On the other hand, Maja’s clear awareness of the problems surrounding big projects and the lack of adaptation of the intended behaviours puts the development agents role in a more differentiated position. This differentiated position is also brought up in post-development theory (Lie, 2007).

Concerning the second research question, there is an abundance of insights to gain from the interviews and analysis done about SINA, AWS, and the Fürsorge und Bildungsstiftung. Some were already discussed above. In brief the research has found that the SINA approach to development conforms with the critiques of post-development and its perspective on “proper development aid”. Furthermore, the AWS’s effort to assent clients into positions where they can take informed decisions about their reproductive health has been found to be empowering for its clients as well as for its founder Ruth. In this sense SINA empowers its social entrepreneurs which then perpetuate development efforts in a way considerate to the local circumstances. Lastly, the Fürsorge und Bildungsstiftung gives an alternative to the EGS in making funding available to the targets of development. Although, unlike the EGS, they do not specifically look to identify grassroots movements and facilitate their funding, the Fürsorge und Bildungsstiftung’s open application formula allows for the targets of development to empower themselves. At this point it is important to question if this makes it available to social initiatives as they still need to know about the possibility to apply. In other words, a mixed approach, that both looks to identify and facilitate grassroots funding as well as having an open formula for application. We can find a similarity in the approaches when looking into the way EGS adapts to the “messy local structures” and the Fürsorge und Bildungsstiftung’s reliance on personal contact to the projects (Matthews, 2007).
In the end it seems that a highly pluralistic approach to development needs to be employed that does not antagonize on the one hand, while being able to critique on the other.

As of the broad scope of the topics gender and development giving further research recommendation towards a conclusive “solution” to the gender development nexus does not seem appropriate. Within the realm of Uganda and the organizations concerned in this thesis, I would recommend a thorough study of their social impact as well as quantitative data for an analysis of the effectiveness of the government gender equality programs. Furthermore, an in-depth research of the advantages and disadvantages of personal relationships as the guarantor for funding. Lastly, concerning the SINA success stories, I believe an interdisciplinary (sociological and psychological) approach would be necessary to fully understand how SINA motivates and builds ideas in its scholars.

6. Appendix

Hereby I present the text of consent my interviewees were sent before the interviews.

Dear (Interviewee),

This letter is an invitation to consider participating in a study I am conducting as part of my BA degree in the Institute of Social Sciences at the Corvinus University. I would like to provide you with more information about this project and what your involvement would entail if you decide to take part.

This study will focus on Development aid and gender in Uganda.

Participation in this study is voluntary. It will involve an interview of approximately 1:30 hours. You may decline to answer any of the interview questions if you so wish. Further, you may decide to withdraw from this study at any time without any negative consequences by advising the researcher. With your permission, the interview will be **tape-recorded** but if you are unhappy with this I can make written notes. Only I and my examiners will have access to the recording. All information you provide is considered completely **confidential**. Your name will not appear in any thesis or report resulting from this study, however, with your permission anonymous quotations may be used.

If you have any questions regarding this study or would like additional information to assist you in reaching a decision about participation, please contact me at 004915755530960 or by e-mail at Paul.b.ilse@goooglemail.com. You can also contact my supervisor, Professor Andrew Ryder at the faculty Sociology at the Corvinus University Budapest at this e-mail andrew.ryder@uni-corvinus.hu

I very much look forward to speaking with you and thank you in advance for your assistance in this project.
Sincerely,
Paul-Baschar Ilse

I have read the above information presented in the information letter about a study being conducted by Paul-Baschar Ilse of the Department of Social Sciences at the Corvinus University.

I am aware that I have the option of allowing my interview to be tape recorded to ensure an accurate recording of my responses.

I am also aware that excerpts from the interview may be included in the dissertation and/or publications to come from this research, with the understanding that the quotations will be anonymous.

I was informed that I may withdraw my consent at any time without penalty by advising the researcher.

With full knowledge of all foregoing, I agree, of my own free will, to participate in this study.

YES  NO
I agree to have my interview tape recorded.

YES  NO
I agree to the use of anonymous quotations in any thesis or publication that comes of this research

YES  NO
Signature

7. Bibliography


