

UGANDA

REPORT ON GOVERNMENT OF UGANDA'S IMPLEMENTATION OF THE BEIJING PLATFORM FOR ACTION (1995) AND THE OUTCOME OF THE TWENTY-THIRD SPECIAL SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY (2000)

Introduction

This report presents information on the progress by the Government of the Republic of Uganda, in implementing the Beijing Platform for Action (1995) and the outcome of the twenty-third special session of the UN General Assembly (2000). It has been written in accordance with specific guidance from the Commission on the Status of Women. The report is arranged in four main parts, following specific themes provided to States Parties through a questionnaire designed by the Commission to guide the reporting format.

Part 1: OVERVIEW OF ACHIEVEMENTS AND CHALLENGES IN PROMOTING GENDER EQUALITY AND WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT

The National Machinery for the Advancement of Women & Gender Mainstreaming in Uganda is the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development. The National Machinery coordinates and oversees the implementation of gender equality and women's advancement programmes nationally. Over the last decade, the Government of the Republic of Uganda has registered remarkable progress in the field of gender equality of and women's advancement generally. A brief highlight of these achievements is given below:

1.1 Legislation

Over the report period, Government has put in place a Constitution that up holds all the principles of CEDAW. Subsequently, the Uganda Law Reform Commission has embarked on a process of reviewing personal laws to ensure equality between women and men. Thus far, a Domestic Relations Bill and Sexual Offences Bill are in place and awaiting Parliamentary debates before approval. In addition, a labour law review process is on-going and this provides an opportunity to address the equality of opportunity for women in the employment arena. Laws that have already been revised to promote gender equality in legislation include- The Land Act 1998 which protects women's land rights; the Local Government Act 1997, which provides for a minimum of one third representation of women on all Local Council (leadership) structures.

1.2 Policy Reform and Programming

Government has adopted a National Gender Policy (1997), whose main objective is to mainstream gender concerns in national development processes through guiding resource allocation in all sectors to address gender inequality. The Policy has in effect influenced the adoption of gender mainstreaming as a cardinal principle in all sectoral and district development programmes. The main outcome of this has been the increased attention to the involvement of and benefits to both women and men at all levels across the different sectors e.g health, education, water etc.

Additionally, the Government of Uganda put in place a National Action Plan on Women in 1999. The plan prioritises five major areas, which include:

1. Poverty, income generation and economic empowerment;
2. Reproductive health and rights;
3. Legal framework and decision making;
4. The Girl child and education; and
5. Violence against females and peace building.

The Beijing Platform For Action (BPFA) and the Uganda National Action Plan on Women (NAPW) have guided Sectoral and district planning by flagging out the key concerns for women's advancement in the above priority areas. Some of the main outcomes of Government's implementation of the NAPW include:

- The dramatic increase in enrolments for girls in primary schools from 1,420,883 in 1996 to 3,372,881 in 2001;
- The reduction of people living in absolute poverty from 56% in 1992 to 35% in 2000;
- Through Constitutionally guaranteed affirmative action measures, increased the proportion of women in Parliament from 18% in 1995 to 24% in 2003; and for Local Council leaders, from 6% in the early 1990s to 44% in 2003;
- Completely eliminated the incidences of measles and polio in Uganda through massive immunisation campaigns;
- The reduction of HIV /AIDS prevalence among pregnant women in Uganda from 13% in 1989 to 5% in 2000 in rural areas and from 31% in 1990 to 11% in 2000 in urban areas.

Despite the above achievements however, there are still various challenges in promoting gender equality and women's advancement in Uganda. Salient among these are- increasing the levels funding towards institutions and programmes that promote gender equality, including the National Women's Machinery; comprehensive capacity building for planners and implementers in all sectors and at all levels in order to diffuse responsibility for gender mainstreaming from a single gender focal point officer; and strengthening the existing monitoring and evaluation systems at all levels; and reforming the personal laws in line with the international bill of rights for women. The main outcome-related challenge is taming the persistently high Maternal Mortality Rate currently 505/100,000, a picture not very different from the situation in 1995.

PART TWO : Progress in implementation of the critical areas of concern of the Beijing Platform for Action and the further initiatives and actions identified in the twenty-third special session of the general Assembly

GOU came up with 5 priority areas out of the 12 critical areas of concern that countries are supposed to address in policies and programmes. It is recognised that GOU could not address in a comprehensive manner each of the 12 critical areas of concern stipulated in the Beijing Platform for Action. It was also realised that some of them more than others have important linkages to facilitate the achievement of some of the other goals in the platform for action.

The Government of Uganda, therefore defined priority areas for the country to include:

1. Poverty, income generation and economic empowerment;
2. Reproductive health and rights;
3. Legal framework and decision making;
4. The Girl child and education; and
5. Violence against females and peace building (added after the 23rd special session of the General Assembly in 2000).

In accordance with the above priority areas, and in view of the positive policy environment, Government has managed to implement the following:

POVERTY, INCOME GENERATION AND ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT (Priority Area 1)

As producers of wealth, women contribute to the Gross Domestic Product and national welfare. They account for an expanding proportion of the Labour force especially in agriculture (the back-bone of the economy) and the informal sector. They contribute 60 - 80 percent the Labour force in most agro-based activities and produce 80 % of Uganda's food. The concentration of production in this field is principally small scale agriculture and subsistence farming. However, they are not exclusively confined to the unpaid subsistence sector as they carry out other agricultural tasks such as cash crop and livestock production for sale and export.

The Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP) is in place and recognizes that women have not adequately benefited as much as men from the decreases in absolute poverty noted in recent years. The reasons are because women do not have as many opportunities for social and economic development in the Ugandan society, particularly the rural areas. They also have little or no control over resources and the incomes realized from sales because they tend to concentrate more on food crops than cash crops, which is the men's domain.

Plan for Modernisation of Agriculture (PMA) has also been developed, and it recognises that gender has an influence on the division of labour and power relations within the households, which bring about differences in access to and control over productive resources. PMA ensures that gender concerns are routinely and adequately addressed in planning and other processes of intervention. Participation of both men and women is promoted at all levels. The role of the National Machinery is to monitor and build capacity of the implementers in gender analysis skills.

In the Plan for Modernization of Agriculture, Government has committed itself to finance establishment of rural markets for subsistence farmers, and facilitate establishment of Non-governmental institutions to provide finance and risk insurance to subsistence farmers. Government plans for poverty eradication are focused on transformation of the poor women, from producing predominantly for the household to producing for the market. The focus is to diversify and re-orient subsistence farmers towards commercial agriculture.

Other policy measures and plans in place to enhance the status of poor women include the Social Development Sector Strategic Investment Plan (SDIP), one of whose outcomes is increased equality, equity and respect for rights of the poor and vulnerable; land tenure law reforms guided by the implementation of the 1998 Land Act; and Micro-credit schemes and laws to protect the poor from being exploited.

Provision of credit to the rural poor is implemented by non traditional financial institutions / NGOs like Uganda Women's Finance Trust, FAULU-Uganda, PRIDE AFRICA, FINCA, CEEWA, ACTION AID, NSARWU, SEND A COW and HEIFER PROJECT INTERNATIONAL. These institutions have contributed to uplifting the quality of life of women, especially in the informal sector.

REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH AND RIGHTS (Priority Area 2)

Women's health is an essential prerequisite as well as an outcome of sound gender responsive development policies. A National Health Policy and Strategic Plan Frame have been formulated to ensure a good standard of health by all people in Uganda, in order to promote a healthy and productive life for all. The Policy has a number of guiding principles related to gender equality and equity in relation to equitable distribution of health services and mainstreaming of gender considerations in the planning and implementation of all health programs.

With regards to sexual and reproductive rights, the policy provides for:

- Ensuring safe pregnancy and delivery, improved management of complications of pregnancy and childbirth including spontaneous or induced abortion, and reduction in the high rates of maternal and prenatal deaths through timely and effective emergency obstetric care provided at strategic and accessible locations;
- Provision of information and services for appropriate modern family planning methods and reduction in the gap between desired and actual use of family planning services;
- Promotion of sexual and reproductive health and rights of adolescent boys and girls, including sex education in and out of school, life skills against sexually transmitted infections, unwanted pregnancies and unhealthy lifestyles;
- Promotion and support of agencies and organizations that work to reduce domestic violence, female genital mutilation and other forms of violence against women.

A Health Sector Strategic Plan has been formulated within the framework of the health sector policy to provide for technical health programs and support services. All the on going efforts are geared towards increasing women's access to adequate and affordable health services. The interventions are focused on service delivery and involve Government, Development Partners and various CSOs.

Similarly, the Uganda Aids Control Programme is being implemented by various NGOs and line Ministries to focus special attention on the vulnerability of women to HIV / AIDS and related sexually transmitted infections. Implementation through an Information, Education & Communication (IEC) strategy has been carried out to promote behavioral change and reduce vulnerability to the epidemic, expand Voluntary Counseling and Testing

(VCT), Vaccine trials, promote anti-retroviral therapy, and promote safe blood transfusions and prevention of mother to child of HIV transmission.

There are also other efforts geared towards increasing women's access to adequate and affordable health services. Interventions are focused on service delivery by both Government and NGOs.

THE GIRL CHILD AND EDUCATION (Priority Area 3)

Government in 1997 embarked on a programme to achieve Universal Primary Education (UPE) by offering free education to four children in a family. At least two of the children had to be girls. Later the programme was extended to all children in a family. The total pupil enrollment increased from 2.7 million pupils in 1995 to 5.3 million in 1997 and to 7.3 million by 2002. Girls formed 49% (3.6 million) of total primary school enrollment in 2000. As a result, the enrolment of girls in primary schools has grown significantly from 59.9% in 1992 to 76.3% in 2000. For boys, over the same period, net enrolment increased from 64.7% to 76.8%. While there was a gap of about 5% between the girls' and boys' enrolment rates in 1992, that gap was narrowed to about 0.5% by the year 2000. This is a reflection of the success in reducing gender disparity in access to primary education.

As a followup to the African Conference on the empowerment of women through functional literacy and the education of the girl child in 1996, a national strategy for girls' education was developed. The strategy identifies stakeholders and the role they are supposed to play in improving the education and welfare of the girl-child.

Other interventions targeted towards increasing girls / women's participation in education include the Special needs education under UNISE funded by DANIDA which trains teachers to handle girls with special disabilities and equips the training centers which are at the districts; Community mobilization and the Alternative Education Program for out of school youth funded by UNICEF; Complementary Opportunities for Primary Education (COPE) supported by UNICEF and Alternative Basic Education in Karamoja (ABEK), which provides initiatives to address the educational needs of the semi-nomadic population of Karamoja and provides regular assistance to enable children and communities in other conflict affected areas to realize their rights to basic education; The Primary Education Reform and Teacher Development Program funded by the World Bank; and The Support for Uganda Primary Education Reform (SUPER) Program funded by USAID which addresses gender equity issues related to social mobilization and rewarding schools for encouraging girls' enrollment.

LEGAL FRAMEWORK AND DECISION MAKING (Priority Area 4)

This priority area of concern is reported on in the next section on Institutional Mechanisms.

WOMEN AND ARMED CONFLICT (Priority Area 5)

Uganda is a country that has had a turbulent history of armed conflict. Insecurity, conflicts and continuous human rights violations affect 13 out of Uganda's 56 districts. Civil strife prevails in areas where war, cattle rustling and rebel attacks are carried out. With 530,000 internally displaced people, children and women's rights to a family, parental support, education, economic and social service development are undermined. In such situations, women and children face

untold suffering and human rights abuses. Abduction of children and women in the north represents a major violation of the Convention on the Rights of the Child and CEDAW. They constitute the majority of civilian victims during armed conflict as they strive to continue performing their gender and sex roles in very difficult circumstances.

War still continues in the North and North East with the presence of the Lord's Resistance Army operation rebel activity. Documentation of women's experiences of armed conflict in Uganda and particularly Luwero, Soroti, Kaberamaido, Katakwi Kasese, Bundibugyo and Gulu districts has been carried out by NGOs, most prominent being ISIS – WICCE, World Vision and GUSCO.

Because wars are destructive, involve a lot of brutality and hinder development initiatives, steps to address this situation have culminated in adoption of a Childrens Statute and a law establishing the National Childrens Council. Government has sought to use peaceful means to resolve conflicts and political differences through issuing of amnesties rebels fighting against the Government.

Government and stakeholders have also put emphasis on revival of the socio-economic sector and infrastructure which was destroyed during the war in areas where calm has returned. Volunteer Efforts Development Concerns Organization (VEDCO), World Vision, Plan International, SNV, Red Cross, USAID, UNICEF, UNFPA and EDF are some of the stakeholders who have contributed to the revival of the socio-economic sector through empowerment of communities affected by armed conflict.

VIOLENCE AGAINST FEMALES AND PEACE BUILDING (priority Area 5)

Women who are the major contributors in the agricultural sector can neither break out of the vicious cycle of poverty nor contribute effectively to the agricultural modernization process because of violence they face in the households where they live, and in the communities where they carry out their reproductive and productive roles. The causes of violence, combined with poverty, discrimination and subordination magnify the manifestation and magnitude of the problem, hence converging numerous inequities women face in their lives and their development as human beings.

Assistance is provided in terms of Legal Aid services by a number of organizations to help women in such desperate situations. These include among others Uganda Human Rights Commission, Uganda Association of Women Lawyers (FIDA), Action for Development (ACFODE), Legal Aid Project of the Uganda Law Society, National Association of Women's Organizations of Uganda (NAWOU), Foundation for Human Rights Initiative (FHRI), Law & Advocacy for Women in Uganda and Uganda Human Rights Activists.

UNICEF / Government of Uganda Country Programme through the Sara Communication Initiative has developed programs to equip girls with relevant life skills in order to address the factors that hamper the realization of girls rights. Also in a bid to address the disastrous situation, the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development as the national coordinating body in

collaboration with the Commonwealth Secretariat and other stakeholders have developed an integrated approach for combating violence against women.

The challenges encountered during implementation have been enormous and include the following, which cut-across all the priority areas:

- Increasing the levels funding towards institutions and programmes that promote the advancement of women and gender equality, including the National Women's Machinery;
- Comprehensive capacity building for decision-makers, planners and implementers in all sectors and at all levels in order to diffuse responsibility for gender mainstreaming from a single Gender Focal Point Officer;
- Strengthening the existing monitoring and evaluation systems at all levels to be able to systematically gauge progress and identify key areas of concern that hinder women's advancement and gender mainstreaming;
- Reforming individual laws to domesticate and operationalise the international bill of rights for women. The challenge also includes enactment and enforcement of laws that will guarantee respect for women's rights as enshrined in the 1995 constitution;
- Enhancement of women's business growth and opportunities in order to integrate them into the mainstream Ugandan economy and the global market; and
- Linking women to participate and benefit from the electronic age and be able to access opportunities through e-government, e-commerce and e-business.

PART THREE: INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

The national mechanism in place that exists for promotion of gender equality is the Ministry of Gender, Labour & Social Development. The National Gender Policy stipulates the mandate of the Ministry as the National Machinery for the advancement of women, as well as the strategies and entry points they should undertake. Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development's new strategy is to focus on mainstreaming gender in the priority areas for poverty eradication so as to contribute to the overall national development goal of eradicating poverty by the year 2017. The key players in implementing the National Gender Policy are the National Machinery, Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development and various implementing institutions. The role of the National Machinery is mainly:

- To ensure that the national development process is gender responsive. This means that the National machinery plays a coordinating and facilitating role and functions as a catalyst in support of all relevant players for gender sensitive development planning;
- To ensure that all policy formulation and reviews, action plans, and other major national planning exercises apply a gender responsive planning approach;
- To liaise with other actors in identifying and drawing attention to key gender concerns and related needs eg. property ownership, land tenure, credit, legal rights as well as relevant options for addressing them such as constitutional guarantees, law reform and literacy campaigns. The National Machinery together with other actors, plays an advocacy role in the promotion of gender equity;
- To provide technical guidance and back up support to other institutions. This includes promotion of gender analysis and planning skills among all relevant sections of society, in order to build their capacity to identify, analyse and implement gender responsive programme interventions;
- To liaise with relevant agencies and coordinate the collection and dissemination of gender disaggregated data necessary for national development planning;
- To promote social mobilisation for the purpose of creating gender awareness, and thus foster positive attitudinal and behavioural changes necessary for the establishment and maintenance of gender equity. The National Machinery together with other actors, plays an advocacy role in this regard;

In liaison with other key actors, to monitor the progress made towards achieving gender responsive national development targets.

The role of Ministry of Planning and Economic Development is:

- To ensure that all policies, (both macro and micro) are gender responsive;
- To build the capacity of planners and policy analysts to enhance their gender analysis skills in collaboration with NWM;
- To establish benchmark data on the relative positions of women and men in all fields in order to identify priority areas for gender responsive programmes and to allocate resources accordingly;
- To ensure that available resources are directed to gender responsive programmes and institutions; and

- To oversee the monitoring and evaluation of progress in gender responsive policy implementation.

In collaboration with the National Machinery and Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development, other institutions play vital roles in achieving national gender responsive development objectives. These include sectoral Ministries, Local Governments, Civil Society Organisations and Private Sector Organisations including financial institutions.

There is promotion of inter-agency and inter-institutional linkages directed at rectifying gender imbalances.

The Uganda Gender Forum was established as one of the mechanisms for coordination of gender mainstreaming in Uganda. The forum was conceived under the Commonwealth led Gender Management Systems Project, and it brings together gender experts and advocates from government, civil society, development partners and the academia. There has also been the formation of a Gender Network amongst Government institutions and NGOs; and a Donor network on Gender both of which are key advocacy fora for mainstreaming of gender concerns during development of sector plans.

Other institutions that reinforce the National Women's Movement in advancing gender equality and women's empowerment in Uganda include:

- The Department of Women and Gender Studies, Makerere University- an academic training institution within a Government University. The Department has influenced the University to establish a gender mainstreaming unit in the academic registrar's office and it is responsible for mainstreaming gender in the university faculties and institutions;
- The National Women's Council- a statutory organ for the mobilization of women from grassroots to national level;
- The Directorate of Gender and Mass Mobilisation in the Movement Secretariat;
- The Uganda Human Rights Commission- a Constitutional body;
- The Uganda Law Reform Commission- a Constitutional body;
- The Equal Opportunities Commission- a Constitutional body, not yet in place but efforts are underway to establish it;
- Uganda Women Parliamentary Association (UWOPA); and
- The National Association of Women Organisations in Uganda (NAWOU)- an umbrella organization for CSOs involved in advocacy for gender equality and women's empowerment.

A number of laws, policies and plans provide a very conducive climate for the advancement of women and gender institutionalising of the advancement of women and gender mainstreaming. Aspects of the prevailing climate include:

- The 1995 Constitution which safeguards women's rights and asserts the need for gender balance and fair representation;
- The 1997 National Gender Policy, which forms a legal framework and mandate for all stakeholders to address gender imbalances in all sectors. Its overall goal is to mainstream

gender concerns in the national development process to improve the practical and strategic conditions of women. The Policy is currently under-going review;

- The 1999 National Action Plan on Women which aims at achieving equal opportunities and sets priority areas for women's empowerment through prioritized five areas ;
- The 1993 Decentralisation policy and 1997 Local Government Act, which include a number of gender responsive aspects for action at national and Local Government levels. The Local Government Act stipulates minimum requirements for the involvement of women at different levels of government thereby making operational, some of the provisions in the constitution of the country. It has ensured that women's voices are heard and their needs expressed and recognised within the planning processes at each of these levels;
- The 2001 Presidential Election Manifesto which guarantees commitment to the advancement of women through economic empowerment;
- The Poverty Eradication Action Plan and the Plan for Modernization of Agriculture, 1999 both of which recognize the need to involve and target women, widows, female-headed house holds and other disadvantaged groups with social and economic empowerment. They also underscore the need to have women access and effectively utilise productive resources;

Although sectoral ministries, NGOs and Development agencies have been implementing programs and activities that address different critical areas of concern in the Beijing Platform for Action, it has been difficult to coordinate and monitor them at all levels. The Ministry has just commissioned a consultancy to develop monitoring and evaluation guidelines that will be used to measure achievements in conformity with the commitments made in Beijing,

Government through the Ministry of Gender, Labour & Social Development as the national machinery for the advancement of women in collaboration with stakeholder and supporting agencies (Commonwealth Secretariat and others) are in the process of fully establishing a Gender Management System (GMS). A GMS is a set of structures, processes and mechanisms put in place to ensure that gender mainstreaming and the advancement of women is carried out through effective coordination in plans, policies, programs and laws of various sectors. In 2002, the Commonwealth provided technical assistance to consolidate and establish permanent linkages with all actors.

The MGLSD works closely with the Poverty Eradication Working Group and Poverty Monitoring and Analysis Unit in Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development to strengthen monitoring gender concerns at national level. The Ministry also Collaborates closely with the various partners to assist them in ensuring gender mainstreaming at national level. Some institutions involved include Uganda Bureau of Statistics, the Ministry of Public Services, sector ministries, Uganda AIDS Commission, the Local Governments, the Inspectorate of Government and Auditor-General, various academic institutions, Development Partners and CSOs.

Government has developed a Social Development Sector Strategic Investment Plan (SDIP) 2003 - 2008. Some of the Government targets concerning women and gender issues in the SDIP include but are not limited to the following:

- 80% of decision makers at Central and Local Government levels aware and supportive of Social Development issues;

- Conducting Gender and Equity Budgeting analyses in 5 Sector BFPs and 24 District BFPs in 5 years;
- Gender Management System, Gender Equality Forum, and Inter Ministerial Committees in place and functional.

The core indicators, which will measure achievement at sector level that the plan identifies, include:

- Percentage of population living under difficult circumstances by socio-economic group;
- Level of response and participation by communities in development activities;
- Level of awareness on development issues and rights especially among the poor and vulnerable;
- Level of Social Development responsiveness in national and local government programmes;
- Level of gender equality in access to and control over resources;
- Level of employment for the poor and vulnerable
- Percentage of prioritised vulnerable groups covered or reached by social protection initiatives.

PART FOUR: MAIN CHALLENGES AND ACTIONS TO ADDRESS THEM

The Social Development Sector Strategic Investment Plan identifies key concerns for mainstreaming, particularly through a rights-based approach with emphasis on social inclusion and protection of vulnerable groups, as well as promotion of gender equity and equality. This plan defines the strategic interventions for promotion of gender equality and women's empowerment in Uganda. The Social Development Sector, under which the National Machinery for The Advancement of Women is situated, is currently engaging the PEAP revision process to integrate these issues into the PEAP. The objective of these interventions is to improve attention to issues of inequality, social exclusion and access to basic services across all sectors at all levels. Achieving the above will require establishment of an effective mechanism for co-ordination at national and local government levels. The key interventions are:

- i) Development and operationalisation of a mainstreaming strategy;
- ii) Operationalisation of a Gender Management System.

Government recognizes the vital role played by women in nation building. Despite the achievement so far made, the status of women in Uganda is still low. In this regards, therefore Government will endeavor to do the following in the next five years as priority interventions:

1. Strengthening the legal framework to protect women's rights. Under the SDIP, planned activities include support to reforming the family laws in accordance with CEDAW and the Constitution. Additionally, SDIP lays out plans for paralegal education and sensitization of communities about the human and legal rights of women. This is particularly essential because despite Uganda having ratified CEDAW without reservations in 1985 and promulgated a gender sensitive Constitution in 1995, a number of subsidiary laws have not been reformed and are thus still discriminatory against women. Key among them relate to marriage and family life.
2. Strengthening gender-planning capacity through training of planners and implementers as well as carrying out gender analysis of sectoral and local government budgets. This is especially important because the National Gender Policy (1997) implores all sectors to address gender issues in their areas of mandate. This requires planners and implementers to have skills in gender analysis and planning, which is not the case. There is therefore a need to intervene and address this skills gap.
3. Support relevant sectors (through mainstreaming) to address specific constraints faced by females e.g. high drop out rates among girls in top primary classes and post-primary education, high maternal mortality ratio, the high HIV/AIDS prevalence rate especially among women, and the participation of women in market oriented agricultural production. This is in light of the fact that whereas all sectors are expected to pursue gender equality and women's empowerment as required by the National Gender Policy, action does not happen spontaneously, thus the need for the national machinery for the advancement of women to 'push' for issues that have a high impact on gender inequality. Health (HSSP), Education (ESIP) and Agriculture (PMA) are among Uganda's priority programmes defined under the

PEAP and therefore take a large share of the government budget. Focusing on these is likely to yield a greater impact.