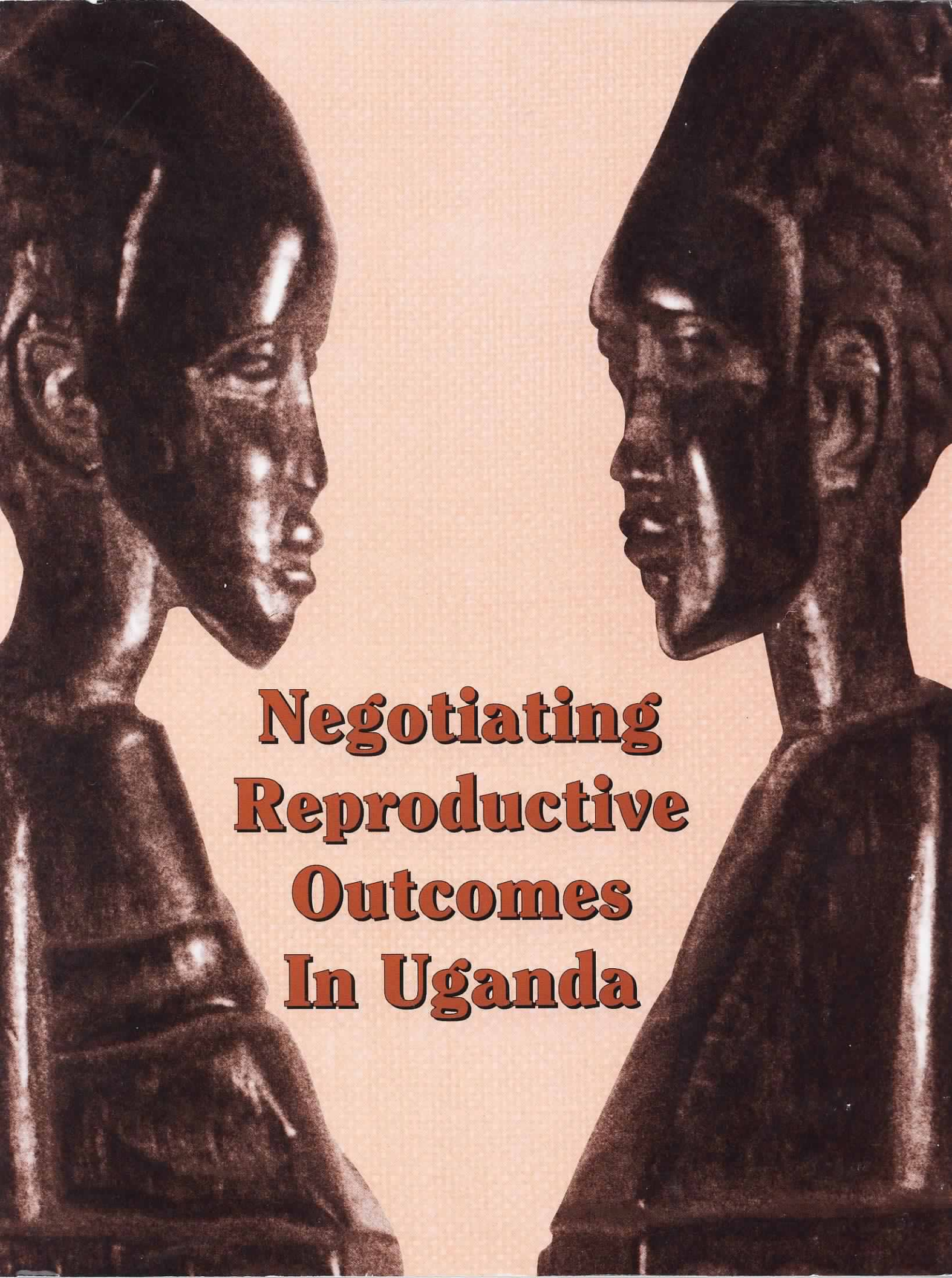

Negotiating Reproductive Outcomes In Uganda

Negotiating Reproductive Outcomes

In Uganda

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PREFACE

The third phase of the Demographic and Health Surveys program (DHS-III) provides for five in-depth, experimental studies. These studies are intended to make substantive contributions to the knowledge of international family planning and health, particularly topics of program or policy interest. Additionally, these studies strive to improve data collection techniques and survey methodology. This report presents findings from one of these in-depth studies, *Negotiating Reproductive Outcomes (NRO)*, which was carried out in Uganda in 1995-96.

The NRO study is timely because it examines many of the program issues discussed at the International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo in 1994. It explicitly considers women's individual reproductive needs, emphasizes the role of male partners in reproductive decisionmaking, and recognizes the link between women's status in the household and reproductive outcomes. The NRO study also documents the social context in which reproductive decisions are made, especially how the threat of HIV/AIDS has influenced the reproductive decisions of Ugandan couples.

The collection of both qualitative (focus group) and quantitative (survey) data by the NRO study has greatly enhanced our understanding of the topics addressed. In this report, results from the qualitative and quantitative phases of the study have been combined to produce a picture of the dynamics of reproductive decisionmaking in Uganda that is expected to be both culturally relevant and statistically valid.

DHS is very pleased to have had the opportunity to collaborate on this study with the Institute of Statistics and Applied Economics (ISAE) at Makerere University in Kampala. In addition to providing an excellent team of Technical Directors—who had direct responsibility for the project—the ISAE was instrumental in ensuring that all work was completed in a timely manner. Throughout the project, DHS enjoyed the full support of USAID/Uganda, which was much appreciated.

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PREFACE

When the Institute of Statistics and Applied Economics (ISAE) was approached by Macro International/DHS to collaborate on research on Negotiating Reproductive Outcomes (NRO), we were pleased to assist for three reasons. First, ISAE had done several research projects in the area of fertility and was interested in extending its focus to the topic of reproductive health. Second, ISAE had collaborated successfully with Macro International (and its predecessor, IRD/Macro Systems Inc.) on the 1988/89 and 1995 Uganda DHS surveys, and we were happy to continue the collaboration. Third, the topic of the NRO study is relevant to the objectives on reproductive health set by the International Conference on Population and Development, objectives to which ISAE subscribes. We therefore feel privileged to have participated in this pioneering research and are happy to see the successful conclusion of the project.

ISAE wishes to thank many organizations and individuals who contributed to the success of this research. First, USAID and Macro International Inc. are thanked for their financial support and excellent collaboration, respectively. Special mention should be made of Dr. Ann Blanc, who was the Macro International coordinator, Drs. Anastasia Gage and Alex Chika Ezeh, who worked as field researchers, and Albert Themme, the data processing expert, for their individual contributions. Drs. Brent Wolff, John Ssekamatte-Ssebuliba, and Stella Neema were wonderful researchers associated with ISAE. The three acted as field researchers, supervised the data processing, and contributed chapters in this report. We are grateful to the various district coordinators, supervisors, moderators, drivers, and interviewers, all of whom worked hard to collect the data, and to the data entry clerks, coders, and supervisors who were responsible for the data management and tabulations. The administrators of Masaka and Lira districts offered great cooperation. Supplementary field transport was provided by the Makerere Faculty of Agriculture and Forestry and the Makerere Institute of Social Research.

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The fieldwork for the study would not have been possible without the cooperation of district and local officials of the Government of Uganda in Lira and Masaka districts. We are grateful for their contribution to the completion of the work. The Uganda National Council of Science and Technology granted permission to carry out the fieldwork. We appreciate the comments on the report from Anne Cross and the production assistance of Sidney Moore, Adrienne Kols, Jonathan Dammons and Kaye Mitchell. Finally, we are indebted to the field staff in both the focus group study and the survey, as well as the data processing team, who were instrumental to the high quality of the data and who persevered under sometimes difficult conditions.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

As family planning and reproductive health programs increasingly emphasize strategies designed to meet the needs of individual women, information on the circumstances under which women make and implement reproductive decisions is crucial. The Negotiating Reproductive Outcomes (NRO) study is an effort to understand the realities of women's everyday life and to identify the obstacles they may face in achieving their reproductive and health goals by investigating the nature of negotiation within sexual unions.

The NRO study was conducted in two districts in Uganda—Masaka and Lira. It was implemented jointly by the Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS) program of Macro International Inc. and the Institute of Statistics and Applied Economics (ISAE) at Makerere University in Kampala, Uganda. The study has two components, a focus group study and a survey of women and men. The survey population includes 1,750 women age 20-44 and 1,356 of their male partners, whether formally married or living together. The survey data are representative of the two districts and were designed to enable estimates to be made for urban and rural areas separately within each district.

The study has three primary objectives:

- To examine how reproductive decisions and their outcomes are negotiated within sexual unions;
- To determine which characteristics of the individual, household, and community influence the negotiation process; and
- To investigate how the position of women influences their ability to negotiate the outcomes they desire.

Social and Economic Context

Information was collected on numerous aspects of the social and economic environment in which reproductive decisions are made. The survey data show substantial variation across many key indicators. The strongest consistent differences appear between the two regions. Lira district lies in the northern part of the country which more recently recovered from the civil conflict that engulfed Uganda beginning in the 1970s. Masaka is situated in the south-central part of Uganda, an area that has benefitted from the legacy of the colonial policy of selective investment in infrastructural development in the south; this area also has been exposed longer to the current phase of civil peace and rapid economic development in Uganda. The language, economy, and social and marriage traditions of the two regions are distinct in many ways. Lira is disadvantaged compared with Masaka in terms of urbanization, wealth, and education. Most notably, education differentials between men and women are quite wide in Lira and almost nonexistent in Masaka. Urban-rural differentials are significant in both districts, thus providing a wide spectrum of socioeconomic contexts across the full sample.

In terms of residence and marriage patterns, most respondents live in the same household with their partner, and few reside with other adult relatives. About 20 percent of men and women in the study are in informal cohabiting unions, while the remainder are in formal marriages. Roughly one-quarter of respondents are in polygynous unions. Reports of polygynous men and women vary widely when asked if they discussed with their partner whether an additional wife was to join the union. Nearly one-third of women in polygynous unions say that their husband consulted them before marrying another wife, but only 4 percent of men say that they discussed the issue with their wives. Bridewealth exchange is more widely observed in Lira than

in Masaka, and it usually involves more valuable items, such as cash or cattle, in the north. There is also considerable disparity between men and women on the question of whether bridewealth has been completely paid. A higher proportion of men (57 percent) than women (49 percent) report that the bridewealth negotiated for the union has been fully paid.

Modes of conflict resolution were explored in the study because they may affect the extent to which men and women are willing to persist in negotiating their desired reproductive outcomes or even to raise a sensitive subject, such as the use of family planning, with their partner. The majority of both men and women reported that they had, at some time, quarreled, yelled, or just kept quiet during serious misunderstandings with their partner. Other actions taken, however, differ greatly between men and women. Men are much more likely than women either to threaten or inflict physical harm on their partner during a misunderstanding; about 40 percent of men reported that they had physically harmed their partner. Men also are more likely than women to report going outside the relationship for sex as a result of misunderstandings with their partner. In contrast, women are more likely than men to report denying their partner sex or leaving their partner as a result of a misunderstanding. Interestingly, most men and women agree that the man generally takes the initiative to restore peace when a misunderstanding occurs, although women are more likely than men to say it depends on the circumstances.

Negotiating Contraceptive Use

Knowledge of contraceptive methods is high in the study population: more than 90 percent of both men and women know of at least one modern method of family planning. Among women in urban Lira, 20 percent are currently using family planning, compared with 8 percent in rural Lira. Contraceptive use is much higher in Masaka, with 45 percent of urban women and 18 percent of rural women currently using a method.

The primary reason given by both women and men for using family planning is to space rather than limit births. Economic considerations also are important reasons for using family planning for both men and women, although health-related reasons, such as the demands of repeated childbirth and difficult deliveries, are next most important for women.

Open disagreement about family planning use is rare, with less than 5 percent of women saying that their spouse knows but disapproves of their use. About 15 percent of women who use family planning do so without their partner's knowledge; this undoubtedly reflects a response to real or anticipated disagreement over family planning. The remainder report that their spouses know about and approve of their contraceptive use. Secret use is more common in Masaka than in Lira. Focus groups frequently raised the issue of secret use and described it as a strategy primarily employed by women who sense their partner might disapprove of family planning. There is a striking lack of agreement between men and women about who first proposed using a contraceptive, with 68 percent of men and 75 percent of women claiming to have been the one to suggest its use.

Among those respondents who never used family planning, less than one-quarter report ever discussing the subject. Of these, the majority say that they initiated the discussion, not their partner. Aside from spouses, friends and neighbors are the persons with whom respondents are most likely to discuss family planning. Among some groups, respondents are more likely to discuss family planning with friends and neighbors than with their spouse.

Negotiating Number and Spacing of Children

Ideal fertility ranges between 5 and 6 children per woman, on average. Women generally desire smaller families and longer birth intervals than men, although these differences are relatively minor and

restricted mainly to urban areas. A minority of respondents, roughly one-third, have ever discussed family size or child spacing with their partner, although most respondents believe they have a clear understanding of their partner's desires even in the absence of direct communication. A higher percentage of respondents, almost one-half, have discussed stopping childbearing with their partner.

Survey evidence shows that partners who do not discuss family size or spacing issues largely rely on indirect forms of verbal communication, such as suggestive remarks or overheard conversations, to learn how their partner feels. Very low percentages report discussing fertility issues with anyone other than their partner. Qualitative findings also point to the common use of a variety of nonverbal negotiating strategies, most notably the secret use of family planning or reducing the frequency of intercourse to avoid pregnancy.

It is clear from NRO data that notions of ideal family size are not fixed in advance but evolve over time, with childbearing experience. Most respondents did not consider an ideal size for their families before the birth of their first child. About half of urban couples and one-third of rural couples considered family size before starting childbearing. Similar percentages had thought about an ideal time to wait until the next birth. About 30 percent of women and men reported that they had changed their attitudes about ideal family size since their current unions began, with most adjusting their ideal family size downward. A strong regional difference was observed, with Masaka residents more likely to have reconsidered ideal family size than their Lira counterparts. The main reasons cited for altering opinions of ideal family size were economic. Women are much more likely than men to report having changed their fertility preferences in response to their partner's desires. Most of those who disagree with their partner about childbearing issues expect their own preferences to prevail.

In general, regional differences in survey and focus group data point to higher demand for fertility in Lira and evidence of a growing demand for fertility limitation in Masaka. In terms of gender, women may tend towards more moderate fertility goals than men, but the differences are neither consistent nor large. Indeed, both men and women believe that their partner wants more children or more closely spaced births than they do. Another consistent finding throughout the study is that women are more likely than men to perceive disagreement over reproductive issues with their partner.

Negotiating Sexual Behavior and Condom Use

A woman's ability to influence sexual relations with her partner—by refusing or initiating sex or condom use—might be viewed as a prerequisite of her ability to negotiate any of the subsequent reproductive health and fertility outcomes. The survey data shows that normative acceptance of a woman's right to refuse sexual intercourse varies widely according to marital status and circumstances. Almost half of the sample does not feel that a married woman's desire to avoid pregnancy warrants her refusal to have sexual relations with her husband. An alarming finding is that fully one in four men and women believe that a woman cannot refuse sex with her partner if she knows that he has AIDS. Under most conditions, women feel that unmarried women have greater rights than married women to refuse to have sexual relations with their partner. Focus group discussions among women reveal how vulnerable they are to a sexual double standard and the threat of polygyny or divorce, all of which undermine their ability to make demands on their male partner.

Gendered sexual norms and socialization clearly shape the nature of sexual negotiation between men and women. Among survey respondents, women find discussing sex more difficult than men, although the majority of both men and women say it is not difficult to discuss sex with one's own partner. Discussion of sex outside the partnership, however, appears to be very rare. More than 90 percent of women and 78 percent of men say that they have never discussed sexual matters with anyone other than their partner. Evidence from the focus group discussions suggests that women are not taught to verbalize their sexual intentions openly and fear being perceived as promiscuous if they do so. In Masaka, there was also much discussion of the

influence of paternal aunts, whose traditional role of sex education for girls in the dominant Baganda culture is eroding under pressures of social change in Uganda today.

Both the survey and focus group data indicate that men have a significant advantage over women in the discussion and resolution of disagreements over sex. About 60 percent of both men and women agree that the man has the most influence in deciding whether or not to have sex, while between 30 and 40 percent say that both partners have equal influence. Women are both more likely to be asked to have sex when they are unwilling to do so and less likely than men to refuse unwanted sex, although there is some disparity between men and women about the occurrence of a disagreement in the first place. As in the case of other reproductive outcomes, women's ability to assert differences of opinion with her partner over sexual matters is limited by cultural norms against refusing sex and the desire to avoid possible adverse consequences, such as being sent away or having the husband withdraw financial support.

NRO data highlight the disjunction between high levels of individual knowledge about AIDS and powerful social constraints that hamper effective preventive measures. Virtually all of the survey respondents have heard of AIDS, and many know of various ways to avoid it, although 7 percent of men and 17 percent of women say that there is no way to avoid AIDS. Knowledge and awareness of AIDS tends to be higher in Masaka than Lira, which reflects, in part, real differences in prevalence between the two districts. Between 45 and 55 percent of men in both districts and of women in Masaka cited condom use as a means of avoiding AIDS, while only 29 percent of women in Lira mentioned condoms. In Lira, approximately 83 percent of both men and women said that they had never used condoms nor discussed using them with their partner. The corresponding figures for men and women in Masaka are much lower, at 62 and 64 percent, respectively. Interestingly, some focus group participants expressed the view that condoms actually promoted the spread of AIDS by eliminating risk and, therefore, encouraging people to have sex. Survey data reveal a strong normative barrier to the use of condoms within marriage: only one-quarter of men and women find it acceptable for a married woman to ask her husband to use a condom, compared with two-thirds who find it acceptable for an unmarried woman to make such a request.

Conclusion and Implications

The extent to which reproductive outcomes are the result of a process that may be characterized as "negotiation" was one of the initial questions of the NRO study. The evidence derived from both the survey data and the focus group discussions suggests that there is a significant element of bargaining, weighing of costs and benefits, and use of bargaining "chips" by individuals within couples. A female focus group participant expressed this notion succinctly when she asked:

> *He will not solve my problems, why should I produce [children] for him?*

In a similar vein, a male participant described the negotiation process as follows:

> *If a man says, "I don't want to produce," the woman may think that he has other women. And if it's the woman who says she does not want to produce, the man as the head of the household may say, "Please pack your things and go."*

Yet, negotiation about reproductive outcomes in these two districts is not necessarily direct or verbal. The study results demonstrate that much of the communication that occurs between couples on topics related to reproduction may be indirect and nonverbal, communicated through behavior (such as devising strategies to avoid sexual intercourse), suggestions, hints, and talking to others. Not surprisingly, then, there also appears to be a good deal of misinterpretation of the partner's intentions and desires. Even when couples do discuss reproductive matters, the disparity between men's and women's reports about who initiated the

discussion and whether they agreed or disagreed suggests that a considerable measure of complexity, misinterpretation, and, to some degree, mistrust, characterizes male-female interaction on these sensitive issues. Mistrust caused by suspicions of male sexual infidelity is particularly noticeable in the female focus group discussions. Also evident is women's acute awareness of their vulnerability to disease and the cultural norms that make it difficult for women to refuse sex.

Thus, the study helps to identify the nature of couples' reproductive demands and the barriers to meeting them in these and similar settings. The data suggest that much of the process of negotiation is restricted to couples and rarely involves others; therefore, it may lie beyond the appropriate realm of policy intervention. Policy, however, can influence the range of choices available to couples and can encourage a balance of both women's and men's interests in the construction of policies and programs. Improving access to reproductive health and family planning services is an obvious point of entry. Even though knowledge of AIDS and family planning methods is generally high, regional and urban-rural differentials suggest that there is still room for improvement, particularly in historically underserved areas, such as Lira district.

Economic concerns primarily generate men's demand for family planning in this setting—especially the costs of raising and attempting to secure a successful future for large numbers of children. Women also are influenced by economic issues, but, in addition, they have a strong desire to regulate childbearing for their own health and that of their children. The fact that some women in this study admit to using contraception secretly and presumably are prepared to risk the possible repercussions of discovery illustrates the strength of their motivation. It seems clear that, in this setting at least, programs predicated on the notion that partners' interests are necessarily parallel and that couples will always act jointly are bound to be ineffective in meeting the needs of individual women and men.

It is also apparent that women's social and economic vulnerability curtails their ability to express and argue for their own interests with their partner, much less negotiate substantial changes in their partner's sexual behavior. Targeting programs to couples rather than individual women or men might help remove the association of contraception with infidelity or lack of commitment to marriage. Improving communication between men and women would certainly be a worthy, albeit very ambitious, goal. The lack of discussion and frequent misinterpretation of partners' desires implies that people often make and implement reproductive decisions on the basis of false or imperfect information. This is especially true for women, who are shown in the study to be more apt to try to accommodate what they perceive to be their partner's desires. Culturally appropriate information and education efforts might encourage intra-partner communication on reproductive health issues, thus raising awareness of options, providing normative support for women to press for their unspoken desires, and lowering the social costs of raising and discussing such issues. The norms that isolate women clearly have institutional roots in the sexual double standard, the practice of polygyny, and traditions that give men greater authority over critical reproductive decisions. While these are unlikely to yield rapidly to information campaigns, knowledge of these barriers is critical to developing effective services.

From a research standpoint, the study results confirm that an exclusive focus on women in the study of reproductive outcomes overlooks the important role played by male partners in influencing the attitudes and behavior of women. In the NRO study, there are many areas in which the picture painted by the responses of women or men alone would be incomplete and, in some cases, misleading. The study therefore points to the need for research designs that reflect more broadly the multiple actors who participate in reproductive decisionmaking.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

As family planning and reproductive health programs increasingly emphasize strategies designed to meet the needs of individual women, information on the circumstances under which women make and implement reproductive decisions is crucial (United Nations, 1995a; United Nations, 1995b; Oppong, 1996). Knowledge of the realities of women's everyday life and identification of the obstacles that they may face in achieving their reproductive and health goals are necessary if programs are to be formulated that are responsive to women's needs for particular types of information or services (Dixon-Mueller, 1993). At the same time, the role and needs of men are recognized as crucial in understanding the dynamics of reproductive decisionmaking. Such information is essential for the monitoring and evaluation of programs that seek to provide user-centered family planning and reproductive health services to couples.

In addition, much of the recent literature that endeavors to explain fertility behavior, especially in sub-Saharan Africa, suggests that an exclusive focus on individual women omits important explanatory factors and may actually be misleading (Bruce et al., 1995; Rutenberg and Watkins, 1995; Watkins, 1993; Madhavan and Bledsoe, 1996; Biddlecom et al., 1996; Africa OR, 1996; Ntozi, 1993). Clearly, women's social interaction with male partners, family members, friends, health professionals, religious leaders, and others influences their attitudes and behavior with respect to fertility and related matters, such as sex and contraceptive use. At a minimum then, an explicit examination of the role of male partners in reproductive decisions is essential to a full understanding of fertility behavior. Thus, for both programmatic and theoretical reasons, studies are needed of the reproductive decisionmaking process and its outcomes for women and men.

Relatively little is known about the processes by which decisions about reproductive matters are made or even whether they may be categorized as "decisions." Standard surveys, such as those conducted under the Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS) and the World Fertility Survey (WFS) programs, have provided a great deal of information about the outcomes of decisions that affect fertility levels in developing countries. For example, DHS survey data provide estimates of contraceptive prevalence, the percentage of women who want more children, ideal family size, and the length of postpartum abstinence. While both partners in a sexual union may express the same fertility preferences, however, it has not been possible with standard DHS data to determine whether these preferences were negotiated, whether they changed over time, what factors influenced them, which partner's preferences carried the greatest weight, and to what extent other people influenced the decision.

Even less is known about how the status of women and gender inequality within sexual unions affect the ability of women to negotiate the reproductive outcomes they desire, although there is some recent work on this topic (Gage and Njogu, 1994; Greenhalgh, 1992; Renne and Bankole, 1996). Women's ability to control their own sexual activity is central to control over reproduction and the transmission of disease (Ulin, 1992; WHO, 1993). Sexuality, especially female sexual activity, is governed by a complex set of social norms. These norms not only define the boundaries of acceptable and negotiable behavior, they may also constrain individual action with respect to social activity. In settings where HIV/AIDS is prevalent, these norms and their relationship to reproduction—and, particularly, to the use of condoms—are complex and evolving (Balmer et al., 1995; Orubuloye, et al., 1996; Havanon, 1996). Explicit consideration of gender inequality is thus an important component of the study of reproductive outcomes.

The Negotiating Reproductive Outcomes (NRO) study is an effort to fill in these gaps in existing knowledge by investigating the nature of negotiation within sexual unions. The NRO study was conducted in two districts in Uganda: Masaka and Lira. Sub-Saharan Africa was chosen as the site for the study for several reasons. First, although fertility rates are higher in sub-Saharan Africa than in any other major region of the world, recent data suggest that several countries have begun the transition toward lower fertility (Cohen, 1993). Therefore, sub-Saharan Africa provides a unique opportunity to study the manner in which fertility declines take place and the factors that influence changing reproductive preferences and behavior. Second, it has been suggested that men in sub-Saharan Africa may present an obstacle to the adoption of family planning and the decline of fertility. Thus, understanding the role of men in fertility decisions is particularly important in this setting. Third, the unique features of marriage and family structure in the region present a challenging environment for the design and delivery of family planning services. Studies show that spouses do not always live together and that, due to the potentially polygynous nature of marriage in the region, husbands can achieve their fertility desires by acquiring additional wives (Blanc and Gage, 1995). In this setting, it is important to understand how the type of union (whether monogamous or polygynous, formal or informal) can affect women's ability to negotiate their fertility preferences (Karanja, 1994; Locoh, 1994; Meekers and Calvès, 1996). Finally, the high prevalence of the HIV virus in the region raises concerns about the ability of women to protect themselves from exposure to the virus, especially in the absence of a prevention method that is under their control. Underlying gender-related power inequalities also may influence the extent to which women are able to change their partner's sexual behavior or to enforce the use of condoms (Ulin et al., 1995).

This report presents an overview of the design, implementation, and major descriptive results of the NRO study. The report incorporates both qualitative information from a focus group study and quantitative results from a structured survey. Further in-depth analyses of the data are planned.

1.2 Objectives of the Study

The specific objectives of the Negotiating Reproductive Outcomes project are:

- To examine how reproductive decisions and their outcomes are negotiated within sexual unions,
- To determine the major individual, household, and community characteristics that influence the negotiation process, and
- To investigate how the position of women influences their ability to negotiate the outcomes they desire.

1.3 Study Design and Organization

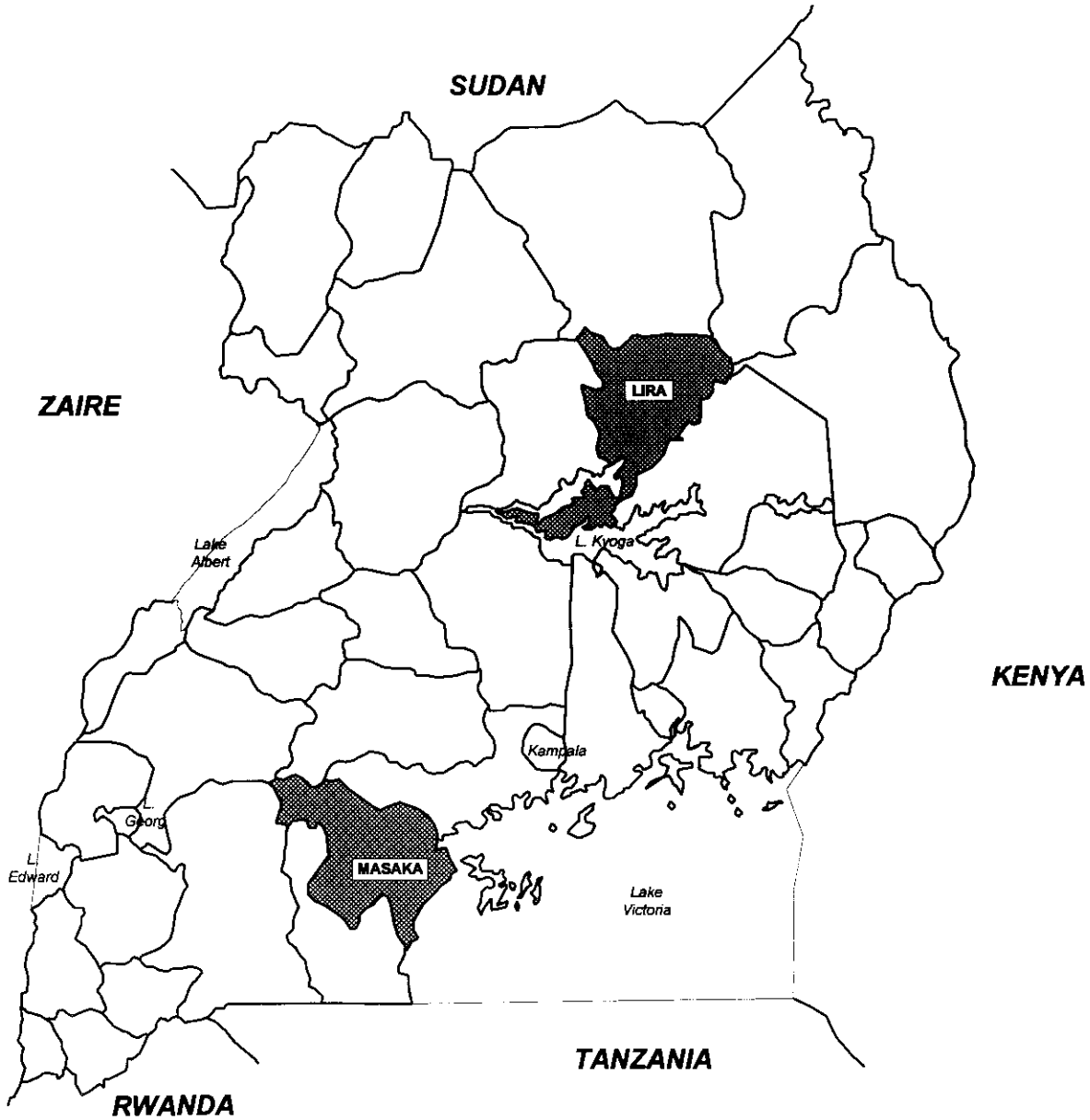
The NRO study was carried out jointly by the Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS) program of Macro International Inc. and the Institute of Statistics and Applied Economics (ISAE) at Makerere University in Kampala, Uganda. Three Technical Directors were appointed by ISAE to work on the project in collaboration with three DHS staff members. Approval to conduct the study was obtained from the Uganda National Council of Science and Technology. Funding for the study was provided by the U.S. Agency for International Development through the DHS project. Under the third phase of the DHS project (DHS-III), provision was made for five experimental, in-depth studies. These studies are intended to advance substantive knowledge on specific topics of program or policy interest or to improve the methodology for data collection. The NRO study has been carried out as one of these in-depth studies.

The NRO study was implemented in two phases: a focus group study and a survey. Project activities began in January 1995. (See Table 1.1 for a timetable of activities.) Available funding did not permit a national-level study, so two districts were chosen, Masaka and Lira (see Figure 1.1). Masaka district is located in the Central region of Uganda and is populated primarily by the Baganda ethnic group. Its population is about 90 percent rural. Coffee and *matooke* (bananas) are the main cash crops, while food crops include mainly *matooke,* maize, peas, beans, cassava and sweet potatoes. Surplus food crops also are sold for cash. The district capital, Masaka Town, is accessible by road in less than an hour from most areas in the district (MRC/ODA/UVRI, 1995). Approximately 59 percent of adult women are literate. In 1991, the total fertility rate was estimated at 7.5 births per woman and the infant mortality rate at 107 per 1,000 live births. Masaka district has one of the highest rates of AIDS cases in Uganda at 8.657 per thousand population (Barton and Wamai, 1994), and the prevalence of HIV infection is much higher.

Table 1.1 Timetable of activities

Date	Activity
1995	
January-February	Work on draft questionnaire Preparation for focus groups
March	Conduct focus groups Transcription of transcripts
April	Translation of transcripts
May-June	Preliminary analysis of focus group data Finalize pretest questionnaire
July	Pretest
August	Questionnaires revised and printed
September	Interviewer training and field practice
October-December	Survey fieldwork Data entry and editing Develop analysis plan
1996	
January-February	Survey fieldwork Data entry and editing
March	Data entry and editing
April	Report tabulations produced
June	Preliminary report
July	Draft of survey report
December	Final survey report published

Figure 1.1 Map of Uganda Showing NRO Study Sites



Lira district, in the Northern region, is inhabited predominantly by the Langi people. About 95 percent of the population resides in rural areas where subsistence agriculture is the primary activity. The main food crops are cassava, millet, sorghum, maize, plantain, *simsim* (sesame), and groundnuts. Cattle were once the major source of wealth in the district and were used to plough the fields. During the 1980s, cattle rustling and civil disturbances depleted the cattle population, and few households now own cattle. Now that cultivation is done primarily with hand hoes, the average size of a family field has shrunk. Although both men and women perform agricultural work, women provide the bulk of agricultural labor (Miriam and Awor, 1995). The female literacy rate in Lira is 32 percent. In 1991, the total fertility rate was estimated at 6.6 and the infant mortality rate at 127. Lira has a much lower rate of AIDS prevalence than Masaka at 1.453 cases per thousand population (Barton and Wamai, 1994).

1.4 Focus Group Study

The NRO focus group study served two purposes. First, the information gathered was used to develop a survey questionnaire to be fielded in the second phase of the project. Since relatively little was known about the subject of the study, this first phase was deemed necessary to construct appropriate survey questions. Second, the focus group results were used to help interpret the survey data and to provide information complementing the survey data.

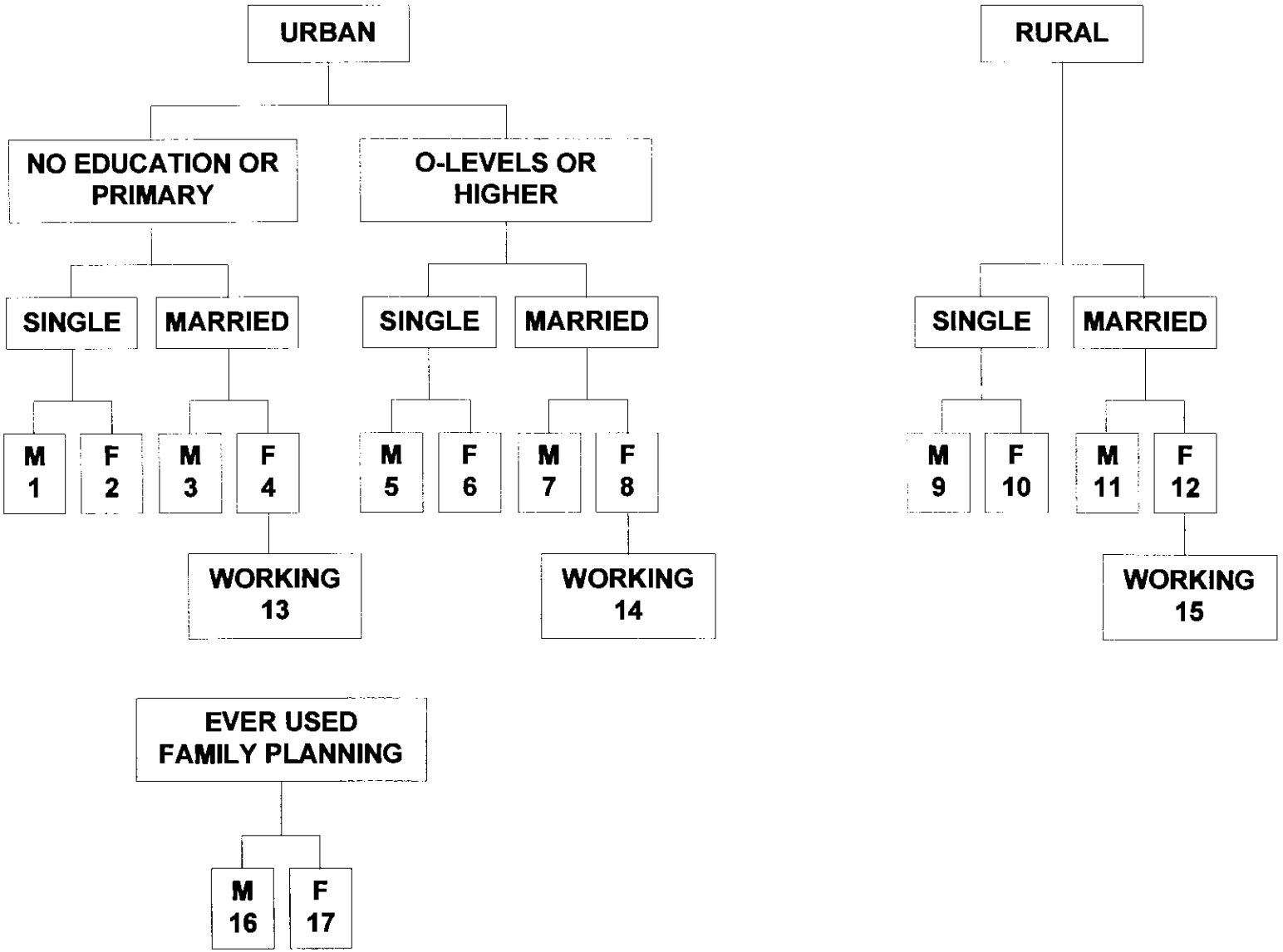
The study was designed to include men and women with a wide range of background characteristics (Figure 1.2). Specifically, the focus groups were stratified by urban-rural residence, level of education (in urban areas only), marital status, and sex. In addition, the design called for three separate discussions with married working women and two with ever-users of contraception. In Lira district, one of the planned focus groups was not held and one group—a mixed-sex group—was added. Thus, a total of 34 focus groups were conducted.

The focus group discussion guide, which is reprinted on page 7, included questions on what men and women considered to be the best family size and how couples decided on the number of children to have. Participants were also asked what couples could do if they wished to delay or avoid having children and what usually happened if they disagreed on the subject. Finally, the moderators inquired about how people learn about proper sexual behavior for men and women, whether couples commonly disagree about sex, and how such disagreements are resolved.

The focus group discussions were led by four moderators (two female and two male) who were assisted by four note takers (two female and two male). All of the moderators had prior focus group experience and were fluent in the local languages—Luganda in Masaka district and Lango (Luo) in Lira district. The moderators and note takers received three days of training that included lectures, mock focus groups, and a pretest.

Data collection took 12 days, from late February to early March 1995. The first few days at each site were devoted to meeting with local government officials and enlisting their aid in mobilizing participants. The focus group discussions were then conducted over the course of the next several days. One moderator and one note taker, of the same sex as the participants, were present at each session. Most sessions were held in the home of one of the participants or in a convenient outdoor location. On average, the discussions lasted 1 to 2 hours. All were tape recorded, and detailed notes were taken in English. The recordings were transcribed and then translated into English. The transcripts were coded and analyzed using The Ethnograph (v4.0) software.

Figure 1.2 NRO Focus Group Study Design



Negotiating Reproductive Outcomes Study

Focus Group Discussion Guide

1. In this area, what do men and women consider to be the best size of family? Why?

(PROBE: Do men and women consider different sizes to be best? Do they care about the number of boys and girls?)

2. How do couples usually decide about the number of children they have?

(PROBE: Do couples discuss this? What sorts of things do they consider? Do they discuss this with other people? Who?)

3. Are there things men and women do to affect when they will have children without talking about it directly?

4. If a man and women want to delay or stop having children, what can they do?

(PROBE: If family mentioned: What is family planning? What does it mean? If family planning not mentioned: Have you heard about family planning? What does it mean?)

5. If a man and woman disagree about whether to delay or stop having children, what will usually happen?

(PROBE: Does this depend on: how the marriage was arranged, the size of bridewealth payment, the number of wives, how much money the man has, how much money the woman has, whether they know about family planning, whether family planning is available in their area?)

6. In this area, how do people learn about sex and proper sexual behavior for men and women?

(PROBE: Is it considered proper for a woman to initiate sex? How would a woman do this?)

7. Is it common for couples to disagree about sex? What are the most common causes of disagreement? How will the disagreement be resolved?

(PROBE: Does this depend on: how the marriage was arranged, the size of bridewealth payment, the number of wives, how much money the man has, how much money the woman has?)

Has AIDS affected the attitudes of men and women toward sex?

Are there times when family members or other people enter to help resolve conflict between couples about sex? When would this happen?)

1.5 Survey of Women and Men

Survey Design

The NRO survey is comprised of two samples: (1) women age 20-44 who were married, living together with a partner, or in a stable sexual relationship for at least six months, and (2) men who were married to or living with successfully interviewed women. Female respondents were identified through use of a household questionnaire. In order to be eligible for the individual interview, a woman had to pass two eligibility criteria: she had to be a regular resident of the household, and she had to be between 20 and 44 years of age. Eligible women were asked a series of introductory questions about marital status, and those who reported themselves to be "married" were automatically considered eligible to complete the full questionnaire. Unmarried women completed the full questionnaire only if they reported being in a stable, sexual relationship for at least six months. The rationale for the six-month cutoff was that nonmarital, short-term relationships would be less likely to involve negotiation about the long-term issues of family formation, family planning, and the like. Teenagers were excluded for the same reason. Even in a population where many marry young, it was thought that a teenage sample would yield a sizeable proportion of short-term, noncommitted relationships.

Different eligibility criteria were set for men. They were required to be partners of eligible women, either formally married or living together. There were no age limits, and residence criteria depended on marital status. Any married or unmarried partner living in the same household with an eligible woman was considered eligible to answer the male questionnaire. Husbands living in a different residence also were considered eligible, and interviews were attempted if the husband could be located within reasonable proximity to the survey area. If the woman was not married, however, partners living elsewhere were ruled ineligible (to protect the confidentiality of both partners), and no attempts were made to trace them. Eligible men with multiple wives living in the same household completed separate questionnaires for each wife. In general, locating men for interviews—whether or not they were household residents—proved to be difficult and time-consuming; it required multiple visits, often at irregular times in the early morning or late evening.

First, female respondents were interviewed by female interviewers. Then, a male interviewer attempted to locate and interview the husband or partner.

Sample Design

The NRO sample was designed to provide separate estimates for each district as well as for urban and rural areas within each district. Since both districts are predominantly rural, it was necessary to oversample urban areas in order to obtain a sufficient number of urban respondents. When urban and rural samples are combined, weights are used to accommodate the oversampling of urban areas. In addition, the census definition of urban areas in Lira district was modified in order to improve its comparability with the definition used in Masaka and to avoid oversaturation of the one "official" urban area in Lira. Appendix A describes this modification in detail.

The sample was selected in two stages. In the first stage, census enumeration areas (EAs) were selected with probability proportional to size; in the second stage, households were systematically selected within each EA. Forty EAs were selected in each district, for a total of 80 EAs.[1] Of these, 23 were EAs that had been enumerated for the 1995 Uganda Demographic and Health Survey (UDHS). These were chosen so that the household listings that had been prepared for the UDHS could be re-used by the NRO teams. In

[1] Due to logistical problems in the field, one selected EA in each district was not visited by the survey teams.

the remaining 57 EAs, the interview teams constructed a household listing through various means, most commonly by using the list kept by the local government official (RC1), and then selecting households systematically.

Appendix A gives a full description of the sample design.

Questionnaire Development and Pretest

Based on the results of the focus group study and on an examination of the relevant demographic and anthropological literature, three questionnaires were developed: a household questionnaire, a women's questionnaire, and a men's questionnaire. The men's and women's questionnaires are alike, with minor exceptions. The full questionnaires, with commentary, are presented in Appendix B.

The questionnaires were originally written in English, then translated into Luganda and Lango by staff from the Department of Languages at Makerere University. A pretest of the survey instruments was conducted in July 1995. Eight interviewers (4 men and 4 women) received approximately one week of training to administer the questionnaires. The training included classroom instruction and practice interviews. A day of field practice was conducted in two areas of Kampala where residents are mainly from the ethnic groups predominating in Lira and Masaka districts.

The pretest was conducted at two sites, Mukono (a Luganda speaking area) and Lira. At each site, one urban and one rural area was selected. Sixty couples were interviewed: 20 in Mukono and 40 in Lira. The results of the pretest were used to modify the skip patterns, translations, and precoded responses in the questionnaires.

Fieldwork

Training of interviewers for the main survey started in September 1995 and lasted 10 days. Following the training period, six field teams were formed, each comprised of four interviewers (two male and two female) and one supervisor. In addition, a field coordinator was appointed for each district. The field coordinators served as the main liaisons between the field teams and the project office in Kampala. Three teams worked in each district. The fieldwork began in mid-October 1995 and ended in February 1996.

Data Processing

Data entry began two weeks after the commencement of fieldwork. The survey data were entered on three microcomputers in the project office in Kampala. All data processing for the survey was done with ISSA (Integrated System for Survey Analysis). Initial editing and consistency checking of the questionnaires was performed in the field by the team supervisors. Some further coding and editing was carried out in the project office prior to data entry. The data entry program detects range, skip, and many consistency errors at the data entry stage. In addition, one hundred percent of the questionnaires were reentered for verification. Finally, secondary editing was performed using a program that carries out complex internal consistency checks and prints out a list of errors, which are then checked against the questionnaires and corrected where possible.

Sample Implementation

A total of 3,869 households were selected for interview (Table 1.2). Of these, 3,710 were found. The remainder were not valid households either because the dwelling was vacant or destroyed or because the

Table 1.2 Unweighted number of households, eligible women, and male partners and response rates, by district, NRO 1995-96

Result	District		Total
	Lira	Masaka	
Household interviews			
Households selected	1,485	2,384	3,869
Households found	1,417	2,293	3,710
Households interviewed	1,362	2,248	3,610
Household response rate	96.1	98.0	97.3
Individual women's interviews			
Eligible women	1,341	1,043	2,384
Eligible women terminated	321	164	485
Eligible women not terminated	1,020	879	1,899
Eligible women interviewed	940	810	1,750
Married/living together	884	776	1,660
Stable sexual relationship	56	34	90
Eligible woman response rate	92.2	92.2	92.2
Individual men's interviews			
Eligible male partners	884	776	1,660
Eligible male partners interviewed	694	662	1,356
Eligible male partner response rate	78.5	85.3	81.7

household was absent for an extended period or could not be located. Approximately 97 percent of the contacted households (3,610 households) were successfully interviewed.

The household questionnaires identified 2,384 eligible women. Interviews with 485 of these women were terminated after the initial questions on marital status, however, because they did not meet the study criteria for marital status or long-term relationship. Interviews were completed with 1,750 women who were married, living together with a partner, or in a stable sexual relationship, for a response rate of 92 percent. Among the 1,750 women with complete interviews, there were 1,660 male partners who were eligible for interview. Of these, 1,356 were successfully interviewed, for a male partner response rate of 82 percent.[2]

Report Population

The survey results presented here are based on the 1,660 women who reported themselves to be married or living with a partner and the 1,356 male partners who were successfully interviewed. Ninety women in stable sexual relationships, but who were not married or living with their partners, are excluded. In addition, 69 men with multiple female partners were interviewed more than once and therefore are included in the tables more than once. Thus, strictly speaking, the tables include 1,287 individual men who are the partners of 1,356 women and 304 women whose partners were not interviewed. Survey results are based on data that are weighted to take account of the oversampling of urban areas[3] and, for overall totals, the relative size of the two districts. Both weighted and unweighted numbers of cases are included in all tables.

[2] Among the 1,660 male partners, 207 were identified as nonresident. Of these, 59 were successfully interviewed.

[3] In Lira, the definition of "urban" and "rural" areas was modified from that used in the census and the Uganda DHS. The definition of urban areas was expanded to include trading centers outside of Lira town. For details, see Appendix A.

CHAPTER 2

THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONTEXT

This chapter describes the economic and social context for reproductive decisions in Masaka and Lira. The first section reports on background characteristics of survey respondents that are deemed to be important in influencing reproductive outcomes, such as age, education, religion, ethnicity, and marital status. The second section covers respondents' living arrangements and housing environment. Also presented in this chapter are aspects of marriage that may bear on relations between sexual partners, fertility decisionmaking, and reproduction. These include the number of times married, polygyny, age at marriage, bridewealth, and family influence over partner choice. Subsequent sections deal with reproduction, men's and women's economic resources, household decisionmaking, and conflict resolution.

2.1 Characteristics of Respondents

Table 2.1 presents selected characteristics of the survey respondents by sex, rural-urban residence, and district. In both rural and urban areas, the age distribution of men is skewed toward older ages. The proportion of the total sample who are 40 years and older is at least four times higher among men than women. This reflects both the age gap between partners and the absence of an upper age limit for male partners included in the sample. Urban-rural differentials in the male age distribution are not marked in Lira, but, in Masaka, rural men tend to be slightly older than urban men. Thirty-six percent of men in rural Masaka are 40 years and older, compared with 22 percent in urban Masaka. While the age distribution of all women is skewed toward younger ages, there are urban-rural differentials in both districts. In Lira, a higher proportion of rural than urban women are younger than age 25; in Masaka, the opposite pattern is observed.

Overall, 14 percent of male partners have never been to school, 63 percent have primary schooling, 13 percent have lower secondary schooling, and 10 percent have upper secondary or higher schooling. There are substantial differences in educational levels between men and women and between rural and urban areas. Women are at a great educational disadvantage in both absolute and relative terms, especially in Lira. In urban Lira, for example, the proportion of women with no schooling is 23 percentage points higher than the proportion of men with no schooling. In the aggregate, more than half of urban men have some secondary or higher levels of schooling compared with 16 percent of rural men. For women, the corresponding figures are 36 percent in urban and 6 percent in rural areas.

Over half of the respondents are Roman Catholic, and about one-third are Protestant. There are relatively few Muslims or people with no religion. Muslims comprise one-tenth of the total sample, but there are sharp regional differences in their prevalence. Less than 5 percent of the Lira sample are Muslims compared with more than 20 percent of the urban Masaka sample. The proportion of respondents who are Muslim is lower in rural than urban Masaka.

As indicated in Table 2.1, Lira and urban Masaka are ethnically homogeneous. The Langi comprise about 90 percent of the Lira sample, while at least 75 percent of the sample in urban Masaka is Baganda. Rural Masaka is more ethnically diverse. Although more than half of the respondents in rural Masaka are Baganda, the Banyankole, Banyarwanda, and other groups each account for at least 10 percent of respondents.

Table 2.1 Percent distribution of respondents by selected background characteristics according to sex, urban-rural residence, and district, NRO 1995-96

Background characteristic	Lira				Masaka				Total					
	Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Total	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Age														
< 20	1.2	NA	0.0	NA	0.0	NA	0.0	NA	0.8	NA	0.0	NA	0.1	NA
20-24	3.3	24.2	8.7	33.8	4.7	38.1	3.4	28.3	3.8	29.4	5.6	30.5	5.3	30.3
25-29	20.0	34.4	20.1	28.2	27.2	24.8	16.4	26.2	22.8	30.8	17.9	27.0	18.8	27.7
30-34	23.6	20.1	24.5	15.6	23.3	21.5	23.1	22.1	23.5	20.6	23.7	19.5	23.7	19.7
35-39	21.8	16.6	14.9	15.7	23.3	10.0	21.2	15.6	22.4	14.1	18.6	15.7	19.2	15.4
40-44	9.2	4.6	13.0	6.7	7.9	5.7	12.8	7.8	8.7	5.0	12.9	7.4	12.2	7.0
45-54	15.4	NA	14.9	NA	8.6	NA	13.1	NA	12.8	NA	13.8	NA	13.7	NA
55+	5.4	NA	3.4	NA	5.0	NA	10.0	NA	5.3	NA	7.3	NA	6.9	NA
Level of education														
None	1.7	24.6	12.5	49.4	4.1	8.2	18.7	23.3	2.6	18.5	16.2	33.8	13.9	31.2
Primary	33.1	42.6	68.7	48.1	56.4	49.8	66.6	69.1	42.1	45.2	67.5	60.6	63.2	58.0
Lower secondary	27.1	23.1	12.6	1.8	18.2	30.7	10.4	7.4	23.7	25.9	11.3	5.1	13.4	8.7
Upper secondary	20.7	6.5	4.9	0.7	8.6	5.3	3.5	0.2	16.0	6.1	4.1	0.4	6.1	1.4
Higher	17.4	3.2	1.3	0.0	12.8	6.0	0.8	0.0	15.6	4.3	1.0	0.0	3.5	0.7
Religion														
Roman Catholic	50.7	57.3	51.1	52.3	56.0	56.4	59.0	60.4	52.8	56.9	55.8	57.1	55.3	57.1
Protestant	43.8	37.6	47.6	46.4	20.3	18.8	24.3	22.3	34.7	30.6	33.9	32.0	34.0	31.8
Muslim	5.0	4.7	0.7	0.5	23.5	23.7	15.0	16.3	12.1	11.8	9.1	9.9	9.6	10.2
Traditional	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other	0.2	0.4	0.0	0.7	0.2	0.7	1.4	1.0	0.2	0.5	0.8	0.9	0.7	0.8
None	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.4	0.0	0.3	0.0
Ethnicity														
Baganda	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.2	83.0	73.6	59.2	52.2	32.5	27.5	34.9	31.2	34.5	30.6
Langi	88.3	88.0	94.5	91.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	54.2	55.1	38.9	36.8	41.4	40.0
Banyankole	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.0	5.3	11.8	16.4	20.6	2.0	4.8	9.6	12.3	8.4	11.0
Banyarwanda	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.3	4.2	11.7	14.1	0.9	1.6	6.9	8.4	5.9	7.2
Other	11.0	11.4	5.5	8.6	9.4	10.3	12.7	13.2	10.4	11.0	9.8	11.3	9.9	11.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number (weighted)	140	177	464	556	88	106	664	821	229	283	1,127	1,377	1,356	1,660
Number (unweighted)	303	372	359	404	405	543	289	341	708	915	648	745	1,356	1,660

NA = Not applicable

2.2 Living Arrangements and Socioeconomic Status

Table 2.2 shows the distribution of respondents by co-residence with their partners and adult relatives. Couples do not necessarily live together in the same household, although this is much more likely to be the case for women than for men. This gender difference results largely from the selection criteria for male partners. As described in Chapter 1, women were interviewed first and then their husband or partner was identified for the male interview. Although every effort was made to locate nonresident husbands, the sample of males is biased towards those who reside with their wife or partner. Hence, in the total sample, only 2 percent of male respondents do not reside with their partner compared with 10 percent of female respondents.

Table 2.2 Percent distribution of respondents by status of residence with partners and percentage of respondents living with parents and other adult relatives, according to sex, urban-rural residence, and district, NRO 1995-96

Residence status	Lira				Masaka				Total					
	Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Total	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Residence with partner														
Same household	99.2	89.7	99.1	95.8	93.4	79.5	97.2	87.0	96.9	85.9	98.0	90.5	97.8	89.7
Same village/town	0.0	1.5	0.3	0.9	3.0	2.5	1.9	4.0	1.2	1.8	1.3	2.7	1.2	2.6
Same district	0.0	3.6	0.0	1.2	2.6	7.9	0.4	4.9	1.0	5.2	0.2	3.4	0.3	3.7
Elsewhere	0.2	5.2	0.3	2.2	1.1	10.1	0.3	4.1	0.6	7.1	0.3	3.3	0.3	4.0
Missing data	0.6	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.3	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Residence with:														
Both parents	1.6	0.3	0.8	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.3
Mother only	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.5	0.4	0.9	0.9	0.3	0.2	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.5
Father only	0.3	0.4	0.4	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.6	0.4	0.6
Grandparents	1.3	1.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.6	0.8	0.7	0.0	0.4	0.2	0.4
Adult children	0.5	0.4	0.9	1.0	2.1	2.0	3.1	2.9	1.1	1.0	2.2	2.2	2.0	2.0
Siblings	14.9	16.5	9.0	8.1	5.8	7.2	6.3	6.5	11.4	13.0	7.4	7.1	8.1	8.1
Co-wives	1.3	1.1	0.8	0.7	0.2	0.3	3.6	3.8	0.9	0.8	2.4	2.5	2.2	2.2
Other relatives	9.3	10.0	4.9	5.0	4.7	5.4	5.8	6.5	7.5	8.3	5.4	5.9	5.8	6.3
No relative	78.4	76.2	86.2	86.7	86.7	85.9	84.0	83.5	81.6	79.8	84.9	84.8	84.3	83.9
Number (weighted)	140	177	464	556	88	106	664	821	229	283	1,127	1,377	1,356	1,660
Number (unweighted)	303	372	359	404	405	543	289	341	708	915	648	745	1,356	1,660

The overwhelming majority of men and women (84 percent) do not reside with adult relatives, least of all with their parents. Only 1 percent of respondents currently live with either their mothers or fathers. In Masaka, the proportion of respondents who reside with relatives does not differ much between urban and rural areas. In Lira, however, the households of urban respondents are more likely than those of rural respondents to include other adult family members. Whereas 22 percent of urban Lira men report such arrangements, only 14 percent of rural Lira men report adult relatives living in the household. In most cases, these relatives are siblings, especially in urban areas. Urban-rural differentials in co-residence with siblings are substantial in Lira, where 15 to 16 percent of urban males and females are living with a sibling compared with 8 to 9 percent of rural respondents. Co-residence with siblings is least commonly reported by urban males in Masaka. Grandparents, parents, and adult children are almost never present in respondents' households in both Lira and Masaka.

In order to assess the socioeconomic conditions under which respondents live, specific questions were asked about the household environment and possessions owned by individual respondents. Table 2.3 displays this information by sex, region, and urban-rural residence. Less than 6 percent of respondents' households have electricity, 52 percent have a radio, 3 percent have a television, and less than 1 percent have a refrigerator. Approximately 15 percent of respondents' households own cattle, 32 percent own goats, and 85 percent own land.

There are large urban-rural variations in household amenities and individual possessions. While electricity is available in about one-third of urban respondents' households in the total sample, less than 1 percent of rural respondents' households have electricity. Urban-rural differentials in the availability of electricity are much wider in Masaka than in Lira. More than half of urban Masaka respondents live in households with electricity compared with about 1 percent of their rural counterparts. Similar rural-urban

Table 2.3 Percentage of respondents who live in households with selected amenities and possessions, whose household members own selected possessions, and who personally own selected possessions, by sex, urban-rural residence, and district, NRO 1995-96

Amenities and possessions	Lira				Masaka				Total					
	Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Total	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Household has:														
Electricity	13.8	14.9	0.0	0.0	55.9	53.5	1.1	0.9	30.1	29.3	0.6	0.5	5.6	5.4
Radio	58.6	58.4	22.6	23.2	85.2	83.9	65.2	66.3	68.9	67.9	47.7	48.9	51.3	52.2
Television	3.4	3.2	0.0	0.0	32.8	32.1	1.1	1.9	14.8	14.0	0.6	1.1	3.0	3.3
Refrigerator	2.9	2.8	0.0	0.0	8.7	7.2	0.2	0.2	5.1	4.4	0.1	0.1	1.0	0.8
Cattle	26.7	21.1	12.1	7.6	17.7	14.9	17.1	15.4	23.2	18.8	15.0	12.3	16.4	13.4
Goats	47.2	42.1	42.2	33.5	11.3	10.4	24.6	30.3	33.3	30.3	31.8	31.6	32.1	31.4
Land	84.3	75.6	94.1	88.0	64.4	66.1	85.0	87.8	76.6	72.0	88.8	87.9	86.7	85.2
Household member owns:														
House	68.3	65.8	71.5	71.5	50.6	51.6	92.0	91.7	61.5	60.5	83.5	83.5	79.8	79.6
Bicycle	57.9	57.6	34.7	34.8	46.1	47.8	65.5	65.5	53.3	54.0	52.8	53.1	52.9	53.3
Car/motorcycle	5.5	5.8	0.2	0.2	13.4	15.9	5.0	5.4	8.6	9.6	3.0	3.3	3.9	4.4
Respondent owns:														
House	92.4	11.3	97.7	5.8	55.1	9.4	95.7	11.5	78.0	10.6	96.5	9.2	93.4	9.5
Bicycle	77.0	9.5	52.2	1.8	51.7	6.5	68.7	4.4	67.2	8.4	61.9	3.4	62.8	4.2
Car/motorcycle	6.5	1.2	0.2	0.0	15.8	0.3	6.3	0.6	10.1	0.8	3.8	0.3	4.9	0.4
Radio	3.5	0.6	0.0	0.0	13.2	0.1	0.7	0.0	7.2	0.4	0.4	0.0	1.6	0.1
Number (weighted)	140	177	464	556	88	106	664	821	229	283	1,127	1,377	1,356	1,660
Number (unweighted)	303	372	359	404	405	543	289	341	708	915	648	745	1,356	1,660

variations are seen in the possession of a radio. Respondents' households in urban Masaka have the highest level of radio ownership (85 percent), while those in rural Lira have the lowest level (23 percent).

Television ownership is not common, especially in Lira where less than 4 percent of urban respondents have a television at home compared with about a third of respondents in urban Masaka. Ownership of a refrigerator also is limited, reaching a high of only 9 percent among males in urban Masaka. About one-quarter of respondents' households in urban Lira own cattle compared with fewer than 15 percent in rural Lira. This rural-urban difference is somewhat surprising, but it most likely reflects the greater overall wealth of urban households. In both urban and rural Masaka, between 15 and 18 percent of respondents live in households with cattle. Overall, a larger proportion of households own goats than cattle. About one-third of respondents' households own goats, and the proportion is higher in Lira than in Masaka. Not surprisingly, household ownership of land is more common in rural than urban areas, although the difference in greater in Masaka than in Lira.

Unlike most possessions and amenities discussed thus far, home ownership is more prevalent in rural than in urban areas; this probably reflects higher urban housing costs. On average, eight out of ten rural respondents live in a house that is owned by a household member compared with six out of ten urban respondents. The urban-rural differential in home ownership is larger in Masaka (about 41 percentage points) than in Lira (less than 6 percentage points). Urban-rural differentials in the ownership of bicycles do not exhibit the same pattern in Lira and Masaka. In Masaka, a smaller proportion of urban than rural residents live in a household that owns a bicycle; in contrast, bicycle ownership in Lira is more common in the

households of urban than rural respondents.[1] Few respondents live in households that own a car or motorcycle; the proportion peaks at 16 percent among women in urban Masaka. As expected, ownership of a car or motorcycle by a household member is more common in urban than in rural households.

Household possessions reflect the standard of living of all household members as a group, but they say little about the socioeconomic status of individual household members. Hence, the NRO questionnaires also asked whether individual respondents owned cars, houses, bicycles, and radios. As indicated in Table 2.3, gender is more critical than residence in determining individual ownership of these items. The data show that women are less likely than men—in both Lira and Masaka—personally to own a house, bicycle, car or motorcycle, and radio. Overall, 93 percent of male respondents own their own houses compared with 10 percent of female respondents. Likewise, fifteen times as many men as women personally own a bicycle.

2.3 Marriage

Marriage was defined by the NRO survey to include both couples who were formally married and those who were living together. As indicated in Table 2.4, about one in five men and women are in informal, cohabiting unions, and such relationships are more common in Masaka than Lira. For example, one in three men in urban Masaka compared with one in five men in urban Lira reported consensual unions at the time of the interview. Within Masaka, there is little difference in the prevalence of consensual unions between

Table 2.4 Percent distribution of respondents by marital status, according to sex, urban-rural residence, and district, NRO 1995-96

Marital status	Lira				Masaka				Total					
	Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Total	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Formally married	79.0	76.9	90.8	88.9	65.9	62.4	68.9	69.2	73.9	71.6	77.9	77.3	77.3	76.3
Monogamous	58.1	57.8	69.1	66.9	50.5	45.3	57.0	55.0	55.2	53.2	62.0	59.9	60.8	58.8
First union	52.6	49.2	58.9	60.4	35.1	42.0	37.3	47.9	45.8	46.6	46.2	53.0	46.1	51.9
Second+ union	5.5	8.6	10.1	6.5	15.4	3.3	19.7	7.2	9.3	6.7	15.8	6.9	14.7	6.9
Polygynous	20.8	19.1	21.7	22.0	15.4	17.1	11.9	14.2	18.8	18.4	16.0	17.4	16.4	17.5
First union	-	16.6	-	19.8	-	15.6	-	11.6	-	16.2	-	14.9	-	15.2
Second+ union	-	2.5	-	2.2	-	1.5	-	2.6	-	2.1	-	2.4	-	2.4
Living together	21.0	23.1	9.2	11.1	34.1	37.6	31.1	30.8	26.1	28.4	22.1	22.7	22.7	23.7
Monogamous	14.4	13.6	6.0	6.7	23.0	22.6	21.6	18.0	17.7	16.9	15.2	13.4	15.6	14.0
First union	10.3	6.1	4.2	3.9	14.8	18.0	8.3	9.2	12.0	10.5	6.6	7.1	7.5	7.6
Second+ union	4.1	7.5	1.8	2.8	8.3	4.6	13.3	8.8	5.7	6.4	8.6	6.3	8.1	6.3
Polygynous	6.6	9.5	3.2	4.4	11.0	15.0	9.5	12.8	8.3	11.5	6.9	9.4	7.1	9.7
First union	-	3.7	-	1.6	-	9.5	-	7.1	-	5.8	-	4.9	-	5.1
Second+ union	-	5.8	-	2.7	-	5.4	-	5.6	-	5.7	-	4.5	-	4.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number (weighted)	140	174	464	546	88	100	662	797	228	273	1,126	1,344	1,354	1,617
Number (unweighted)	301	365	359	397	404	509	288	327	705	874	647	724	1,352	1,598

- = Not available

[1] The higher level of bicycle ownership in urban Lira may reflect the commercial use of bicycles as public transportation.

urban and rural areas. In Lira, however, the proportion of men and women in consensual unions is at least twice as high in urban as in rural areas.

Table 2.4 also categorizes respondents by whether they are in their first marriage or a higher order union. For men, this data is limited to monogamous unions, but for women, it includes polygynous unions as well.[2] Almost one in five women are in a second or higher order marriage, and most of these are monogamous unions. About 23 percent of men are in monogamous, second or higher order unions. While there are urban-rural differentials in union order for women in both districts, they do not exhibit the same pattern. In Lira, urban women are more likely than rural women to have married more than once, while the reverse is true in Masaka. As for gender differentials, in Masaka, men are much more likely than women to have married more than once; 15 percent of urban Masaka men are in monogamous, second marriages compared with only 3 percent of women. In Lira, men's and women's marital histories do not differ as much.

Polygyny

Table 2.4 also shows the prevalence of polygyny among respondents who are formally married and among those in informal, cohabiting relationships. Overall, about one-fourth of married men and women are in polygynous relationships, but polygyny is far more common in informal unions than in formal marriages. Only one out of five formally married males and females is in a polygynous relationship, compared with almost one-third of males and two-fifths of females in informal unions. The prevalence of polygyny also varies by region and urban-rural residence. Polygynous formal unions are more prevalent in Lira, while polygynous informal unions are more prevalent in Masaka. Thus, 22 percent of men in rural Lira are in polygynous formal unions compared with 12 percent in rural Masaka; comparable figures for polygynous informal unions are 3 percent and 10 percent. Within Lira district, there is little variation in the practice of formal polygyny by type of residence. However, respondents in urban areas are more likely than those in rural areas to practice polygyny in informal unions. In Masaka, urban respondents are more likely than rural respondents to practice polygyny in both formal and informal unions.

Table 2.5 shows the distribution of men and women by number of wives and the mean number of wives among all men and among polygamous men. As mentioned previously, a slightly higher proportion of urban than rural men are in polygynous unions, but the difference is not substantial. Few men have three or more wives. The mean number of wives among polygynous men is 2.2 and among all men is 1.3.

Table 2.5 Percent distribution of men by number of wives and mean number of wives among all men and among polygynous men, according to urban-rural residence and district, NRO 1995-96

Number of wives	Lira		Masaka		Total		
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Total
Number of wives							
One	72.6	75.1	73.3	78.7	72.9	77.2	76.5
Two	22.4	21.5	23.9	18.0	22.9	19.4	20.0
Three	4.5	3.3	2.0	2.2	3.5	2.7	2.8
Four +	0.6	0.1	0.8	1.1	0.7	0.7	0.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean no. of wives (all men)	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.3
Number (weighted)	140	464	88	664	229	1,127	1,356
Number (unweighted)	303	359	405	289	708	648	1,356
Mean no. of wives (polygynous)	2.2	2.1	2.1	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.2
Number (weighted)	39	116	24	142	62	257	319
Number (unweighted)	89	90	102	54	191	144	335

[2] The concept of a second or higher order union for polygynous men is ambiguous and not comparable to the concept for women.

Table 2.6 presents the rank order of polygynous women in the sample. Roughly half are senior or first wives, but there is wide variation by residence and region. Polygynously married women in urban areas are more likely than those in rural areas to be junior wives; overall, 41 percent of polygynously married women in urban areas are senior wives compared with 53 percent in rural areas. This pattern may reflect a tendency among men to marry for the first time in their home village and then marry a second time after migrating to an urban area. Urban Masaka has the lowest proportion of senior wives (30 percent) and the highest proportion of wives of third or higher rank order (8 percent).

Table 2.6 Percent distribution of women in polygynous unions by rank and mean number of co-wives, according to urban-rural residence and district, NRO 1995-96

	Lira		Masaka		Total		
Wife's rank	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Total
Wife's rank							
First	49.2	61.0	29.8	48.9	40.8	53.3	51.4
Second	45.3	32.9	55.9	43.4	49.9	39.6	41.2
Third	5.3	6.1	10.8	7.0	7.7	6.7	6.8
Fourth or higher	0.2	0.0	3.6	0.6	1.7	0.4	0.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean number of co-wives	1.2	1.2	1.3	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2
Number (weighted)	35	124	27	215	62	339	401
Number (unweighted)	73	87	135	83	208	170	378

One important dimension of the status of women in polygynous unions is the extent to which they are involved in their husband's decision to marry an additional wife. To explore this issue, the NRO questionnaire asked polygynously married women and their male partners (except for couples in which the woman interviewed is the most recent wife) whether both partners had discussed the man's intention to marry another wife before he did so. There are wide discrepancies between men's and women's reports of discussions on adding another wife to the union (see Table 2.7). Nearly one-third of polygynously married women said that their husband had consulted them before marrying another wife, but only 4 percent of the husbands reported doing so. This discrepancy between men's and women's reports is found in both districts and in both rural and urban areas, but it is greatest among polygynous couples in rural Lira, where 54 percent of women and just 2 percent of men reported discussing the addition of another wife.

A second survey question asked monogamously married women and most recent polygynously married women whether their husband had discussed taking another wife with them; the husbands were asked if they intended to marry another wife. As indicated in the lower half of Table 2.7, 9 percent of these women reported discussing with their husband the possibility of his taking an additional wife, while 7 percent of the male partners said they intended to marry another wife. There is considerable agreement in men's and women's reports about their involvement in discussions of men's future polygynous intentions, except in urban Lira, where more women than men report taking part in these discussions.

Table 2.7 Percentage of respondents in polygynous unions who discussed taking another wife with their current partner before doing so and percentage in a monogamous union who have ever discussed taking another wife, by sex, urban-rural residence, and district, NRO 1995-96

Discussion about taking another wife	Lira				Masaka				Total					
	Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Total	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Polygynous union														
Consulted prior to marrying another wife	8.3	19.9	2.2	54.4	6.9	12.7	4.8	17.8	7.8	17.7	3.6	35.3	4.2	32.1
Number (weighted)	16	34	63	104	8	15	78	115	24	49	141	219	164	268
Number (unweighted)	32	65	51	79	37	71	32	49	69	136	83	128	152	264
Monogamous/most recent polygynous union														
Discussed another wife[1]	5.6	12.1	4.7	6.4	6.2	6.2	8.4	10.3	5.9	9.9	6.9	8.7	6.7	8.9
Number (weighted)	125	142	401	45	80	85	586	683	205	226	987	1,133	1,192	1,359
Number (unweighted)	271	305	308	32	368	438	257	278	639	743	565	601	1,204	1,344

[1] For men, the percentage who intend to take another wife.

Age at Marriage

Information on age at marriage was collected not only on the age at first union, but also on the age at current union for respondents who were in a second or higher order union. Overall, men tend to marry later than women; the median age at first marriage is 17.0 years for women and 22.2 years for men (see Table 2.8). Note that these figures are not comparable to overall medians for the districts because the survey sample includes only those people who are currently married or living together. Both urban and rural areas show this gender differential in the age at first union, although urban respondents tend to marry for the first time about a year later than their rural counterparts. There are also regional variations in the age at first marriage, with urban and rural women in Lira marrying about a year earlier than their counterparts in Masaka.

Table 2.8 Median age at first union and median age at current union, among those currently married or living together, according to sex, urban-rural residence, and district, NRO 1995-96

Median age at union	Lira				Masaka				Total					
	Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Total	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Median age at first union	23.2	17.2	21.2	16.5	22.8	18.7	22.6	17.4	23.0	17.8	22.1	16.9	22.2	17.0
Median age at current union	25.0	18.6	22.6	16.8	25.9	19.3	26.3	18.7	25.2	18.9	24.3	17.9	24.6	18.1
Number (weighted)	140	177	464	556	88	106	664	821	229	283	1,127	1,377	1,356	1,660
Number (unweighted)	303	372	359	404	405	543	289	341	708	915	648	745	1,356	1,660

For the total sample, the median age at current union exceeds the median age at first union by about 2.4 years for men and 1.1 years for women. The difference in the median age at first union and the median age at current union is more pronounced in Masaka than in Lira—about 3 to 4 years for urban and rural men. The median age at current union shows the same gender differential as the median age at first union, with men entering a second or higher order union at a later age than women. Some variations among the districts can be observed. The median age at current union is higher in Masaka than in Lira, the difference being most striking for rural men. On average, half of rural Masaka men had initiated their current union by age 26.3 compared with age 22.6 for rural Lira men.

Bridewealth

The payment of bridewealth is an integral part of some traditional African marriage systems. NRO respondents were asked whether any bridewealth was agreed upon in the contract of their union and, if so, whether bridewealth was fully or partially paid. Table 2.9 reports the results. Only 21 percent of respondents were in unions for which no bridewealth had been agreed upon, and there is little difference by gender. There is, however, great variation in men's and women's reports about whether bridewealth has been fully paid. A higher proportion of men (57 percent) than women (49 percent) report full payment of bridewealth. Conversely, women are more likely than men to report that bridewealth has only been partially paid. This disparity in men's and women's reports on the completion of bridewealth payments is found in both urban and rural areas. For example, 19 percent of all urban men report that bridewealth was partially paid compared with 27 percent of urban women.

Regional differentials are observed in the prevalence and payment of bridewealth. First, the proportion of unions for which no bridewealth was negotiated is much higher in Masaka than Lira, in part reflecting the greater prevalence of informal unions in Masaka. Second, Lira respondents are less likely to report full payment of bridewealth than Masaka respondents. For example, 37 percent of urban women in Lira report full payment of bridewealth compared with 57 percent in Masaka. Gender differentials in the reported completion of bridewealth payments are wider in Lira than in Masaka. In rural Lira, for example, 56 percent of men and 37 percent of women report that bridewealth was fully paid, compared with 58 percent of men and 59 percent of women in rural Masaka. Within each district, the reporting of full bridewealth payment does not vary by rural-urban residence for both male and female respondents.

Table 2.9 Percent distribution of respondents by whether or not there was agreement on bridewealth and whether the bridewealth was fully or partially paid, according to sex, urban-rural residence, and district, NRO 1995-96

Agrement on bridewealth	Lira				Masaka				Total					
	Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Total	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Bridewealth agreed														
Fully paid	55.3	36.6	56.1	36.6	61.5	56.7	58.0	58.5	57.7	44.1	57.2	49.7	57.3	48.7
Partially paid	25.2	40.0	34.8	53.0	8.2	4.9	13.9	16.1	18.6	26.9	22.4	30.9	21.8	30.3
No agreement on bridewealth	19.5	23.4	9.1	10.4	30.2	38.4	28.1	25.4	23.7	29.0	20.3	19.4	20.9	21.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number (weighted)	138	176	453	548	88	105	655	814	226	281	1,108	1,362	1,334	1,643
Number (unweighted)	294	369	348	398	401	540	285	338	695	909	633	736	1,328	1,645

Table 2.10 shows the percentage of all current unions in which cattle, goats, cash, and other items were paid as bridewealth. In total, 43 percent of men report payments of cattle, 43 percent goats, 66 percent cash, and 55 percent other items. Other items commonly include clothing, local beer, soda, chickens, spears, hoes, sugar, salt, and paraffin (data not shown). With the exception of cattle, a lower proportion of women than men report payment of each item listed. Gender differences in reported payments of other items are narrow in Masaka but wide in Lira. In general, all forms of bridewealth payment are more common in rural than in urban areas, but these urban-rural differentials tend to be larger for women than for men. Fewer women report payments of cash and other items in urban than in rural areas: 40 percent of all urban women and 60 percent of all rural women report that cash was a component of bridewealth payments.

Regional differences in the components of bridewealth payments are more pronounced. Cattle payments clearly are more common in Lira than in Masaka, with men and women in Lira at least three times as likely as their counterparts in Masaka to report bridewealth payments of cattle. In urban Masaka, for instance, only one out of ten unions included cattle payments compared with seven out of ten unions in urban Lira. Similar regional differences exist for bridewealth payments in goats.

Table 2.10 Percent distribution of unions in which cattle and goats were paid as bridewealth by number of cattle/goats and percentage of unions in which cash and other items were paid as bridewealth, according to sex, urban-rural residence, and district, NRO 1995-96

Bridewealth payment	Lira				Masaka				Total					
	Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Total	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Cattle														
None	30.0	31.3	20.3	20.9	91.6	93.2	83.2	83.2	53.8	54.4	57.3	58.0	56.7	57.4
1-3	3.8	6.6	6.6	6.4	5.1	4.7	15.0	14.7	4.3	5.9	11.5	11.3	10.3	10.4
4-6	25.5	20.6	32.5	30.6	2.6	1.2	0.7	0.9	16.7	13.3	13.8	12.9	14.3	13.0
7+	40.7	39.2	40.7	40.8	0.8	0.7	1.1	1.2	25.3	24.8	17.4	17.2	18.7	18.5
Don't know/missing	0.0	2.4	0.0	1.3	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.5	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Goats														
None	37.0	48.5	23.0	31.1	83.8	86.8	81.4	84.6	55.0	62.8	57.4	63.0	57.0	62.9
1-3	5.5	7.9	12.8	14.2	15.2	12.4	16.9	14.0	9.3	9.6	15.2	14.1	14.2	13.3
4-6	36.5	23.6	39.4	30.3	0.8	0.8	1.4	1.5	22.7	15.1	17.1	13.1	18.0	13.4
7+	21.1	15.3	24.8	23.6	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.0	13.0	9.6	10.3	9.5	10.8	9.5
Don't know/missing	0.0	4.7	0.0	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.9	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Cash	73.3	47.9	86.8	73.9	47.9	25.3	51.8	49.3	63.5	39.5	66.2	59.2	65.7	55.9
Other items	44.3	24.9	49.5	24.8	59.3	54.9	60.3	62.2	50.1	36.1	55.9	47.1	54.9	45.3
Number (weighted)	140	176	464	556	88	105	664	821	229	282	1,127	1,377	1,356	1,659
Number (unweighted)	302	370	359	404	405	542	289	341	707	912	648	745	1,355	1,657

Partner Choice

The influence of family, friends, and others on the respondent's selection of a spouse or partner is shown in Table 2.11. About half of the respondents were introduced to their partner by family members, age mates, friends, and others. Parents and relatives were responsible for introducing about one-third of all couples. Religious groups play an insignificant role in partner choice: less than 2 percent of respondents met their partner through religious groups. Some gender differences in partner selection are observed between the two districts. In rural Lira, for instance, more women (33 percent) than men (22 percent) reported that parents and relatives introduced them to their current partner. In contrast, parents and relatives in Masaka play a greater role in partner choice for men than for women, and women are more likely than men in Masaka to say that they met their partner by chance. The role of age-mates and friends in partner introduction also differs substantially between the two districts. The proportion of respondents who were introduced to their partner by age-mates and friends is larger in Lira than in Masaka. Within Masaka, rural respondents were twice as likely as urban respondents to have met their partner through these networks.

The second section of Table 2.11 shows the number of months that elapsed from the time a respondent met his or her current partner to the time the couple got married or began living together. In over 60 percent of cases, respondents knew each other for 6 months or less before marrying or living together.

Table 2.11 Percent distribution of respondents by who introduced them to their partner, how long they knew each other before marrying or living together, and influence of relatives in selection of partner, according to sex, urban-rural residence, and district, NRO 1995-96

Circumstances regarding selection of partner	Lira				Masaka				Total					
	Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Total	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Introduced by:														
Nobody/just met	62.2	54.6	52.5	45.2	57.5	64.6	40.8	47.6	60.4	58.3	45.6	46.6	48.1	48.6
Parents/relatives	14.8	17.9	22.4	32.5	33.4	28.0	43.2	39.2	22.0	21.7	34.7	36.5	32.5	34.0
Age-mates/friends	21.8	26.1	22.8	18.6	8.5	7.1	15.1	12.2	16.7	19.0	18.3	14.8	18.0	15.5
Religious group	1.2	1.4	2.3	3.6	0.6	0.3	0.8	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.4	2.0	1.3	1.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Interval between meeting and marrying														
0 - 6 months	52.7	65.4	63.4	85.0	50.4	53.1	64.1	70.0	51.8	60.8	63.8	76.1	61.8	73.5
7 - 12 months	22.7	16.5	17.5	8.7	27.9	25.9	19.5	18.2	24.7	20.0	18.7	14.4	19.7	15.3
13 - 35 months	10.2	6.5	6.9	3.7	8.2	12.2	6.1	5.6	9.4	8.6	6.4	4.9	6.9	5.5
36+ months	14.4	11.7	12.2	2.6	13.5	8.8	10.3	6.2	14.0	10.6	11.1	4.7	11.6	5.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Influence of relatives														
Major	16.4	24.2	23.1	27.6	29.8	37.4	40.7	40.3	21.5	29.1	33.5	35.2	31.5	34.2
Some	30.5	14.6	31.1	15.4	20.5	22.9	13.1	34.3	26.7	17.7	20.5	26.7	21.5	25.2
Little	6.9	22.6	13.5	14.8	18.2	18.7	10.0	13.7	11.2	21.2	11.4	14.1	11.4	15.3
None	46.3	38.6	32.2	42.2	31.6	21.0	36.2	11.7	40.6	32.0	34.6	24.0	35.6	25.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number (weighted)	140	177	464	556	88	106	664	821	229	283	1,127	1,377	1,356	1,660
Number (unweighted)	303	372	359	404	405	543	289	341	708	915	648	745	1,356	1,660

More women than men—in both Lira and Masaka—report a brief courtship interval of 6 months or less (74 percent versus 62 percent overall). Gender differentials are most striking in rural Lira where 85 percent of women report knowing their future partner for 6 months or less compared with 63 percent of men. Long intervals of 36 months or more are reported by 12 percent of men and 6 percent of women in the total sample. Urban-rural differentials in the proportion reporting long courtship intervals are much wider for women than for men. For example, 12 percent of women in urban Lira married their partner after an interval of at least 36 months compared with 3 percent of their rural counterparts. In comparison, the urban-rural differential in the proportion of Lira men who report long courtship intervals is less than 3 percentage points.

The third section of Table 2.11 shows respondents' subjective assessment of the degree of influence their parents and relatives had on their choice of a spouse or partner. Close to one-third of all respondents felt that their relatives had a major influence on their choice of partner, while an additional 22 to 25 percent credited their relatives with some influence. Men (36 percent) are more likely than women (26 percent) to say that their relatives had no influence whatsoever. Perceived influence of relatives over partner choice varies regionally, with Masaka respondents more likely than those in Lira to report that their relatives played a major role in choosing a partner.

Gender differentials in perceived family influence over partner choice vary by urban-rural residence. In rural areas, similar proportions of men and women report that their kin played a major role in partner choice, while in urban areas, women are much more likely than men to say that their family played a major role in selecting a partner.

2.4 Reproduction

Table 2.12 presents the lifetime fertility experience of female respondents and their fertility experience with their current partner by district and place of residence. The women in the sample have given birth to 4.6 children, on average—3.9 of them with their current partner. Urban women, on average, have one child less than rural women, and the disparity is more pronounced in Masaka (where rural women have 1.3 children more than their urban counterparts, on average) than in Lira (where the difference, on average, is 0.8 children). Regional disparities in fertility exist for rural, but not urban, women; rural Masaka women have, on average, 0.4 more children than rural Lira women. The difference between women's overall births

Table 2.12 Among women, the mean number of children ever born and mean number of children with current partner, by survival status of children, according to urban-rural residence and district, NRO 1995-96

Survival status	Lira		Masaka		Total		
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Total
Children ever born							
Dead	0.7	0.9	0.5	0.9	0.6	0.9	0.8
Living in household	2.7	3.2	2.3	2.9	2.6	3.0	2.9
Living away	0.4	0.5	0.9	1.2	0.6	0.9	0.9
Total	3.8	4.6	3.7	5.0	3.8	4.8	4.6
Children with current partner							
Living in household	2.6	3.1	2.2	2.8	2.5	2.9	2.8
Dead/living away	0.8	1.2	0.7	1.0	0.7	1.1	1.0
Total	3.4	4.3	2.8	3.8	3.2	4.0	3.9
Number (weighted)	177	556	106	821	283	1,377	1,660
Number (unweighted)	372	404	543	341	915	745	1,660

and the number of births with their current partner is also much higher in Masaka than in Lira. About 93 percent of all children ever born to Lira women are with their current partner compared with only 76 percent of the children of Masaka women. Of the 4.6 children ever born to each women, 3.8 have survived.

Further results for men are presented in Table 2.13 with additional information on type of union. Overall, men have an average of 6.5 children, but polygynous men have almost twice as many children as monogamous men. As with women, rural men have about one child more, on average, than urban men. The rural-urban differential is larger among monogamous men, with those in rural areas reporting 1.4 children more, on average, than those in urban areas. Masaka men have at least one more child, on average, than Lira men. Although Lira men are more often polygynous than Masaka men, most births reported by Lira men are with their interviewed partner. Overall, 71 percent of all births to Lira men are with their interviewed partner compared with only 54 percent of the births to Masaka men.

Comparing the number of births reported by men (including only births with the interviewed partner) and women (including only births with the current partner) shows high aggregate-level consistency in their reports (see Tables 2.12 and 2.13). Overall, men and women report the same number of children ever born. Even within districts and within urban and rural areas, men and women report remarkably similar numbers of children ever born with the interviewed or current partner. In Lira district, for instance, men report an average of 4.2 children with their interviewed wife, while women report an average of 4.1 children with their current husband. In Masaka district, men and women report 3.8 and 3.7 children, respectively (not shown).

Table 2.13 Among men, mean number of children ever born and mean number of children with each interviewed wife, by survival status of children, according to type of union, urban-rural residence, and district, NRO 1995-96

	Lira				Masaka				Total				
	Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		
Survival status	Monog-amous	Polygy-nous	Monog-amous	Polygy-nous	Monog-amous	Polygy-nous	Monog-amous	Polygy-nous	Monog-amous	Polygy-nous	Monog-amous	Polygy-nous	Total
Children ever born													
Dead	0.6	1.7	1.0	1.7	0.8	1.3	1.5	1.9	0.7	1.5	1.3	1.8	1.3
Living in household	2.9	3.0	3.3	4.6	2.6	2.3	3.3	3.1	2.8	2.8	3.3	3.7	3.3
Living away	0.8	3.7	0.7	2.8	1.4	5.9	1.6	4.9	1.1	4.5	1.2	4.0	1.9
Total	4.3	8.4	5.0	9.0	4.8	9.5	6.4	9.9	4.5	8.8	5.9	9.5	6.5
Children with partner interviewed													
Living in household	2.6	2.3	2.9	3.3	2.3	1.9	2.9	2.1	2.5	2.1	2.9	2.7	2.8
Dead/living away	0.7	0.9	1.4	1.5	0.6	0.5	1.1	1.0	0.7	0.8	1.2	1.2	1.1
Total	3.3	3.2	4.3	4.8	3.0	2.4	4.1	3.1	3.2	2.9	4.1	3.9	3.9
Number (weighted)	102	39	348	116	65	24	522	142	167	62	870	257	1,356
Number (unweighted)	214	89	269	90	303	102	235	54	517	191	504	144	1,356

2.5 Economic Resources and Household Decisionmaking

Occupation

The distribution of respondents by their primary occupation in the 12-month period preceding the survey is shown in Table 2.14. Both male and female respondents were asked if they were currently working. Since women are more likely to consider their economic activity as "non-work," the NRO female questionnaire included the following probe for women who initially reported themselves as currently unemployed:

As you know, some women take up jobs for which they are paid in cash or kind. Others sell things at the market or have a small business like brewing beer or cooking food for sale. Others might work on the family farm or in the family business. Are you currently doing any of these things or any other work?

Those who answered "no" to the above question were asked, "Have you done any of these things or any other work in the last 12 months?" Female respondents are considered as not working if they answered "no" to all these questions. For respondents who engaged in more than one economic activity, primary occupation refers to his or her current occupation or to the job he or she spends the most time doing.

Table 2.14 Percent distribution of respondents by primary occupation in the last 12 months, according to sex, urban-rural residence, and district, NRO 1995-96

	Lira				Masaka				Total					
	Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Total	
Occupation	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Professional/technical/managerial	35.8	12.3	8.9	1.1	16.1	8.2	5.1	1.5	28.2	10.8	6.6	1.3	10.3	2.9
Clerical	2.8	0.6	0.7	0.4	2.9	2.0	0.7	0.0	2.9	1.1	0.7	0.1	1.1	0.3
Sales	20.8	42.5	5.1	36.4	21.6	30.0	11.1	15.2	21.1	37.9	8.6	23.8	10.7	26.2
Agricultural self-employed	12.6	16.9	53.4	29.1	14.1	9.6	64.0	33.3	13.2	14.2	59.6	31.6	51.8	28.6
Agricultural employee	0.0	1.7	4.4	10.9	2.4	2.4	9.2	11.3	0.9	2.0	7.2	11.1	6.2	9.6
Household and domestic	0.4	0.7	0.6	0.5	0.8	0.9	0.0	0.5	0.6	0.8	0.2	0.5	0.3	0.5
Services	3.4	1.6	1.0	0.4	6.2	6.3	0.5	0.6	4.5	3.4	0.7	0.5	1.3	1.0
Skilled manual	17.5	2.2	6.9	1.3	34.2	6.5	7.7	3.5	24.0	3.8	7.4	2.6	10.2	2.8
Unskilled manual	0.1	0.0	1.6	0.2	1.2	0.4	1.3	0.0	0.5	0.1	1.4	0.1	1.3	0.1
No occupation, has not worked	6.5	21.4	17.3	19.8	0.4	33.5	0.4	34.1	4.2	25.9	7.3	28.3	6.8	27.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number (weighted)	140	177	464	556	88	106	664	821	229	283	1,127	1,377	1,356	1,660
Number (unweighted)	303	372	359	404	405	543	289	341	708	915	648	745	1,356	1,660

The occupations of men and women differ substantially. More than half of the men interviewed are self-employed in agriculture compared with less than one-third of the women. Men are also more likely than women to report professional, technical, managerial and skilled manual occupations. Women, in contrast, are more likely than men to report not working or work in sales or as agricultural employees. Gender differentials in occupational patterns are observed in both urban and rural areas with one exception: similar proportions of urban men and women are self-employed in agriculture. There are also urban and rural differences in occupational patterns. Urban men are generally employed in professional, technical, sales, and skilled manual occupations, while most rural men work in agriculture. Similar patterns are observed for women, although the proportion not working differs little by urban-rural residence. These gender and residential differentials in occupation are found in both Lira and Masaka.

Respondents who worked during the 12 months prior to the survey were asked whether they earned cash and whether they worked away from home. Table 2.15 shows that equal proportions of working men and women earned cash. Men who earned cash were equally likely to work at home or away from home, while women who earned cash were twice as likely to work at home as away from home. Only about 15 percent of working men and women did not earn cash for their work, and there are no gender differences in where this work was done.

Table 2.15 Percent distribution of respondents who have worked in the last 12 months by whether or not they worked for cash and whether or not they worked at home, according to sex, urban-rural residence, and district, NRO 1995-96

Type of work	Lira				Masaka				Total					
	Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Total	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Cash work														
At home	20.7	49.5	39.3	51.6	21.9	46.0	51.7	63.7	21.2	48.3	47.2	58.3	42.6	56.5
Away from home	73.6	42.2	38.6	30.8	69.7	44.5	35.3	18.8	72.0	42.9	36.5	24.2	42.7	27.5
Non-cash work														
At home	4.1	4.9	14.5	9.2	2.8	5.3	9.4	12.8	3.6	5.1	11.3	11.2	10.0	10.1
Away from home	1.5	3.4	7.6	8.4	5.6	4.2	3.5	4.6	3.2	3.7	5.0	6.3	4.7	5.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number (weighted)	131	139	377	446	88	70	656	541	219	209	1,032	987	1,251	1,196
Number (unweighted)	279	283	290	330	403	363	285	208	682	646	575	538	1,257	1,184

Within urban and rural areas, there are no gender differences in the proportion who work for cash. Men and women in urban areas, however, are more likely to earn cash than their rural counterparts. In urban areas, men who work for cash are about three and half times more likely to work away from home than at home, while cash-earning women are slightly more likely to work at home than away from home. A different pattern prevails in rural areas: cash-earning rural men and women are more likely to work at home than away from home. Rural women who earn cash for their work are about two and half times as likely to work at home as they are to work away from home. There are no gender differences in where non-cash work was done, either in urban or in rural areas.

Within each district, the majority of men and women work for cash. In both districts, most cash-earning urban men work away from home, while cash-earning urban women are split between working at home and away from home. In the rural areas, women in both districts and men in Masaka are more likely to work at home than to work away from home. Cash-earning rural Lira men are as likely to work at home as they are to work away from home. In both urban and rural areas in the two districts, women are much more likely than men to work at home. The overall patterns for non-cash work are also maintained in both districts. The only exceptions are for urban areas where, in Lira, men are more likely to work at home but, in Masaka, men are more likely to work away from home. The number of working men and women who do not earn cash, however, is small.

The large proportions of men and women who say they work at home may indicate that some respondents misinterpreted the question. Respondents may have assumed that working away from home means working on a fixed time schedule at a permanent location outside their homes. Those who prepare cooked food and sell it in the market or those in self-employed agriculture may have reported that they work at home even though their work takes them outside the home for most of the day. Gender and urban-rural differentials in the location of work support this hypothesis.

Access to Financial Resources

Although a respondent's occupation, work location, and ability to earn cash may be important in determining his or her status, they may not translate directly into bargaining power in household decisions. Control over earned income may be more important in determining the relative influence each spouse has

over household decisions. The NRO questionnaire asked respondents whether they shared information on earnings with their partner and who controlled the spending of earned income. Table 2.16 shows the results—by region, residence, and gender—for those respondents who earned cash.

Overall, 83 percent of women and 87 percent of men say they usually share information on their earnings with their partner. The gender gap is more pronounced in urban areas, where 75 percent of women and 81 percent of men usually share information on earnings with their partner. In fact, this urban gender differential exists only in Lira district. In urban Lira, 93 percent of the men and 80 percent of the women report sharing information on their earnings with their partner, compared with about 64 percent of urban Masaka men and women. In both districts, information-sharing is more common in rural than urban areas. In rural Lira, 96 percent of men and 90 percent of women say they share earnings information with their partner; in rural Masaka, the proportions are 85 percent of men and 82 percent of women. In general, the results show that Lira men and women are more likely to share information on their earnings with their partner than are Masaka men and women.

Table 2.16 Percent distribution of respondents who worked for cash in the last 12 months by whether or not they shared information on earnings with their partner and main decisionmaker on how earnings are spent and percentage of those employed who have set money aside, according to sex, urban-rural residence, and district, NRO 1995-96

Earning/ spending characteristic	Lira				Masaka				Total					
	Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Total	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Respondent shared information with partner														
Never/Rarely	5.1	17.0	4.4	6.5	33.2	33.9	12.3	13.8	16.2	22.6	9.6	10.5	10.9	12.8
Usually	92.5	80.1	95.6	89.7	64.4	63.3	85.3	81.6	81.4	74.5	88.8	85.3	87.4	83.2
Sometimes	2.4	3.0	0.0	3.8	2.3	2.8	2.4	4.6	2.3	2.9	1.6	4.2	1.7	4.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Main decisionmaker on how earnings are spent														
Respondent	69.1	20.1	62.1	9.6	50.2	70.3	44.1	49.9	61.6	36.7	50.1	31.8	52.3	32.7
Partner	4.2	18.0	4.2	25.7	6.9	5.9	5.9	11.7	5.2	14.0	5.3	18.0	5.3	17.2
Jointly with partner	24.0	60.2	33.3	63.8	42.5	23.2	49.2	35.6	31.3	47.9	43.9	48.3	41.5	48.2
Someone else	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0
Jointly with someone else	0.8	0.0	0.3	0.5	0.0	0.2	0.0	2.8	0.5	0.1	0.1	1.8	0.2	1.5
Missing	1.0	1.7	0.2	0.4	0.5	0.2	0.8	0.0	0.8	1.2	0.6	0.2	0.6	0.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number (weighted)	124	128	291	366	81	63	576	447	204	191	866	813	1,071	1,004
Number (unweighted)	269	272	233	267	372	327	250	170	641	599	483	437	1,124	1,036
Percent with money set aside	NA	23.5	NA	8.6	NA	69.8	NA	62.7	NA	40.7	NA	40.8	NA	40.8
Number (weighted)	140	177	464	556	88	106	664	821	229	283	1,127	1,377	1,356	1,660
Number (unweighted)	303	372	359	404	405	543	289	341	708	915	648	745	1,356	1,660

NA = Not applicable

Decisionmaking

Table 2.16 also presents information on who decides how an individual's earnings are spent. More than half of the men claim they are the sole decisionmakers regarding how their money is spent, compared with only one-third of the women. Women are more likely than men to report joint decisions with the partner. Urban men are more likely than rural men to report sole control over how their earned money is spent.

Decisionmaking patterns differ greatly by district. In Lira, about two-thirds of the men report sole decisionmaking compared with less than 20 percent of the women. Conversely, less than one-third of the men report joint decisions, compared with almost two-thirds of the women. About one-fifth of the women in Lira say that their husband decides how their earnings are spent, while only 4 percent of the men report that their wife has the final say over such decisions. While similar gender differentials exist in both urban and rural areas of Lira district, urban women are twice as likely as rural women to report sole decisionmaking, while rural men are more likely than urban men to report joint decisions.

In contrast to Lira, women in Masaka are more likely than their male partners to report sole decisionmaking. Seventy percent of urban women and 50 percent of rural women in this district report sole decisions compared with 50 percent of urban and 44 percent of rural men. Masaka men are more likely than Masaka women to report joint decisionmaking on how earned income is spent.

All female respondents, whether earning cash or not, were asked if they set any money aside to be used any way they wish. Table 2.16 shows large variations by district in the proportion of women who set money aside. About two-thirds of women in urban and rural Masaka set aside money for their own use compared with about a quarter of urban women and a tenth of rural women in Lira.

Considered as a whole, the information in Table 2.16 suggests different adaptive mechanisms for couples living in Lira and Masaka districts. In Lira, spouses tend to share information on their earnings and make joint decisions regarding expenditures, at least with respect to women's earnings. Although men are more likely to report autonomous decisions in Lira, the reports of women suggest more joint decisions. Under these conditions, women personally may not feel as vulnerable to economic emergencies and therefore may be less likely to set money aside for personal security. In Masaka, however, discussion of earnings between spouses is less common, and men and women—especially urban women—decide how to spend their earnings autonomously. Masaka women, perhaps because they feel responsible for their own financial welfare, are more likely to adopt a savings scheme for unforseen emergencies.

Respondents also were asked who has the final say over some common household decisions. The results for women are presented in the upper section of Table 2.17, and the results for men are shown below. Men are more likely than women to have the final say over all decisions except what food to cook. Close to 80 percent of both men and women believe that women have the final say regarding food, and no other decision generates such an overwhelming consensus between men and women. Most men and women, however, acknowledge the husband's greater decisionmaking powers, especially with respect to supporting the husband's relatives and children's education and marriage. Between one-third and one-half of men and women report joint decisionmaking on every item except what food to cook. Agreement between men and women on joint decisionmaking is greatest with respect to fostering children and children's health care. Fifty-four percent of women and 53 percent of men report joint decisions regarding child fosterage, while 41 percent of women and 45 percent of men report joint decisions on children's health care.

Table 2.17 Percent distribution of respondents by who has the final say in the household regarding selected decisions, according to sex and district, NRO 1995-96

Decision	Lira					Masaka					Total				
	Respondent	Partner	Both	Someone else	Total	Respondent	Partner	Both	Someone else	Total	Respondent	Partner	Both	Someone else	Total
						WOMEN									
What food to cook	82.1	8.3	9.1	0.5	100.0	76.2	9.5	14.3	0.0	100.0	78.8	8.9	12.0	0.3	100.0
Children's health care	18.5	31.0	49.5	0.9	100.0	12.8	51.4	34.3	1.5	100.0	15.3	42.5	40.9	1.3	100.0
Children's education	6.5	53.9	37.6	2.1	100.0	8.1	61.2	27.0	3.8	100.0	7.3	57.9	31.7	3.0	100.0
Support own relatives	12.5	23.6	61.1	2.9	100.0	16.1	10.2	20.4	53.3	100.0	14.3	16.6	39.9	29.1	100.0
Support partner's relatives	5.0	29.6	63.3	2.1	100.0	2.0	53.4	9.0	35.6	100.0	3.5	41.4	36.3	18.8	100.0
Fostering children	7.8	33.2	57.0	1.9	100.0	28.0	17.8	51.7	2.6	100.0	19.2	24.5	54.0	2.3	100.0
Children's marriage	2.3	61.3	32.3	4.1	100.0	12.7	11.4	68.1	7.8	100.0	4.7	50.0	40.5	4.9	100.0
						MEN									
What food to cook	6.7	88.9	4.4	0.0	100.0	11.9	74.1	14.0	0.0	100.0	9.6	80.7	9.7	0.0	100.0
Children's health care	37.6	7.4	54.2	0.8	100.0	56.1	7.1	36.7	0.0	100.0	47.9	7.2	44.5	0.3	100.0
Children's education	64.4	1.0	34.0	0.6	100.0	58.1	2.0	39.5	0.4	100.0	61.0	1.6	37.0	0.5	100.0
Support own relatives	48.4	1.0	50.0	0.5	100.0	65.4	0.6	20.0	14.0	100.0	57.2	0.8	34.6	7.4	100.0
Support partner's relatives	27.6	2.2	69.7	0.5	100.0	28.4	20.6	31.3	19.7	100.0	28.0	11.2	51.0	9.8	100.0
Fostering children	40.4	1.1	57.6	0.9	100.0	44.6	3.7	45.9	5.8	100.0	42.2	2.2	52.6	3.0	100.0
Children's marriage	53.5	0.7	44.8	1.0	100.0	35.8	1.4	59.9	2.9	100.0	43.8	1.1	53.0	2.1	100.0

While decisionmaking patterns differ between Lira and Masaka, the responses of men and women within each district are correlated. In both districts, women predominantly decide which food to cook: 89 percent of men and 82 percent women in Lira agree that this is the woman's decision, as do 74 percent of men and 76 percent of women in Masaka. Fourteen percent of men and women in Masaka, however, report joint decisions on what food to cook. Husbands in both districts generally have the final say on issues concerning children's education; this is reported by 54 and 64 percent of women and men in Lira, respectively, and by 61 and 58 percent of women and men in Masaka, respectively. In Lira, husbands generally have the final say on issues regarding their children's marriages, according to 61 percent of women and 54 percent of men. In contrast, only 11 percent of Masaka women and 36 percent of men assign sole decisionmaking powers regarding children's marriages to the man.

In Masaka, more than half of women and men believe that men have the final say regarding children's health care; in Lira, only 31 percent of women and 38 percent of men agree. Most decisions regarding children's fosterage and support for relatives are made jointly in Lira, according to 50 to 70 percent of Lira women and men. In Masaka, men and women differ on who makes such decisions. Fifty-two percent of Masaka women report joint decisions regarding child fosterage, and only 18 percent assign such decisions to their husbands. Masaka men, however, are equally divided on this issue, with 45 percent reporting sole decisions and 46 percent joint decisions. About half of Masaka women (53 percent) say their husband decides on support for the husband's relatives, while someone else decides on support for the wife's relatives. Most men (65 percent) concur that they decide on support for their own relatives (65 percent), but they say decisions on support for their wife's relatives are made jointly or autonomously by either spouse.

These decisionmaking patterns regarding support for relatives are consistent with decisions on how earned money is spent. In Lira, spouses are more likely to share information on their earnings and to make joint decisions about spending it. Decisions on supporting both partners' relatives also are made jointly in

Lira. In contrast, spouses in Masaka are less likely to share information on their earnings, more likely to make autonomous decisions on spending their earned income, and more likely to make independent decisions regarding the support of their own relatives.

2.6 Partner Interaction and Resolution of Conflict

To gain a broader understanding of the context for spousal negotiations, the NRO questionnaire explored the process of conflict resolution following a misunderstanding between partners. Respondents were asked whether they or their partner had ever taken certain actions during a misunderstanding with their partner and who in their household usually took the initiative to restore peace after a misunderstanding. These issues are important because an individual's experience within a union—such as the presence (or absence) of physical abuse—may affect his or her ability to negotiate a desired outcome. For example, women who experience physical abuse in a relationship, or who are threatened with it, may be less likely to communicate their preferences and desires to their partner if they believe their partner will disagree—even when their partner brings up the issue for discussion.

Table 2.18 shows what actions respondents have ever taken during misunderstandings with their partners. Interestingly, two opposite actions, "yelling" and "keeping quiet," are most commonly reported. Three-quarters of the men and two-thirds of the women have yelled during a misunderstanding, while 54 percent of the men and 70 percent of the women have kept quiet. Crying and separation from the partner are typically female responses to a misunderstanding, and these are reported by 62 percent and 27 percent of the women, respectively. Threats of physical harm and actual physical harm of the partner are typically male responses, and these are reported by 54 and 41 percent of the men, respectively.[3] Very few men and women say they have engaged in extramarital relations as a response to a misunderstanding with their partner, but men are more likely to take this action than women. Despite low levels of extramarital relations as a response to misunderstandings in the home, denying sex to the partner is a common action reported by 57 percent of the women and 31 percent of the men.

Table 2.18 Percentage of respondents who say that they have ever taken selected actions during a misunderstanding with their spouse, by sex, urban-rural residence, and district, NRO 1995-96

	Lira				Masaka				Total					
	Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Total	
Action taken	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Quarrel or yell	71.7	58.8	71.1	49.6	76.9	75.6	77.9	80.8	73.7	65.1	75.1	68.2	74.8	67.7
Keep quiet	48.8	63.8	35.1	55.8	65.9	78.9	66.1	80.3	55.4	69.5	53.3	70.4	53.7	70.2
Cry	5.4	68.3	10.9	63.8	4.4	58.3	5.5	60.6	5.0	64.6	7.7	61.9	7.3	62.4
Threaten to physically harm	49.5	8.8	58.2	7.5	54.6	6.3	51.1	4.2	51.5	7.9	54.0	5.5	53.6	5.9
Actually physically harm	42.1	3.5	47.1	5.1	38.5	3.3	36.5	3.2	40.7	3.4	40.8	4.0	40.8	3.9
Deny partner sex	37.3	50.1	26.9	47.0	31.8	64.4	32.4	64.7	35.2	55.5	30.2	57.6	31.0	57.2
Go outside for sex	8.5	0.0	8.2	2.1	7.6	1.7	5.0	0.6	8.2	0.6	6.3	1.2	6.6	1.1
Separate from partner	6.7	16.6	6.2	14.0	3.2	23.1	2.4	37.9	5.3	19.0	4.0	28.3	4.2	26.7
Other	0.9	3.6	0.4	2.1	0.6	1.5	0.0	0.6	0.8	2.8	0.2	1.2	0.3	1.5
Number (weighted)	140	177	464	556	88	106	664	821	229	283	1,127	1,377	1,356	1,660
Number (unweighted)	303	372	359	404	405	543	289	341	708	915	648	745	1,356	1,660

[3] Physical abuse was defined in the survey as "beating, slapping, kicking, or physically harming your partner."

These patterns do not vary between urban and rural areas. The same patterns are also observed within Lira and Masaka districts. The only exceptions are yelling, keeping quiet, and denying sex to the partner. Lira women are less likely to take these actions than Masaka women, especially in rural areas. Whereas only 50 percent of rural Lira women have ever yelled and 56 percent have ever kept quiet during a misunderstanding, more than 80 percent of rural Masaka women have carried out both these actions. Denying a partner sex is reported by nearly two-thirds of the women in Masaka but only by about half of Lira women.

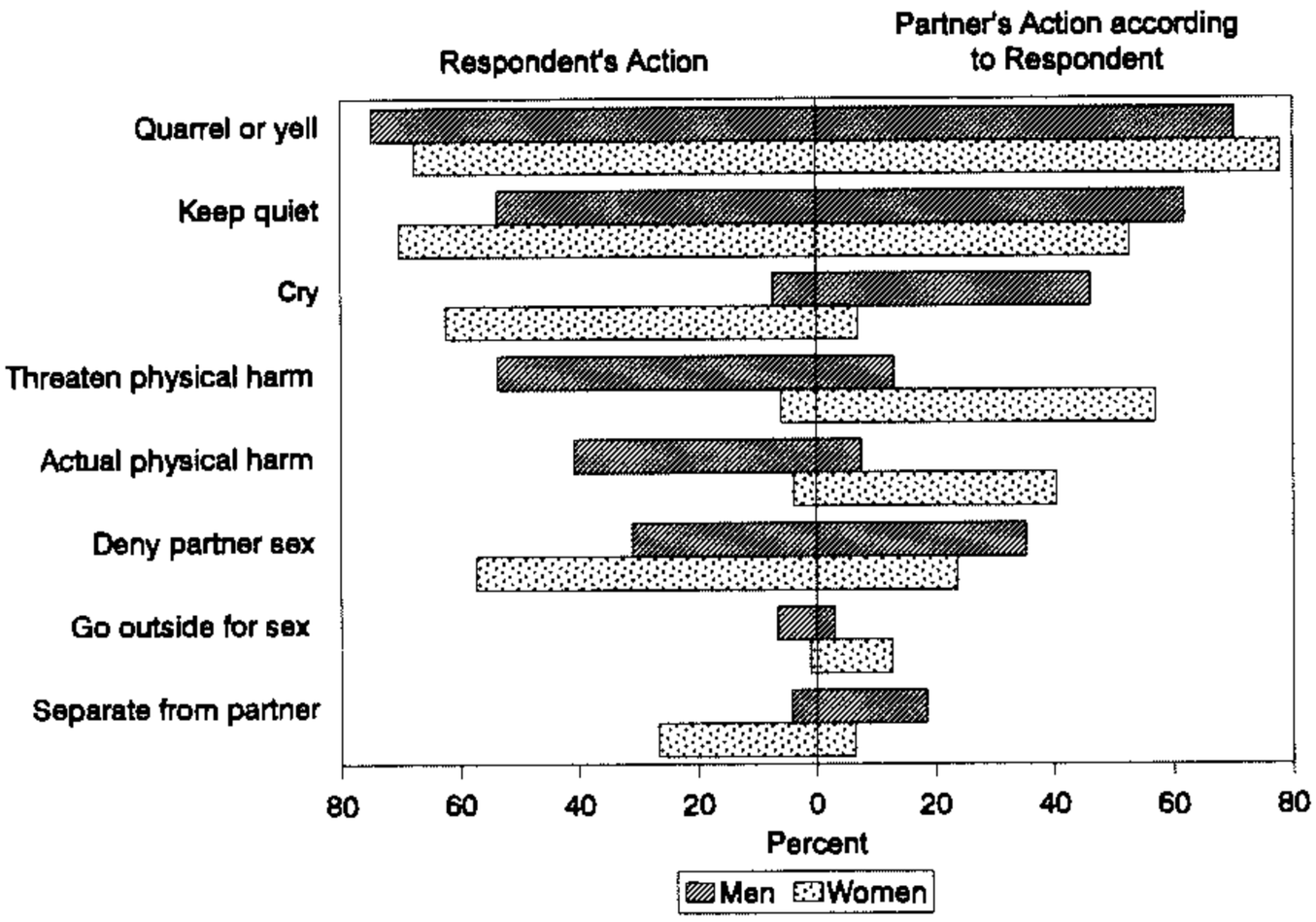
Respondents' reports of their partner's behavior during misunderstandings generally corroborates these gender-based patterns of responses to spousal misunderstanding. Table 2.19 shows that most men and women say that their partner has yelled or kept quiet during misunderstandings. Men are about seven times more likely than women to report that their partner has cried during misunderstandings and about three times more likely to report that their partner separated from them. Men, however, are much less likely to ascribe crying to their wives (46 percent) than women are to acknowledge the action (62 percent). Women are four to five times more likely than men to report that their partner has threatened physical harm or actually harmed them. Men and women agree on the extent to which women face threatened or actual physical harm: similar proportions of women reported and men acknowledged these behaviors (see Figure 2.1). However, men are twice as likely to report that their wife threatened (6 percent) or physically harmed them (4 percent) as women are to acknowledge threatening (13 percent) or harming (8 percent) their husband.

Table 2.19 Percentage of respondents who say that their partner has ever taken selected actions during a misunderstanding, according to sex, urban-rural residence, and district, NRO 1995-96

	Lira				Masaka				Total					
	Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Total	
Action taken	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Quarrel or yell	59.4	78.2	62.3	74.3	77.5	74.9	77.3	80.7	66.4	77.0	71.1	78.1	70.3	77.9
Keep quiet	61.1	49.8	48.1	37.4	73.4	63.0	70.2	62.4	65.9	54.7	61.1	52.3	61.9	52.7
Cry	53.6	12.5	57.5	9.6	49.2	7.9	36.1	3.8	51.9	10.8	44.9	6.2	46.1	7.0
Threaten to physically harm	18.6	49.6	22.2	57.2	7.9	51.7	6.3	59.1	14.5	50.4	12.9	58.3	13.1	57.0
Actually physically harm	11.2	35.5	10.5	49.1	5.1	23.4	5.2	38.1	8.8	30.9	7.4	42.5	7.6	40.5
Deny partner sex	38.2	34.8	30.7	31.4	35.0	24.4	37.9	16.2	37.0	30.9	34.9	22.4	35.3	23.8
Go outside for sex	1.9	14.4	4.7	16.0	2.7	8.4	2.2	10.6	2.2	12.2	3.2	12.8	3.0	12.7
Separate from partner	7.1	15.6	6.1	12.8	24.1	1.7	28.8	0.9	13.7	10.4	19.5	5.7	18.5	6.5
Other	2.7	3.9	0.9	2.3	0.9	1.6	0.2	1.0	2.0	3.0	0.5	1.5	0.8	1.8
Number (weighted)	140	177	464	556	88	106	664	821	229	283	1,127	1,377	1,356	1,660
Number (unweighted)	303	372	359	404	405	543	289	341	708	915	648	745	1,356	1,660

Men and women are less likely to acknowledge that their partner has denied them sex during a misunderstanding than they are to report taking such action themselves. However, they are more likely to report that their partner has gone outside for sex during a misunderstanding than they are to acknowledge taking such action themselves. About one-quarter of the women and one-third of the men report that their partner has denied them sex during a misunderstanding; as many as 31 and 57 percent of men and women, respectively, report taking such actions themselves. These differences, however, may be due, in part, to the fact that the questions were not asked specifically about the current or interviewed partner.

Figure 2.1
Percentage of Respondents Who Have Taken Specific Actions or Who Reported That Their Partner Had Taken Specific Actions during a Misunderstanding



When partners' responses to spousal misunderstanding are examined by place of residence, few differences are observed. Rural women are more likely to report that their partner has threatened or actually harmed them during misunderstandings than urban women. Urban women, however, are more likely than rural women to report that their partner has denied them sex or separated from them during misunderstandings. For men, residence does not matter much in their perception of their wife's actions during misunderstandings.

Within each district, there are differences between the self-reported actions of men and women and their reports of their partner's actions. In urban Lira, for instance, 13 percent of women report that their husband has cried during misunderstandings, while only 5 percent of the men report ever crying (Table 2.18). Also, Lira men are much more likely to report that their wife threatened to or actually abused them physically than Lira women are to own up to such actions. Twenty-two percent of rural Lira men report that their wife has threatened to harm them, while 11 percent report that their wife has actually abused them physically. However, only 8 percent of rural Lira women acknowledge making such threats, and only 5 percent report physically harming their partner. In Masaka, women are more likely to report taking actions than men are to ascribe such actions to their wife, with the exception of going outside for sex, physically harming their husband, or threatening to harm him. This is particularly true in rural areas. For instance, 61 percent of rural Masaka women report crying during misunderstandings, but only 36 percent of rural Masaka men say their wife has cried.

The most pronounced difference between Lira and Masaka districts involves separation from the partner. In Lira, urban and rural women are more than twice as likely as men to report that their partner has taken such action (Table 2.19). However, Table 2.18 shows that Lira women are also more likely than men to report ever taking such action themselves. It is not clear why Lira men and women differ so much on the frequency of this behavior. Lira women report that about 15 percent of men and women separate from their

partner during misunderstandings, while Lira men say only 6 percent of men and women take this action. In Masaka, separation from the partner is typically a female response to spousal misunderstanding, and both male and female responses support this conclusion.

When a disagreement occurs, men are much more likely to take the initiative in restoring peace than women (Table 2.20 and Figure 2.2). Sixty percent of the men and 51 percent of the women report that the man normally takes the initiative to restore peace after a misunderstanding. Only 6 percent of men and 8 percent of women say the wife usually takes the initiative to restore peace after a misunderstanding, while 22 percent of men and 33 percent of women believe that who initiates peace depends on the nature and source of the misunderstanding. The responses of men and women on the involvement of family members in conflict resolution are highly consistent. Men, however, are about one and half times more likely than women to report they have never had any serious misunderstanding with their partner.

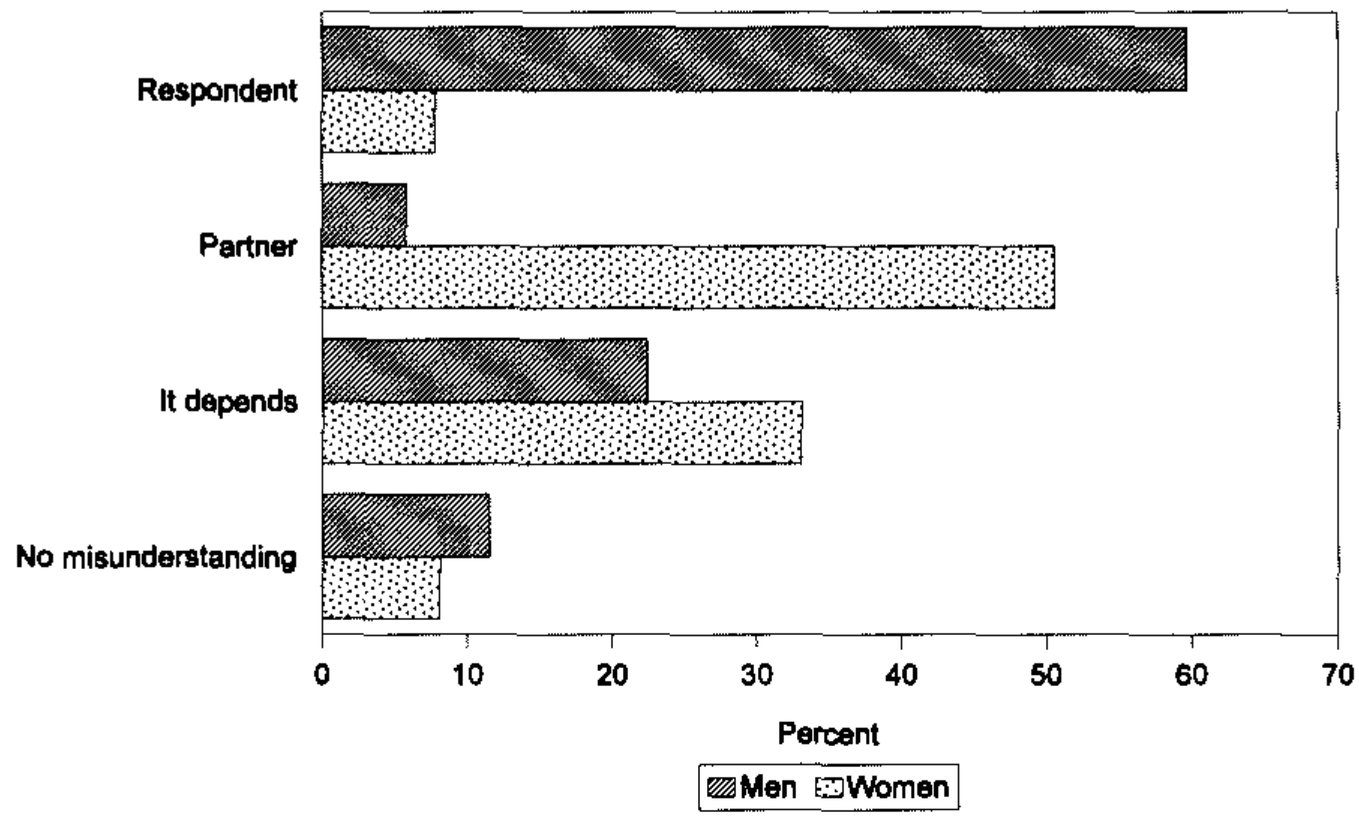
Both urban and rural areas exhibit the same pattern of responses on conflict resolution, but the responses of urban respondents are more consistent than those of rural respondents. The same patterns also hold true within each district, although the responses of men and women are more consistent in Masaka than in Lira. About half of Masaka men and women report that men usually take the initiative in restoring peace after a misunderstanding, while about one-third report that initiative in conflict resolution depends on the nature and source of the misunderstanding. In contrast, in Lira, 71 percent of rural men, but only 47 percent of rural women, believe men usually take the initiative to resolve conflicts. A similar, but smaller, disparity exists in urban Lira, where 63 percent of men and 52 percent of women claim that men generally take the initiative in conflict resolution. In rural Lira, one in ten men, compared with one in three women, report that the nature and source of a misunderstanding determine who takes the initiative in conflict resolution.

Table 2.20 Percent distribution of respondents by who usually take the initiative to restore peace after a misunderstanding with their partner and percentage who have called on the family to resolve a misunderstanding or conflict, according to sex, urban-rural residence, and district, NRO 1995-96

Initiative to restore peace	Lira				Masaka				Total					
	Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Total	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Person who takes initiative to restore peace														
Respondent	63.1	3.6	71.1	5.2	47.9	8.1	52.4	10.5	57.2	5.3	60.1	8.3	59.6	7.8
Partner	2.0	52.0	2.6	47.4	12.2	49.3	8.0	52.6	5.9	51.0	5.7	50.5	5.8	50.6
It depends	23.0	35.7	9.6	34.3	31.9	37.0	29.9	31.3	26.4	36.2	21.5	32.5	22.4	33.1
Never had a misunderstanding	10.5	7.6	15.4	12.2	8.0	5.6	9.4	5.7	9.5	6.9	11.9	8.3	11.5	8.1
Don't know	1.5	1.2	1.3	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.9	0.7	0.8	0.4	0.8	0.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Respondent called on family to resolve misunderstanding	34.8	30.7	33.7	31.8	30.1	26.3	36.7	44.9	33.0	29.1	35.5	39.6	35.1	37.8
Number (weighted)	140	177	464	556	88	106	664	821	229	283	1,127	1,377	1,356	1,660
Number (unweighted)	303	372	359	404	405	543	289	341	708	915	648	745	1,356	1,660

About one-third of the men in both districts and of the women in Lira report family involvement during conflict resolution. In Masaka, 26 percent of urban and 45 percent of rural women report the involvement of family members. Both men and women in Lira are more likely than those in Masaka to claim

Figure 2.2
Men's and Women's Reports of Who Takes the Initiative to Restore Peace after a Misunderstanding



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that they have never had any serious misunderstanding with their partner. In both districts, rural men and women are more likely than their urban counterparts to report never having had any serious misunderstanding. Also, within each district, men are more likely than women to report no misunderstandings with their partner. These patterns of gender relations and their variations between districts and between urban and rural areas may affect both the process and outcomes of negotiations between partners.

2.7 Conclusion

The survey results presented in this chapter describe the context within which reproductive decisions are made. The study areas show substantial variation in living standards, women's work, marriage systems, patterns of decisionmaking in the household, and other factors relevant to the negotiation process. Some of the strongest contrasts appear between the two districts purposively selected for the study. The northern district of Lira is generally less urbanized, less educated, and less economically developed than the district of Masaka in south-central Uganda. Living conditions range from those found in rural Lira, where only one in five households own radios and none have electricity, to those in urban Masaka, where more than four out of five households own radios and over half have electricity. In terms of formal education, women in Lira are strongly disadvantaged relative both to women in Masaka and to men in their own district. Almost half of rural women and a quarter of urban women in Lira have no formal education, compared with 13 percent of urban and 2 percent of rural men in Lira. In contrast, women in Masaka fare nearly as well as their male counterparts, although strong urban-rural differences are apparent. Lira is quite homogeneous ethnically, with the Lango predominating, while Masaka is more mixed; Baganda comprise the majority in Masaka, but other groups contribute sizeable minorities, particularly in rural areas.

In both districts, a nuclear household structure predominates, with most couples living in the same household without other adult relatives. Median age at first union is 17 years for women and 22 years for men. Men and women in Masaka are more likely to be in informal cohabiting relationships than those in Lira, but 25 to 30 percent of respondents in both districts are involved in polygynous arrangements. The payment of bridewealth is more common and tends to include more valuable items, such as cattle and goats, in Lira than in Masaka.

Women are at a distinct educational disadvantage compared with men, with almost a third having no education compared with about 14 percent of men, but this mostly reflects the regional differences discussed above. Women also are much less likely than men to own a house, car, bicycle, or radio. About one in three women in Masaka and one in five in Lira report that they have not worked in the last 12 months, but of those who do work, most earn cash. Overall, however, only about one-third of women who earn cash say that they are the sole decisionmakers over how their earnings are spent, compared with about half of men. Urban Masaka presents a distinct exception to the overall pattern; there 70 percent of women say that they are solely responsible for deciding how their earnings are used.

The perceptions of men and women on household decisionmaking coincide on some issues and diverge sharply on others. For example, 32 percent of women in polygynous unions report that they were consulted prior to the addition of another wife to the union, while only 4 percent of their partners say they consulted their wife first. In contrast, both men and women tend to agree that men have the final say over most types of household decisions, with the exception of what food to cook, although women are more likely to report joint decisionmaking while men are more likely to report sole responsibility. Conflicts and misunderstandings between couples seem to evoke different responses in men and women. Although most men and women say they have yelled or kept quiet during a misunderstanding, men are much more likely than women to report having threatened to physically harm or actually physically harmed their partner. Women, on the other hand, are more likely to report denying their partner sex or separating from him as a result of a misunderstanding. Physical violence during spousal misunderstandings is quite prevalent; over half of men report threatening their partner with physical harm, while one in three reports actually beating or physically harming their partner.

CHAPTER 3

NEGOTIATING CONTRACEPTIVE USE

One of the main objectives of the NRO study is to gain some insight into the process by which couples make the decision to use (or not use) a method of family planning. This chapter first describes the context for reproductive decisions, that is, the current state of knowledge and practice of family planning among couples in Masaka and Lira. Next are described the reasons why couples do or do not use family planning and some basic elements of the decisionmaking process.

3.1 Current Contraceptive Knowledge and Use

The NRO survey measured knowledge of family planning methods in the same way as standard DHS surveys. Respondents first were asked to name ways or methods by which a couple can delay or avoid pregnancy, and the methods they mentioned spontaneously were recorded. Then the interviewer read a short description of each method not mentioned spontaneously and asked the respondent if he or she knew it. For each method recognized, the respondent was asked if he or she had ever used it. Information was collected for eight modern methods—the pill, IUD, injectables, Norplant, vaginal methods (diaphragm, foam, jelly), condom, female sterilization, and male sterilization—and three traditional methods—periodic abstinence, withdrawal, and sporadic abstinence. In addition, respondents were asked to identify any other methods of contraception they knew about but which had not been mentioned by the interviewer.

Sporadic abstinence is a method unique to the NRO survey and was described to respondents as follows: "In order to prevent pregnancy, some men and women avoid sexual intercourse by various means, such as pretending to be ill, spending nights away from home, or 'facing the wall'." This practice was added to the list of methods in the survey, because it was mentioned by many participants in the focus group phase of the NRO study. Their comments include the following:

> *If a woman no longer wants to produce but when the man still wants to.... it reaches a situation when you no longer want to play sex with him. Then, when you go to bed you 'face the wall.' Even that can be part of family planning—when the woman refuses the man.*
>
> (Masaka Group 17: female family planning users)

> *An example is a woman in our area called Susan. She has tried to convince her husband, but in vain. What she now does is that, since she has limited education and she knows that she can become pregnant, she purports to be sick all the time so that they do not make love to each other. And this has gone on for almost one year now through dodging the husband. So she has been telling me if possible I should help her convince her husband to come to family planning.*
>
> (Masaka Group 16: male family planning users)

> *Because a man can decide to go away on safari knowing very well that the woman is in heat and that is a dangerous season [laughter].... Because I know there are some women who don't accept use of condoms. O.K., they may think that you are not a sexy person. It may look ambiguous for a married couple to use this kind of thing.....*
>
> (Masaka Group 5: male, urban, single, educated)

Overall, the level of knowledge of contraceptive methods is high (Table 3.1). In urban areas, 96 percent of men and 98 percent of women know of at least one modern method of family planning. While knowledge of modern methods is somewhat lower in rural areas, it is still high at 90 percent for men and 94

Table 3.1 Percentage of respondents who know specific contraceptive methods, by sex, urban-rural residence, and district, NRO 1995-96

Method	Lira				Masaka				Total					
	Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Total	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Any method	94.1	98.1	83.8	90.1	99.2	99.2	98.6	98.2	96.1	98.5	92.5	94.9	93.1	95.5
Modern method	93.8	97.2	79.5	87.4	99.2	99.2	97.9	97.9	95.9	98.0	90.3	93.6	91.3	94.4
Pill	89.6	91.9	64.7	70.3	98.3	97.6	94.9	95.4	93.0	94.0	82.4	85.3	84.2	86.8
IUD	43.7	54.8	20.4	34.9	41.1	64.6	18.2	30.2	42.7	58.4	19.1	32.1	23.1	36.6
Injectables	70.1	80.6	43.4	51.2	87.5	96.1	70.2	81.8	76.8	86.4	59.2	69.4	62.1	72.3
Implants	26.3	28.0	14.7	19.6	11.3	17.7	5.4	8.4	20.5	24.1	9.2	13.0	11.1	14.9
Diaphragm, foam, jelly	37.2	35.3	17.5	21.8	32.2	43.0	12.3	11.5	35.3	38.2	14.5	15.7	18.0	19.5
Condom	87.6	82.3	68.4	49.6	98.3	97.8	95.3	91.7	91.8	88.1	84.2	74.7	85.5	77.0
Female sterilization	72.8	81.2	54.5	68.8	83.8	92.9	74.1	87.2	77.0	85.6	66.0	79.8	67.9	80.8
Male sterilization	49.7	31.9	32.4	22.0	43.2	32.3	28.4	17.1	47.2	32.1	30.0	19.1	32.9	21.3
Traditional method	82.6	84.7	72.4	67.9	95.3	92.2	88.7	82.2	87.5	87.5	82.0	76.4	82.9	78.3
Periodic abstinence	75.2	79.6	64.0	58.3	88.9	83.9	74.2	69.2	80.5	81.2	70.0	64.8	71.8	67.6
Withdrawal	57.6	45.4	42.9	25.3	86.3	73.2	68.7	44.4	68.7	55.8	58.1	36.7	59.9	39.9
Sporadic abstinence	71.8	68.8	63.8	54.4	79.3	77.6	68.4	64.0	74.7	72.1	66.5	60.1	67.9	62.2
Local herbs	9.5	4.5	11.0	2.2	1.9	16.1	6.7	17.4	6.6	8.8	8.5	11.3	8.2	10.9
Other	3.8	3.8	0.9	1.4	1.9	3.0	1.1	0.9	3.1	3.5	1.0	1.1	1.4	1.5
No method	5.9	1.9	16.2	9.9	0.8	0.8	1.4	1.8	3.9	1.5	7.5	5.1	6.9	4.5
Number (weighted)	140	177	464	556	88	106	664	821	229	283	1,127	1,377	1,356	1,660
Number (unweighted)	303	372	359	404	405	543	289	341	708	915	648	745	1,356	1,660

percent for women. Knowledge levels are higher in Masaka than in Lira, particularly in rural Lira where only 80 percent of men and 87 percent of women know a modern method.

Among men, the most widely recognized method is the condom, followed by the pill. The pill is the most widely recognized method among women, followed by female sterilization and the condom. Not surprisingly, women are more likely to know about female sterilization, injectables, and the IUD than men, while men are more likely to know about male sterilization, condoms, and withdrawal than women. Periodic abstinence is the most widely known traditional method, recognized by about 80 percent of urban respondents and 65-70 percent of rural respondents. It is notable that more than 70 percent of urban respondents and more than 60 percent of rural respondents recognized sporadic abstinence. Finally, 16 to17 percent of women in Masaka mentioned local herbs (usually taken as a drink or tied around the waist) as a method to delay or avoid a birth, far more than any other group.

The percentages of men and women who report currently using a contraceptive method are shown in Table 3.2. In urban Lira, 20 percent of women currently use a method of family planning: 11 percent are using modern methods, while 8 percent are using traditional methods. In contrast, just 8 percent of rural women in Lira use contraception, mostly periodic or sporadic abstinence. Contraceptive use among women in Masaka is much higher; 45 percent of urban women and 18 percent of rural women use a method. The majority of Masaka women—four-fifths of urban women and over half of rural women—rely on a modern method, mostly the pill and injectables.

Table 3.2 Percent distribution of respondents by contraceptive method currently used, according to sex, urban-rural residence, and district, NRO 1995-96

Method	Lira				Masaka				Total					
	Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Total	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Any method	26.9	19.7	9.7	7.6	47.0	44.8	19.3	18.3	34.6	29.1	15.4	14.0	18.7	16.5
Modern method														
Any modern method	13.2	11.3	1.8	1.7	38.7	36.5	8.7	9.6	23.0	20.7	5.9	6.4	8.8	8.8
Pill	6.1	3.8	0.4	0.9	19.1	16.5	1.9	3.6	11.1	8.5	1.3	2.5	2.9	3.5
IUD	0.9	1.5	0.0	0.0	1.1	1.9	0.0	0.2	1.0	1.6	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.4
Injectables	3.3	3.6	0.5	0.2	9.5	9.4	2.5	3.3	5.7	5.7	1.7	2.0	2.4	2.7
Diaphragm, foam, jelly	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Condom	2.7	1.9	0.6	0.0	5.9	4.7	2.0	0.0	4.0	3.0	1.4	0.0	1.8	0.5
Female sterilization	0.2	0.6	0.4	0.6	3.0	3.3	1.7	2.5	1.3	1.6	1.2	1.8	1.2	1.7
Male sterilization	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.3	0.0
Traditional method														
Any traditional method	13.7	8.4	7.9	5.9	8.3	8.3	10.6	8.7	11.6	8.4	9.5	7.6	9.9	7.7
Periodic abstinence	10.5	6.2	6.5	3.8	3.9	3.0	3.4	3.7	8.0	5.0	4.7	3.7	5.2	3.9
Withdrawal	0.6	0.9	0.5	0.0	1.6	2.3	2.4	0.6	1.0	1.4	1.6	0.4	1.5	0.6
Sporadic abstinence	2.6	1.2	0.5	2.1	2.6	1.3	4.4	0.8	2.6	1.2	2.8	1.3	2.7	1.3
Local herbs	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.1	0.2	1.2	0.4	2.8	0.1	0.5	0.4	1.7	0.4	1.5
Other	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.8	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.4
Missing	0.1	0.5	0.2	0.0	1.1	0.5	0.2	0.2	0.5	0.5	0.2	0.1	0.3	0.2
Not using method	73.0	79.8	90.0	92.4	52.0	54.6	80.5	81.5	64.9	70.4	84.4	85.9	81.1	83.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number (weighted)	140	177	464	556	88	106	664	821	229	283	1,127	1,377	1,356	1,660
Number (unweighted)	303	372	359	404	405	543	289	341	708	915	648	745	1,356	1,660

Male respondents in the NRO study were asked separately about contraceptive use with each of their female partner interviewed in the survey. The reason for asking about contraceptive use in this way was to avoid the ambiguity that has surfaced in previous studies in which men with multiple partners may report use of family planning with any one of their partners; this may include use with women who are not interviewed, particularly other wives and extra-marital partners. As a result, contraceptive use as reported by men tends to be higher than that reported by women in many studies in sub-Saharan Africa (Ezeh et al., 1996). In the case of the NRO study, in which the sample consists largely of matched couples, any difference in contraceptive prevalence between men and women should be due primarily to reporting differences. Previous studies suggest that women may underreport condom use, perhaps because they believe that, since it is a method used by men, they are not supposed to report it. In addition, men and women seem to interpret the meaning of periodic abstinence differently, with men overreporting the practice. The same pattern is observed with sporadic abstinence, although focus group discussions suggest this may be one of the few methods that men can use secretly, without the direct consent or knowledge of their partner. If that is the case, then the higher prevalence reported by men, even in matched pair samples, may reflect the true situation.

As can be seen in Table 3.2, men tend to report slightly higher levels of contraceptive use than women. Overall, the prevalence rate for urban men is 35 percent and for urban women, 30 percent. In rural areas, it is 16 percent for men and 14 percent for women. These small overall differences disguise some

larger discrepancies in method-specific prevalence. In particular, men report higher levels of use of condoms, periodic abstinence, and sporadic abstinence than women. Also, in both Lira and Masaka, urban men report more use of the pill than women. Method-specific differences are quite large in some sub-populations. In rural Lira, for example, 7 percent of men say they are using periodic abstinence compared with just 4 percent of women. In rural Masaka, 4 percent of men report using sporadic abstinence compared with less than 1 percent of women. While women report more use of female sterilization and local herbs than men, this is offset by the higher prevalence of condoms, periodic abstinence, and sporadic abstinence reported by men.

3.2 Reasons for Use and Nonuse

Overall, 55 percent of urban respondents and 30 percent of rural respondents say they have ever used a method of family planning with their current partner. The primary motivation for these respondents to use contraception is to space births (Table 3.3 and Figure 3.1). Among men and women in both districts, this is by far the most frequently cited reason for starting to use contraception in their current relationship. When participants in the focus group study were asked to define family planning, they frequently mentioned birth spacing, as in the following excerpt:

Moderator: *What is family planning? What does it mean?*

Woman 1: *It's the way we care for our children to grow up in a good way, not produce year by year. The way we space our children, producing a sufficient number of children—so they can grow up healthy.*

Moderator: *Madam, what do you say?*

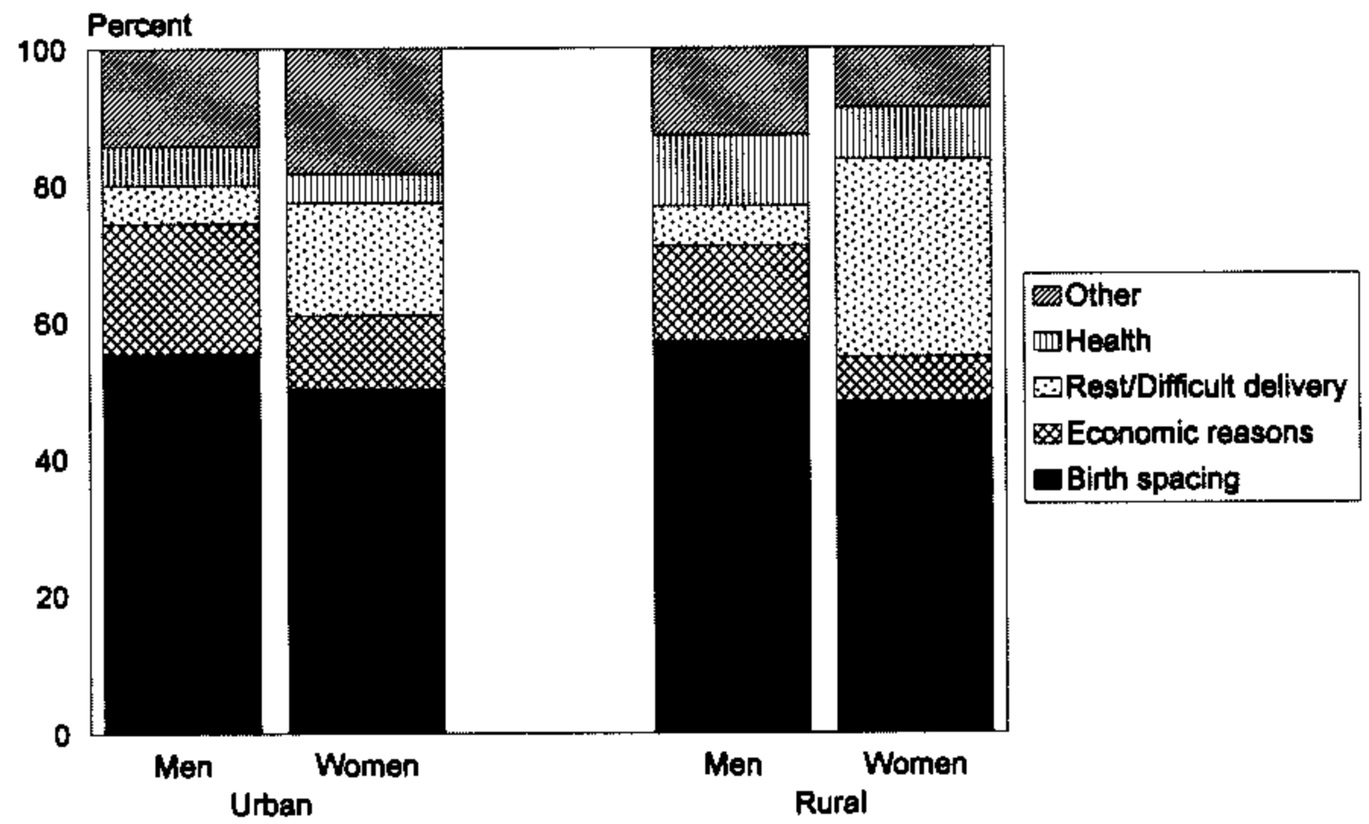
Woman 2: *Family planning is as she has said: it helps one not to produce year by year so that children grow up very well, because you produce them in the right time.*

(Masaka Group 14: female, urban, married, educated, working)

Table 3.3 Percent distribution of respondents who have ever used contraception in their current relationship by main reason for use, according to sex, urban-rural residence, and district, NRO 1995-96

Main reason for use of contraception	Lira				Masaka				Total					
	Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Total	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Economic	17.1	7.9	12.2	9.1	21.2	14.1	14.9	5.2	19.1	10.8	14.0	6.5	15.4	7.7
Health	4.9	6.0	5.9	5.6	6.6	2.5	12.8	8.4	5.7	4.3	10.4	7.5	9.2	6.6
Reached desired family size	3.5	5.9	0.0	2.9	10.1	7.9	8.2	2.4	6.7	6.8	5.4	2.6	5.7	3.7
Previous delivery difficult	2.1	5.1	2.0	14.6	1.4	3.7	6.1	6.7	1.8	4.4	4.7	9.4	3.9	8.0
Wanted to rest	4.1	15.5	0.7	9.9	3.6	8.3	1.2	24.6	3.8	12.1	1.1	19.6	1.8	17.6
Partner wanted to stop	0.9	0.0	1.2	0.0	2.9	0.6	2.4	0.0	1.9	0.3	2.0	0.0	2.0	0.1
Wanted space between births	62.0	51.1	75.1	55.1	48.4	49.2	47.9	44.7	55.4	50.2	57.1	48.2	56.7	48.7
No premarital birth	1.0	5.8	0.0	1.4	2.6	10.9	2.2	4.6	1.8	8.2	1.5	3.5	1.5	4.8
Other	2.5	1.0	0.0	1.4	2.9	2.6	1.2	1.3	2.7	1.8	0.8	1.3	1.3	1.5
Don't know	0.0	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.5	0.0	0.0	0.4	1.7	0.0	1.2	0.1
Missing	1.9	1.0	3.0	0.0	0.4	0.2	0.6	2.0	1.2	0.6	1.4	1.3	1.4	1.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number (weighted)	67	80	119	137	63	73	230	272	130	153	348	409	479	562
Number (unweighted)	130	154	97	105	290	373	105	118	420	527	202	223	622	750

Figure 3.1
Main Reason for Use of Contraception



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Among men, economic motives are the next most frequently cited reason for adopting family planning. These include ongoing expenses, such as school fees and medical care, as well as long-term considerations, such as inheritance and old age security.

> *If you have many children and they all get sick, it will be costly for you to meet the expenses of their medical care. Whereas if there are few, you can give them adequate medical care. During famine periods also, those with more children may suffer the effects of the disaster more than smaller families. Even land may be inadequate if you have many children who have to inherit pieces of your land when they grow. If your children are not educated, such inadequacy of land will make them susceptible to a lot of sufferings. This is because their main source of livelihood will be land; they cannot get any meaningful formal employment because they would not have been educated.*
>
> (Lira Group 9: male, rural, single)

For women who have used contraception, reasons related to the physical demands of childbearing are clearly the next most important, although these reasons are also cited by some men. As shown in Table 3.3, 16 percent of urban women and 29 percent of rural women cited wanting to rest or the fact that their previous delivery was difficult as the main reason that they started to use family planning.

> *...it helps the woman's health because if such a woman produces, let's say, about twelve, it reduces her life span whenever she produces. If you produce few, you don't get problems. Let's say some women are operated [on] when producing, and if you produce many you become weak. Whenever you produce, you lose a lot of blood, that also reduces your health.*
>
> (Masaka Group 8: female, urban, married, educated)

It is like this. You can get a wife who is always in troubles whenever she is pregnant. You need to take her to Kitovu hospital, and yet you don't have the cash to take her there. Now, when she sees that she always gets a lot of pain, she tells you, "My dear, I am giving up with producing." When you can also see what really happens, she suffers almost to death, and you decide to let her rest.
(Masaka Group 11: male, rural, married)

Respondents who had never used contraception in their current relationship were asked their intentions about using a method in the future. In the case of male respondents, this question was asked with respect to specific partners included in the study. Those who said that they did not intend to use contraception were asked why. Table 3.4 presents their responses to these questions.

Table 3.4 Percent distribution of respondents who have never used contraception in their current relationship and who do not intend to use a method in the future by main reason for nonuse, according to sex and district, NRO 1995-96

Main reason for nonuse of contraception	Lira		Masaka		Total	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Fertility-related reason						
Infrequent sex	0.0	2.9	5.2	2.9	3.0	2.9
Menopausal/hysterectomy	6.9	10.3	7.2	8.4	7.0	9.3
Subfecund/infecund	10.1	18.0	6.1	22.4	7.8	20.3
Wants (more) children	34.3	12.5	38.0	33.5	36.4	23.1
Opposition to use						
Respondent opposed	16.0	5.4	5.9	4.1	10.2	4.7
Partner opposed	0.0	2.7	1.2	4.2	0.7	3.5
Others opposed	1.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.8	0.0
Religious prohibition	5.3	4.2	12.9	1.5	9.7	2.8
Lack of knowledge						
Knows no method	16.3	17.9	6.1	3.5	10.4	10.6
Knows no source	5.3	12.6	0.9	4.4	2.8	8.4
Method-related reason						
Health concerns	0.0	0.4	2.8	0.8	1.6	0.6
Fear of side effects	0.0	2.3	4.4	5.5	2.5	3.9
Lack of access/too far	0.0	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5
Cost too much	0.9	1.1	0.0	2.6	0.4	1.9
Inconvenient to use	0.0	0.5	0.0	2.1	0.0	1.3
Interferes with body	0.0	2.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	1.0
Other	1.0	1.8	5.3	2.4	3.5	2.1
Don't know	0.6	4.5	4.1	0.9	2.6	2.7
Missing	1.6	0.0	0.0	0.7	0.7	0.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number (weighted)	146	213	200	218	345	431
Number (unweighted)	138	201	132	153	270	354

Both men and women most often cite fertility-related reasons—especially the desire for more children—for not intending to use contraception. Women in both districts also frequently explain that they are infecund or menopausal. Other types of explanations—opposition to the use of family planning, lack of knowledge of family planning, and method-related reasons—vary in importance by sex and region. Interestingly, opposition to the use of family planning is more important for men, while women more often cite lack of knowledge about family planning. Method-related reasons are least important for both sexes.

Aside from the preponderance of responses reflecting a desire for children (especially among men) and being infecund (especially among women), the reasons given for not intending to use contraception vary significantly between the two districts. In Lira, men are equally likely to cite their opposition to family planning in principle (16 percent) and their lack of knowledge of methods (16 percent) as reasons for not intending to use a method. Among women in Lira, by contrast, over 30 percent of never-users cite lack of knowledge—either of sources or methods of family planning—compared with only 12 percent of women who say they want more children. Focus group discussions, particularly those in the northern district of Lira, reveal some of the significant barriers to better knowledge and use of family planning services:

Woman 7: *The issue of family planning was brought to us some time back, but we were not given the definition. We only know that they can prevent childbirth or stop childbirth for some time.*

Woman 5: *I always hear that if you go to the family planning, you have to pay money. Since I do not have money, there is no need for me to go there.*

Woman 1: *For us, we never went to school so in most cases we hear that when you go there, they talk to you in English. So we tend to avoid such places.*

(Lira Group 2: female, urban, single, not educated)

One very important way of neglecting people is the way they will talk to you in terms of questioning and the tone they use when they question you. At times they tend to shout, not talk.

(Lira Group 3: male, urban, married, not educated)

In Masaka, method-related reasons for nonuse are relatively more important and lack of knowledge relatively less important than in Lira. This suggests that Masaka respondents, especially women, may be more familiar with the characteristics of methods than Lira respondents. As in Lira, opposition to family planning is more frequently cited by men than women. Overall, such opposition is slightly less prevalent in Masaka than in Lira for both men and women, and it is more likely to be expressed as male concerns about religious prohibitions. The reasons women in Masaka give for not intending to use contraception are more diverse than those given by other sub-populations; they are the most likely to cite a fear of side effects, cost, and inconvenience.

Nonuse may reflect a combination of an active desire for more children and significant social barriers to the adoption of family planning at the household and community levels. Communication problems between men and women are certainly a significant social barrier as well. A theme that emerges repeatedly, particularly among women's focus groups, is the fear that use or even discussion of family planning may be interpreted as signs of unfaithfulness or lack of commitment to the marriage. Among men's focus groups, distrust of women's fidelity or motives is also evident. Evidence of social pressures from the community to maintain continuous childbearing can be found in both men's and women's group discussions.

Man 2: *The target of the woman is to produce a boy without telling you her safe and deadly days. Because she just makes you enter the trap and yet even you can never have the time to discuss it in detail to know what is happening.*

Chorus: *Yes, they just let you enter the trap [laughter.]*

(Masaka Group 16: male, family planning users)

Some men don't like family planning at all. He wants you to produce, yet for you, you sense problems. Then it means that the woman has to secretly do this act. Some men think that if a woman practices family planning she can easily play sex outside marriage because she is assured of not becoming pregnant. Yet the woman has realized the problems of producing many children.

(Masaka Group 8: female, urban, married, educated)

...but Lango people only think that when a woman stops producing she will be a prostitute, so it makes stopping producing a very difficult thing. Not only that, some other people outside your family come in saying that so and so's wife "has taken"[1] you. That is why yours is no longer producing. So, this spreads and makes life for the couples very difficult.

(Lira Group 15: female, rural, married, working)

3.3 Negotiating Family Planning with Partners and Others

How do couples reach the decision to use contraception for the first time? Respondents who had ever used contraception were asked who first proposed its use. The results, presented in Table 3.5 and Figure 3.2, show a contradictory pattern. The large majority of all respondents (68 percent of men and 75 percent of women) claim to have been the ones who suggested contraceptive use. The pattern is very similar in urban and rural areas. At the district level, the men in Lira are slightly more likely than the women to claim that they first suggested contraceptive use, while men in Masaka are more likely than women to concede that it was the partner's suggestion. It is notable that almost one-third of the men in Masaka say that it is their partners who first suggested contraceptive use, while less than 15 percent of men in Lira admitted this. Suggestions to use contraception from people outside the couple are generally negligible, with the exception of urban Lira and rural women in Masaka.

Table 3.5 Percent distribution of respondents who have ever used contraception in their current relationship by person suggesting contraceptive use, according to sex, urban-rural residence, and district, NRO 1995-96

Person who suggested use of contraception	Lira				Masaka				Total					
	Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Total	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Respondent	74.6	70.3	78.2	76.9	63.4	76.5	62.8	75.7	69.2	73.3	68.1	76.1	68.4	75.3
Partner	14.7	21.5	13.1	21.0	33.5	18.2	30.6	15.6	23.8	19.9	24.7	17.4	24.4	18.1
Someone else	8.8	7.2	5.7	2.1	2.7	5.2	4.3	7.3	5.9	6.2	4.8	5.6	5.1	5.7
Missing	1.9	1.0	3.0	0.0	0.4	0.2	2.3	1.4	1.2	0.6	2.5	0.9	2.2	0.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number (weighted)	67	80	119	137	63	75	230	277	130	155	348	414	479	569
Number (unweighted)	130	155	97	105	290	382	105	119	420	537	202	224	622	761

To what extent is family planning discussed or considered openly among those who have not yet used any method of contraception? Who provides the impetus for such discussion? Data presented in Table 3.6 show reported levels of discussion of family planning among never users and who initiated the discussion. The results indicate low levels of open discussion of family planning among never users. More than three-quarters of respondents, in both rural and urban settings, say that they have not discussed family planning with their partners or others. Of those who have discussed family planning, once again the majority of both men and women report that they themselves initiated the discussion. Initiation of family planning discussion by other people besides the partner or respondent is virtually nonexistent.

[1] Used witchcraft to cause infertility

Figure 3.2
Person Suggesting Contraceptive Use among Respondents Who Have Ever Used Contraception in Their Current Relationship

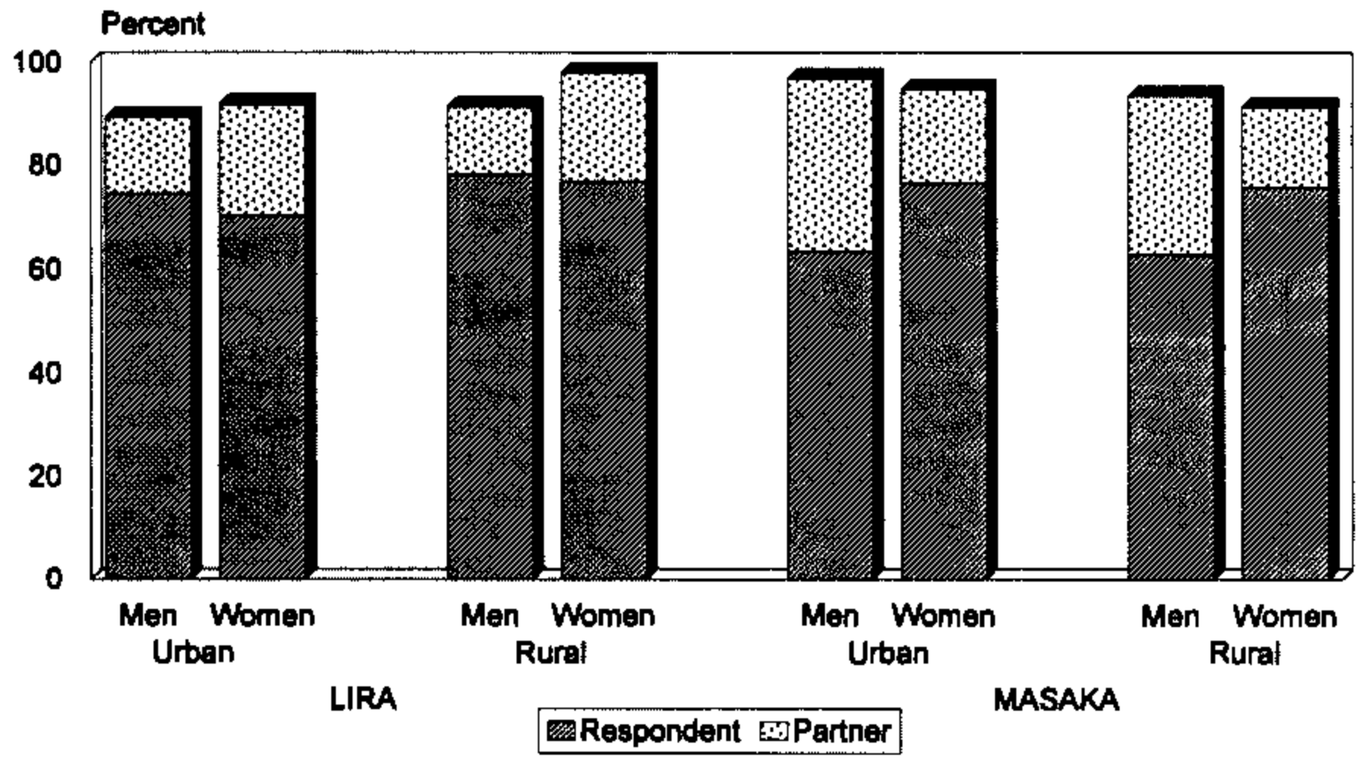

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Table 3.6 Percent distribution of respondents who have never used contraception in their current relationship by discussion of family planning with partner, and person initiating the discussion, according to sex, urban-rural residence, and district, NRO 1995-96

Discussion of family planning	Lira				Masaka				Total					
	Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Total	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Person who initiated discussion of family planning														
Respondent	14.2	10.5	5.7	8.0	19.8	19.4	23.2	17.4	15.6	12.7	15.4	13.3	15.4	13.2
Partner	3.8	9.7	1.6	4.5	7.8	9.3	12.8	11.9	4.9	9.6	7.8	8.7	7.5	8.8
Someone else	1.1	0.4	0.4	0.4	2.0	1.5	0.0	0.8	1.3	0.6	0.2	0.6	0.3	0.6
Missing	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.2
Never discussed family planning	80.9	79.4	92.3	86.7	70.4	69.8	64.1	69.9	78.2	77.1	76.6	77.2	76.8	77.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number (weighted)	73	97	345	419	25	30	434	544	98	128	779	963	877	1,090
Number (unweighted)	172	216	262	298	115	161	184	222	287	377	446	520	733	897

Differences in the level of discussion between districts suggest higher incipient demand for family planning in Masaka compared with Lira. In Masaka, as many as 30 percent of never-users report having discussed family planning, with virtually no variation either by sex or place of residence. In Lira, only about 20 percent of urban respondents (both men and women) report having discussed family planning, while less than 10 percent of rural men and about 15 percent of rural women report having discussed it. The likelihood that men or women claim responsibility for initiating such discussions also varies slightly by region, with women exceeding men in rural Lira, while men exceed women elsewhere by varying margins.

The most striking feature of Tables 3.5 and 3.6 is the lack of agreement between men and women on who first proposed contraceptive use and who initiated discussion about family planning. This finding is difficult to explain. Possibly, men and women simply remember or interpret the events differently. There may be some interview bias at work in which respondents believed that the interviewers would approve if they identified themselves as the one to suggest use; alternatively, respondents may have wished to avoid appearing to be weak or not in control of the relationship. While men might be suspected of being more likely than women to bias their responses in this way, another suggestion raises different kinds of doubts. As shown in later chapters of this report, the focus group discussions highlight the sensitivity of contraceptive issues, particularly for women, because of their association with promiscuity and the symbolic link between marital commitment and continued childbearing. It is difficult to believe that women provide the main impetus for discussion and adoption of family planning across all of these varied settings. Certainly both responses cannot be true.

The importance of nonverbal communication between partners about intimate areas of sex, fertility, and family planning—a finding revealed in numerous focus group discussions—provides a clue. Perhaps the topic of family planning typically is raised in a less direct, less clear-cut way in Ugandan settings, thus making the task of identifying who initiates discussion more difficult. Reliance on nonverbal communication can be problematic due to the possibility of mixed signals which may be liable to misinterpretation. It is undoubtedly an important factor in the decision to resort to secret use of family planning. It is worth noting that if women tend to conceal family planning use in the face of partner hostility, then there is a possibility that family planning use is underreported.

While the answer to the question of who initiates use or discussion of family planning is not clear, the results do point to the advantage of appropriate research design using mixed methodologies. By interviewing men and women separately in the survey component and by adding a focus group component, the NRO study design allows for multiple perspectives at the risk of ruling out simple interpretations of the data. The reports of men or women alone in this case would lead to confident yet ultimately misleading conclusions.

In Uganda, partner relationships are always affected by what goes on in the wider social arena, either in the extended family or in the partner's social network. In order to get a fuller picture of the social dynamics in family planning decisions, respondents were asked to report on the entire network of people that they may have consulted on family planning. The resulting data are presented in Table 3.7. Overall, 33 percent of women and 39 percent of men say they have discussed the practice of family planning with others during the last six months. While the levels are similar, there are striking differences between men and women in whom they talk to. Men are more likely to report talking to their wife or partner, followed by friends or neighbors. Women are twice as likely to report speaking with friends or neighbors as spouses, and they are almost as likely to discuss family planning with sisters as with spouses. These averages mask significant regional differences. Women in Masaka are even more likely to report speaking to friends, neighbors, and sisters over husbands or partners, while women in Lira are more likely to discuss family planning with their partner than anyone else. The patterns of male responses in both districts are roughly similar.

Table 3.7 Percentage of respondents who discussed the practice of family planning with others in the last six months, by sex and district, NRO 1995-96

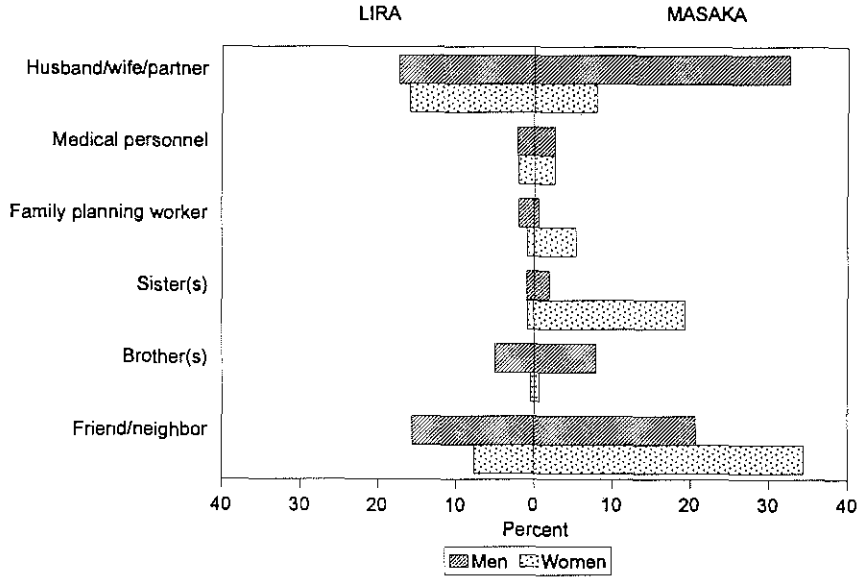
Persons with whom family planning discussed	Lira		Masaka		Total	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Discussed with anyone	27.5	21.2	48.3	42.9	39.0	33.3
Discussed with:						
Husband/wife/partner	17.4	16.0	32.6	7.9	25.8	11.4
Mother	1.3	0.8	0.6	4.9	0.9	3.1
Father	1.1	0.1	0.4	0.0	0.7	0.1
Paternal aunt	0.4	0.2	0.0	0.5	0.2	0.3
Medical personnel	2.1	2.0	2.7	2.6	2.4	2.3
Family planning worker	1.9	0.9	0.7	5.4	1.2	3.4
Sister(s)	1.0	0.8	1.9	19.4	1.5	11.2
Brother(s)	5.0	0.5	7.9	0.6	6.6	0.6
Daughter	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.4
Mother-in-law	0.4	0.4	0.2	0.6	0.3	0.5
Friends/neighbors	15.6	7.7	20.7	34.4	18.4	22.6
Someone else	1.3	1.8	2.0	0.7	1.7	1.2
Number (weighted)	604	734	752	926	1,356	1,660
Number (unweighted)	662	776	694	884	1,356	1,660

The data on family planning discussion raise another curious methodological riddle: women, especially in Masaka, are far less likely than men to report discussing family planning with their partner (see Figure 3.3). The discrepancy between men and women is unexpected, since the samples are almost completely matched.[2] This is one of the few instances for men where questions were not asked with respect to a particular female partner, so it may be that men's likelihood of discussing family planning with a partner is inflated by the possibility of having more than one partner with whom to discuss it. At the same time, the discrepancy could be a further testament to couples' difficulties with communication. Women may be shy to admit that they discussed family planning with their husband or perhaps they did not perceive in the same way what their husband reported as a discussion.

It can be concluded from the results presented in this section that there is little overt spousal communication about family planning in these settings. It has also been observed that men and women have quite different perceptions of any such exchanges and their underlying motivations. What is perhaps most interesting is that these perceptions guide the negotiation strategies of many partners in the absence of open verbal discussion.

[2] When the tabulation is done using the matched sample, the discrepancy persists.

Figure 3.3
Percentage of Respondents Who Discussed the Practice of Family Planning with Others in the Last Six Months



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3.4 Agreement, Disagreement, and Secret Use

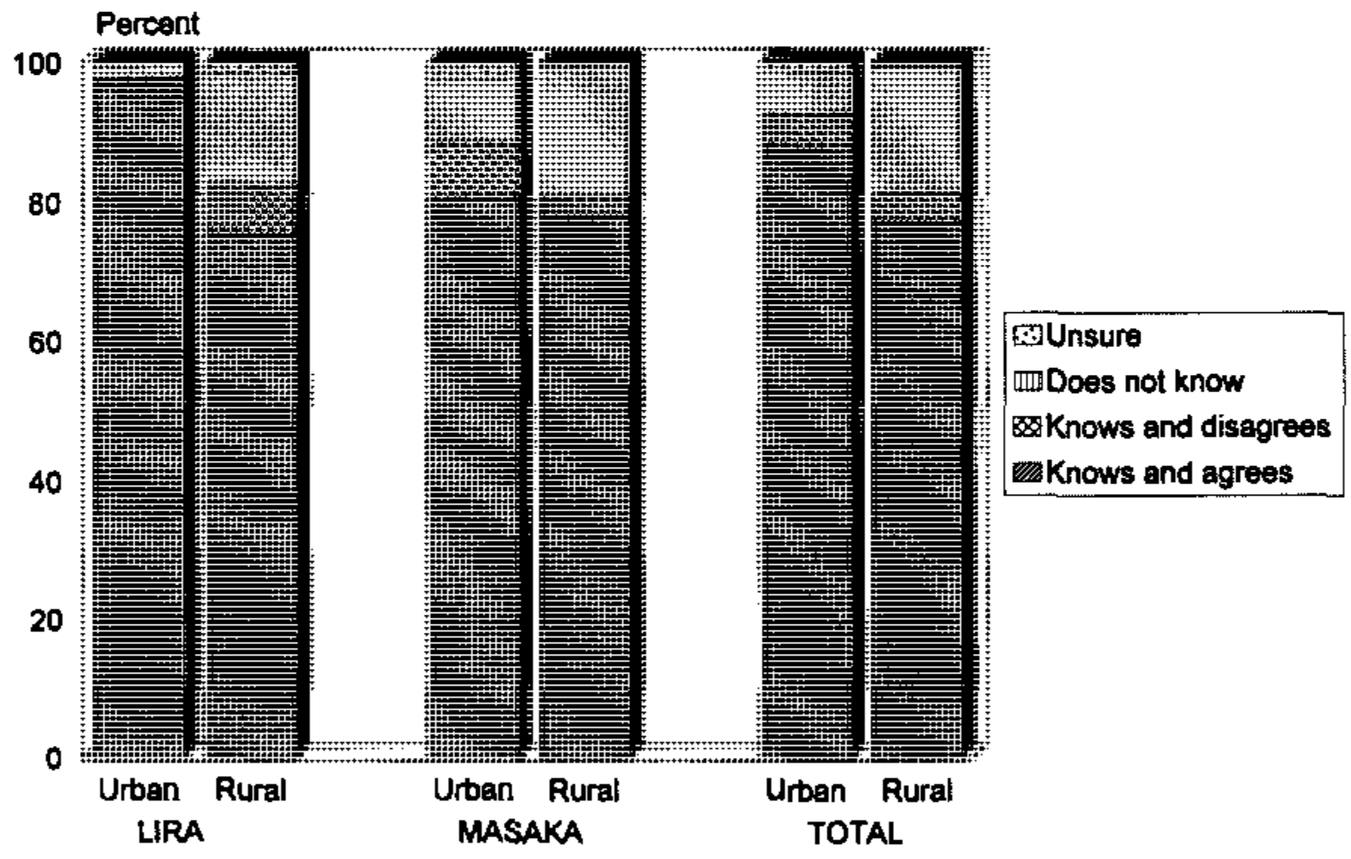
In contrast to the impression conveyed by a number of focus group discussions, the NRO survey reveals notably high levels of concurrence and lack of open disagreement among current users of family planning. Female respondents currently using family planning were asked about their partner's knowledge and approval of this use. The results are shown in Table 3.8 and Figure 3.4. In the large majority of cases (80 percent), women's partners not only know that they are using family planning, but also approve of this use. This agreement is higher among urban dwellers (88 percent) than rural dwellers (77 percent). In urban areas, this agreement is higher in Lira, where 98 percent of women report that their spouse knows and agrees with their contraceptive use, than in Masaka, where 81 percent of women report spousal knowledge and agreement. Knowledge and agreement among rural couples is about the same in both districts, approximately 75 percent.

The results in Table 3.8 further show that open disagreement about current use is rare. Overall, less than 5 percent of women use contraception with the knowledge but not the approval of their partner. This picture does not change for urban or rural settings. Interesting variations are found at the district level, however. In Lira, where contraceptive prevalence is lower, 7 percent of rural female respondents report that their partner knows about their family planning use and disagrees with it, compared with urban Lira where virtually no disagreement is reported. The opposite pattern emerges in Masaka district where contraceptive prevalence is higher. More urban women (8 percent) have partners who know about their family planning use and disagree with it than do rural women (3 percent).

Table 3.8 Percent distribution of women who are currently using contraception by husband/partner's knowledge and approval of contraceptive use, according to urban-rural residence and district, NRO 1995-96

Husband/partner's knowledge/approval of contraceptive use	Lira		Masaka		Total		
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Total
Knows and agrees	97.6	75.8	80.9	77.8	88.1	77.4	80.5
Knows and disagrees	0.2	7.0	7.7	3.3	4.5	4.1	4.2
Husband does not know	2.3	15.7	9.6	18.8	6.5	18.2	14.8
Doesn't know if husband knows	0.0	1.5	1.7	0.0	1.0	0.3	0.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number (weighted)	32	38	43	148	75	186	261
Number (unweighted)	67	30	214	62	281	92	373

Figure 3.4
Percent Distribution of Women Currently Using Contraception by Partner's Knowledge and Approval of Contraceptive Use



Secret use and open disagreement are related to the extent that secret use reflects anticipation of the partner's disagreement. Secret use of family planning is more prevalent than open disagreement. Overall, 15 percent of currently contracepting women do so without their partner's knowledge. On the whole, more rural users of family planning hide the fact from their partner than do urban users. In rural areas, almost one woman in five hides her use of family planning from her partner, compared with one in fifteen in urban areas. There also seems to be more secret use in Masaka than in Lira. Less than 3 percent of respondents in urban Lira report secretly using family planning compared with about 10 percent in urban Masaka. Similarly, about one woman in five among rural Masaka respondents is secretly using family planning as compared with one

in six among the rural Lira women. Although it was not mentioned in the survey, secret abortion was mentioned in two focus groups, both of them involving single, educated, urban participants from Masaka. Abortion was not mentioned in any of the Lira groups.

Opposition to family planning and secret use are clearly linked in focus group discussions. The bulk of the information from these groups shows that the women in Masaka and Lira face the same problem: men that they see as unsupportive of their family planning needs. Women's focus groups in both districts reveal a clear, underlying realization that this disagreement poses a threat to their marriages and, hence, to their positions in society. Evidence from men's focus groups in both Lira and Masaka suggests that they also worry about developments that they see as undermining their authority and making women more difficult to control.

Moderator: *If a man and a woman disagree about whether to delay/stop producing, what will happen?*
Woman 4: *They have to decide what to do secretly, and that's what most of them do.*
Woman 2: *The woman looks for solutions if she can, but the biggest number of women, especially those in the village, don't understand anything.*
Moderator: *What solution can she get?*
Respondent: *She can seek advice from a nearby midwife who can secretly put her on tablets [pills] which she has to swallow.*

(Masaka Group 13: female, urban, married, not educated, working)

Man 1: *In a peaceful home it is bad to do something without the knowledge of the partner.*
Man 2: *If a woman wants to do something and knows that if she tells you, you will not accept, she decides not to tell you.*

(Masaka Group 3: male, urban, married, not educated)

Man 9: *They [the women] have certain medicine, they say that if she ties on herself or if a traditional doctor gives it to her, even if you go to her how many times you cannot get anything out of her. But still she says if I untie it I immediately conceive. So many do it but we as men find it difficult to ask a woman incessantly. When you ask her she says it is there but can never tell you a particular area where it is. And yet so many use this medicine.*
Moderator: *Do they use it without your knowledge?*
Man 9: *Without our knowledge... but the women can tell you that the way to know that a woman uses this medicine is that whenever you play sex with her she can never remain naked. She remains in half petty [half slip], because that is where she ties it. That thing, sir, happens or she ties that on the bed on the front part, and she can never play sex with you unless on that bed. And doing it not on that bed she will definitely get pregnant. But when you ask her who gives her that medicine, she does not accept.*
Moderator: *Why?*
Man 9: *Because some women use it and do not want their husbands to know it.*

(Masaka Group 16: male, family planning users)

The focus group data seem to support the survey findings that open or hidden disagreement about family planning is more salient in Masaka than Lira. The tone of the women in Masaka seems to be more urgent, pointing to a high degree of consciousness regarding the need for regulation. The tone of the Lira women is more resigned, perhaps signifying their perceived powerlessness and preference for social acceptance over the as yet ill-defined advantages of using family planning.

Our Langi husbands are very difficult to deal with because if you say, "Let us put a stop to the number of children we are producing so that we streamline on how to keep them," the man does not agree. In fact he can take you to the clan heads if you are married.

(Lira Group 10: female, rural, single)

... if a woman wants to produce a particular number of children and says to her husband, "Why don't we go to family planning and seek advice?" and the man refuses, the woman may decide to go to family planning secretly and without the knowledge of the man. The man will just see the woman failing to become pregnant.

(Masaka Group 4: female, urban, married, not educated)

Another theme raised in focus groups is the high social cost of open disagreement between husband and wife. The potential consequences may discourage the discussion and open use of family planning, instead encouraging women to use contraceptives secretly in order to avoid such risks.

The first thing is fighting or divorce. It is also important that if negotiation fails, more especially when the man refuses, solving is not easy. Because a man can say I want more children but the woman says, "No." This can result in violence. So, it is either fighting or, if the children are not there, then divorce straightaway.

(Lira Group 18: mixed male and female, educated)

Me, I see that you can separate with your wife, if she can tell you that let us stop on this number, according to how she sees the situation, and yet for you, you feel you should produce more. If you do not divorce this wife, you are likely to just neglect her and bring another one because you still want to produce.

(Masaka Group 11: male, rural, married)

3.5 Conclusions

The NRO sample reveals the broad spectrum of family planning attitudes and practices found within Uganda today. Knowledge of family planning is quite high, with over 90 percent of both men and women able to recognize at least one contraceptive method. The method of sporadic abstinence when the risk of pregnancy is perceived to be high is unique to the NRO study and was developed from focus group discussions; over 70 percent of survey respondents recognize the method. Overall, 55 percent of urban respondents and 30 percent of rural respondents have ever used a contraceptive method with their current partner. Current use varies widely by region and residence, ranging from a low of 8 percent among rural women in Lira, who rely almost exclusively on abstinence and rhythm, to 37 percent of urban women in Masaka, most of whom use the pill, injectables, and other modern methods. The majority of users of both sexes justify family planning as a method of spacing rather than limiting the number of births. Nonuse was typically explained by survey respondents by the desire for more children. However, focus group discussions reveal a close connection between fertility and marital fidelity that represents a formidable social barrier to use.

A central concern of the NRO study with respect to contraceptive use is how men and women balance their own desires with the potentially conflicting desires of their partner or others. The proportion of respondents who have discussed family planning during the previous six months reveals strong regional differences. In Lira, for example, only one woman in five reports such a discussion, and these are limited mainly to current partners. In contrast, nearly half the women in Masaka have discussed family planning in the last six months, and they are three to five times more likely to have talked with a sister or friend than with their partner. Never-users rarely discuss family planning; one-third or fewer of never-users report ever having

spoken to anyone about family planning. Substantial majorities of both men and women who have discussed family planning—with their partner or others—claim to have initiated the discussion, a statistically impossible result that suggests either gendered patterns of perception or reporting.

On the topic of conflict resolution, the survey found high levels of concurrence between men and women about family planning use. Roughly three out of four women using contraception report that their partner knows and approves of their action. Open disagreement about family planning is rare in all settings, reported by less than 5 percent of current users. However, the higher level of secret use by women without the knowledge of their partner (15 percent) may be interpreted as a hidden form of disagreement. In general, concurrence between men and women about contraceptive use is highest in urban areas, while the secret use of family planning by women is highest in rural areas.

CHAPTER 4

NEGOTIATING NUMBER AND SPACING OF CHILDREN

One of the primary objectives of the NRO study was to obtain detailed information about the structure and evolution of ideal fertility desires. How are they articulated? Do they change over time and the course of childbearing? Are they subject to negotiation with the partner? The design of the survey allows the comparison of current ideal family size desires for eligible women and their current partners. The NRO study also obtained information about the evolution of fertility preferences over the course of the relationship, verbal and nonverbal communication between partners, and the resolution of differences between partners. These issues are addressed in this chapter.

4.1 Ideal Number of Children

As a point of departure, the NRO survey instrument includes the standard measure of ideal fertility found in most fertility surveys carried out in the last two decades. Both women and their partners were asked, "If you could go back to the time you did not have any children and choose exactly the number of children to have in your whole life, how many would that be?" For women without children and their partners, the question was rephrased, "If you could choose exactly the number of children to have in your whole life, how many would that be?"

Mean desired family size appears moderate to high across all categories of the study population (Table 4.1). Average desired fertility is 5.7 children for men and 5.5 children for women. Ideal fertility is predictably higher in rural areas than in urban ones, although the gap is very small for men (5.6 children in urban areas compared with 5.7 children in rural areas) and moderate for women (5.0 in urban areas versus 5.6 in rural areas). However, it is important to evaluate these figures in the light of nonnumeric responses.

Table 4.1 Mean ideal number of children by sex and perceived mean number of children desired by partner, according to sex, urban-rural residence, and district, NRO 1995-96

Mean ideal number of children	Lira				Masaka				Total					
	Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Total	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Boys	2.7	2.1	3.0	2.6	2.3	1.9	2.7	2.2	2.5	2.0	2.8	2.3	2.7	2.3
Girls	2.3	2.0	2.7	2.5	2.2	2.0	2.4	2.5	2.2	2.0	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.4
Either	0.8	0.7	0.5	0.7	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.6
Total	5.6	4.9	5.1	5.1	5.7	5.2	6.1	6.0	5.6	5.0	5.7	5.6	5.7	5.5
Percent non-numeric responses	16.1	15.3	29.1	23.8	3.2	1.2	6.8	3.3	11.1	10.0	16.0	11.5	15.2	11.3
Percent missing	0.7	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.2	0.0
Perceived mean ideal number of partners	5.4	4.7	6.2	5.6	4.3	4.3	5.6	5.4	4.9	4.5	5.8	5.4	5.6	5.2
Percent non-numeric responses	2.4	2.6	3.0	5.2	4.2	3.0	5.7	5.3	3.1	2.7	4.6	5.2	4.3	4.8
Percent who don't know partner's preference	44.8	60.6	65.3	77.9	27.7	38.3	39.6	56.3	38.2	52.3	50.2	65.0	48.2	62.9
Number (weighted)	140	177	464	556	88	106	664	821	229	283	1,127	1,377	1,356	1,660
Number (unweighted)	303	372	359	404	405	543	289	341	708	915	648	745	1,356	1,660

A significant fraction of the respondents—15 percent of men and 11 percent of women—did not specify any particular number of children, answering instead, for example, that it was "up to God" or that they wanted "as many as possible." Nonnumeric responses such as these are more common in rural than in urban areas, and regional differences are particularly striking. In Lira, nearly one in six urban respondents and one in four rural respondents gave nonnumeric responses. In Masaka, nonnumeric responses never exceeded 7 percent. To the extent that nonnumeric responses reflect a demand for high fertility, their obligatory exclusion from the numeric averages tends to underestimate true fertility desires. This might explain the unexpected finding that average fertility desires are higher in Masaka—which has a more developed infrastructure and higher contraceptive prevalence levels—than in Lira, particularly when comparing rural averages. Observed urban-rural differentials probably also are underestimates, given the high rates of nonnumeric responses in rural areas. Gender differences in ideal family size are strongest in urban areas, where mean fertility desires for men are half a child higher than those for women.

Respondents also were asked to report their partner's ideal family size. In a departure from the pattern established in responses to other questions about partner's knowledge or attitudes, most respondents—48 percent of men and 63 percent of women—say that they do not know their partner's preferences. This strongly indicates that ideal family size is not a frequent topic of direct or indirect communication between men and women in these areas. The mean ideal family size of partners (among those that did report a number) is lower, on average, than respondent's reports of their own ideal family size. This difference may be due to selection factors: men and women who have spoken with their partner and therefore know their partner's preferences may have lower ideal family sizes than those who have never discussed the issue with their partner.

4.2 Ideal Sex Balance of Sons and Daughters

The survey reveals almost even demand for sons and daughters. Men express only a slight preference for sons over daughters (mean ideal numbers of 2.7 versus 2.5, respectively). Women, on average, desire equal numbers of sons and daughters, with women in Lira showing a slight preference for sons and women in Masaka showing a slight preference for daughters. Strong son preference clearly is not a salient issue in the structure of fertility desires in either district. In fact, focus group participants tend to emphasize the importance of having some children of each sex.

Woman 5: *For me, I want four because, if there are two girls and by good luck they are married, the remaining boys can help me in future.*

Woman 7: *Me, I thought of six because I am a widow so it can be very difficult to feed them if you don't have anybody to help you farm. I am thinking of three boys and three girls. Even if the girls go, the three boys can help me maintain the family.*

(Lira Group 10: female, rural, single)

We, as women, we do not mind a lot. If you produce only boys and you educate or even if they are all girls and you educate them, they will be of value to you. We would not mind much as to whether to produce boys or girls.

(Masaka Group 10: female, rural, single)

...I would give birth to two boys and two girls. Because, according to our tradition, you find that each individual girl has a husband within the parents' house. This is just to say that a girl who has a brother can call him a "husband" because the brideprice which will be paid for marrying this girl, the brother will use in paying his brideprice for his wife. That's why they call the sister the "wife." So, the boy will remain home to strengthen the home of the parents and the parents would need somebody to stay around with them.

(Lira Group 8: urban, female, married, educated)

4.3 Negotiating Number of Children

The NRO study charts the evolution of fertility and spacing desires and the negotiation of these desires between partners in stable sexual unions. Negotiation was theorized to take place in a variety of forms, direct and indirect, verbal and nonverbal.

Respondents of both sexes were asked if they had ever directly discussed with their partner the total number of children to have. In the case of polygynously married men, questions were addressed with reference to each specific partner. The results shown in Table 4.2 reveal that less than half of the study population has ever discussed family size issues directly with their partner. Overall, 39 percent of men and 34 percent of women report ever having spoken to their partner about the number of children to have. These averages conceal substantial variation across gender, residential, and regional categories, with responses ranging from a low of 20 percent of rural women in Lira to a high of 64 percent of urban men in Masaka. Women generally report slightly lower levels of communication on family size issues than men, whether in the north or south or in urban or rural settings. Regional differences are substantial, with consistently higher levels of communication reported in the southern district of Masaka. Rural Masaka women, for example, are twice as likely to have spoken to their partner about the number of children to have as their rural Lira counterparts (40 percent versus 20 percent). Finally, there is a notable urban-rural divide in each district. Roughly one-half of urban men and women have discussed family size issues directly, compared with roughly one-third of rural men and women.

Respondents who had spoken with their partner about family size were questioned about the extent to which their views concurred at the time they first discussed the issue. Table 4.2 presents the results. It is interesting to note that both sexes share the same perception: that their partner desired more children than

Table 4.2 Percentage of respondents who have ever discussed the number of children to have and of these, the percent distribution by partner's relative desire for children at first discussion, according to sex, urban-rural residence, and district, NRO 1995-96

Discussion of the number of children to have	Lira				Masaka				Total					
	Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Total	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Ever discussed number of children to have	42.2	37.3	26.0	19.5	63.6	56.5	44.2	40.1	50.4	44.5	36.7	31.8	39.0	34.0
Fertility desires of partner at first discussion														
Partner wanted more than respondent	29.5	36.9	39.5	41.3	23.7	38.7	30.6	40.0	26.7	37.8	33.2	40.3	31.8	39.8
Partner wanted fewer than respondent	17.3	10.2	12.5	17.7	28.4	16.1	24.5	22.4	22.7	13.0	21.0	21.2	21.4	19.4
Both wanted the same	51.4	48.5	46.2	37.6	43.3	40.8	35.7	30.8	47.5	44.9	38.7	32.4	40.6	35.2
Don't know	1.8	4.5	1.7	3.4	4.5	4.3	9.2	6.9	3.1	4.4	7.0	6.0	6.2	5.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number (weighted)	140	177	464	556	88	106	664	821	229	283	1,127	1,377	1,356	1,660
Number (unweighted)	303	372	359	404	405	543	289	341	708	915	648	745	1,356	1,660

they did when they first discussed family size. The pattern is strongest among female respondents. Overall, 40 percent of women say that their partner wanted more children than they did, compared with 19 percent whose partners wanted fewer children than they did when they first discussed the matter. This pattern is found in both districts and is somewhat stronger in rural areas. One interpretation would be that men want more children than women. However, the pattern of male responses shows the opposite tendency. Except in urban areas of Masaka, men also are more likely to recall their partner as having higher fertility desires than their own. Since this is statistically implausible in a sample consisting mostly of matched pairs, there is either some recall bias at work or imperfect communication on this topic within couples.

Overall, reported concordance on fertility desires is higher in urban than rural areas. This finding fits logically with earlier evidence of more direct communication on fertility issues in urban areas than in rural ones. Regional averages, however, show higher concordance between partners in Lira than in Masaka despite notably lower levels of communication in Lira. Therefore, one cannot generalize that higher levels of communication between partners necessarily leads to higher levels of agreement.

Qualitative analysis of the focus group discussions generally supports the survey data and provides some insight into the different factors that encourage discussion among some couples and discourage it among others. While the focus groups do not suggest much regional difference in the prevalence of discussion, urban-rural differences emerge strongly. In six of eight urban groups in Lira and four of eight urban groups in Masaka, participants generally agree that couples do discuss the number of children to have. Participants in one group in Lira and two groups in Masaka disagree on whether couples discuss this topic.

Moderator: *How do couples decide on the number? Do they discuss it?*

Woman 4: *They discuss it when they are two. They consider their income. Even these days one may know he is sick and does not want to leave children suffering... Everything is expensive. He decides to discuss it with his wife to decide on the number of children.*

(Masaka Group 6: female, urban, single, educated)

Man 3: *For me, I do negotiate with my wife on how to manage my home and when the next child can be produced....*

Man 2: *For me, we have since been negotiating because she has a lot of difficulties in her labor....*

Man 7: *For me, we do negotiate. Why? Because we are living in town and both of us are working and we thought having very many children is a burden to us....*

(Lira Group 7: male, urban, married, educated)

Two common themes are the differences between couples by the level of education and the increasing perception of economic hardship that has made couples start to discuss numbers of children. There is also disagreement on who has the upper hand in decisions on reproduction.

It's men who mainly determine the number of children. But these days let us say if a woman is educated, and let us say the man is also educated, the woman may use her level of education to show that she also has a right to determine the number of children she wants. This is common these days...

(Masaka Group 7: male, urban, married, educated)

Woman 2: *These days, it's women who decide by themselves, and most quarrels in many homes are caused by women not producing. There are very few now who sit and discuss about the number of children to produce or let us delay. Most men don't agree to that.*

Woman 3: *But none of them discuss it these days. Those who are a bit enlightened may discuss...*

Woman 1: *....The enlightened ones are those in town, but in the village men don't mind. He can even produce more than ten . When you go to advise him, he will tell you, "When God gives you children, He always provides a way of caring for them." It's hard to say that people decide....*

(Masaka Group 13: female, urban, married, not educated, working)

In rural focus groups, by contrast, participants in three of four groups in Lira generally agree that men and women normally do not discuss the number of children. In Masaka, there is less consensus, with most participants agreeing that only educated couples engage in discussions and that couples in the villages do not. Among those who say there is no discussion, many groups place the blame on the intransigence of the opposite sex.

Woman 7: *They don't plan, because when he goes to drink, he drinks and does not mind much about planning. He just thinks of playing his role as a man. Because as a man, he paid bridewealth up to several cows, and he may bring another wife to the family, so he does not care to talk about planning.*

Woman 2: *Especially on the side of men, they don't agree. For us women, we could think of stopping producing but, on the other side, the man can refuse. So all this can cause problems.*

Woman 3: *In most cases the man does not agree, because he is always away and all the problems are yours. He always says, " I have already married you. How come you want to stop delivering?" So this makes it difficult.*

(Lira Group 15: female, rural, married, not educated, working)

Moderator: *Do you negotiate the number of children you may want with your wife?*

Man 2: *Most women do not agree on this issue. When you as a man suggests a number, she may say that you didn't marry her to count the children she has. Let God determine the number, not you. As a man you are not satisfying her needs. And when God gives us children, why do you want to do something God does not want?*

Man 1: *Women do not agree.*

Man 3: *For me, I tried and failed.*

Moderator: *Why did you fail?*

Man 3: *She said God has the number. Nobody should interfere with God's plan.*

(Lira Group 11: male, rural, married)

A formidable array of social forces aligned against fertility limitation emerges in a number of focus group discussions. Several groups cite the association of many children in a family with prosperity and pressures for high fertility from parents and clan leaders. As described in the previous chapter on contraceptive use, another recurrent theme is the fear that trying to limit fertility will be misinterpreted as a sign of unfaithfulness to one's partner. Women in both districts also express the fear that men will resolve conflicts over family size by divorcing or marrying another wife.

As a woman, when you say that you want to produce few children, the man might think that you are no longer interested in him. Then he has to go outside marriage in order to produce more. And for a woman ... if the man is enlightened and tells a woman that "let us limit the number of children" the woman might think that the man is no longer interested in her. "He wants me to stop producing so that he can produce from his other women he loves." Therefore, according to what I know in this area, deciding on the number of children is a very hard issue.

(Masaka Group 15: female, rural, married, working)

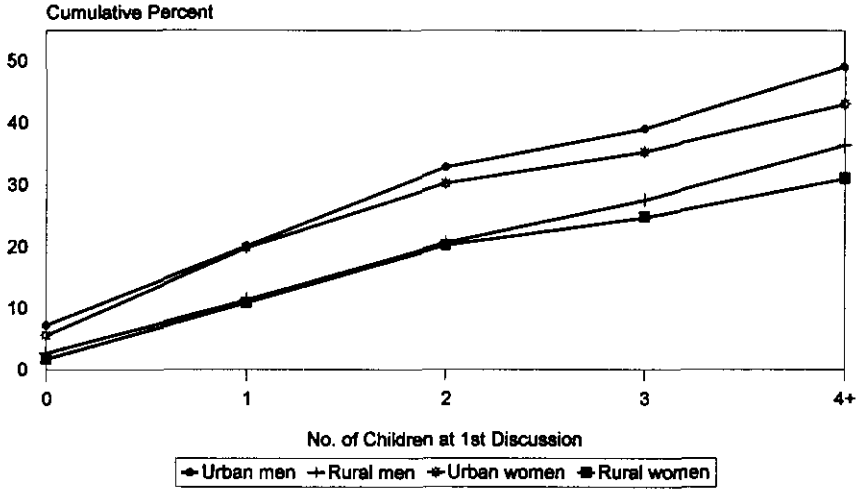
At what point do couples begin discussing the number of children to have? Respondents who had at least one child and had ever discussed the number of children to have were asked how many children they had when they first discussed family size issues. A large majority of respondents of both sexes report that the first discussion took place after childbearing had already begun (Table 4.3). Less than 10 percent of respondents say they had discussed family size before having their first child. Among those who discuss the subject at all, most couples do not delay for long; however, discussion of family size usually begins soon after the commencement of childbearing. Fifty percent of men and 59 percent of women report that the first discussion occurred after the birth of the first or second child. There are only small differences by sex, residence, and region. Figure 4.1 combines data on the percentage of men and women (with at least one child) who have ever discussed the number of children to have with information on the number of children at first discussion. The figure shows that, by the birth of the second child, about one-quarter of urban couples and about 15 percent of rural couples had discussed the total number of children they would like to have.

Table 4.3 Percent distribution of parents who have ever discussed the number of children to have by number of children at first discussion and mean number of children at first discussion, according to sex, urban-rural residence, and district, NRO 1995-96

First discussion of the number of children to have	Lira				Masaka				Total					
	Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Total	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Number of children at first discussion														
0	13.6	7.9	7.0	8.9	16.0	18.7	7.6	4.1	14.7	13.0	7.4	5.3	9.0	7.0
1	26.6	28.2	31.5	30.8	25.8	38.5	20.5	28.9	26.2	33.1	23.7	29.4	24.2	30.2
2	25.6	24.9	27.9	26.2	25.7	23.3	24.4	30.8	25.7	24.2	25.4	29.7	25.4	28.4
3	11.5	12.8	11.3	14.6	14.0	10.6	21.9	14.4	12.7	11.7	18.8	14.5	17.5	13.9
>3	22.1	26.2	20.8	19.5	18.5	8.9	25.8	20.4	20.3	18.0	24.3	20.1	23.5	19.7
Don't know/Missing	0.6	0.0	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.4	0.3	0.0	0.4	1.1	0.4	0.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number (weighted)	59	66	120	108	56	60	293	330	115	126	414	438	529	564
Number (unweighted)	116	133	94	82	258	309	130	144	374	442	224	226	598	668
Mean no. of children at first discussion	2.4	2.4	3.9	2.2	2.2	1.7	2.3	2.4	2.3	2.1	2.8	2.4	2.7	2.3
Number (weighted)	59	66	119	107	54	56	293	326	113	122	413	433	526	555
Number (unweighted)	113	131	93	81	251	294	130	142	364	425	223	223	587	648

Discussion between partners is more common about the immediate issue of whether or not to stop childbearing. These results are presented in Table 4.4. Overall, 45 percent of women and 47 percent of men have ever discussed stopping childbearing—substantially higher than the roughly one-third of the sample who have ever discussed the more abstract topic of the number of children to have. Respondents report that they first discussed stopping childbearing after their third or fourth child, on average. Urban-rural and regional differences cover a broad spectrum, ranging from rural Lira, where only one person in four has ever discussed stopping childbearing and only then after having four or five children, to urban Masaka, where two people in three have discussed stopping, first talking about it after having two or three children. In each setting, women are slightly less likely than men to report having had this kind of discussion, and they are more likely to recall that the discussion took place later in the course of childbearing.

Figure 4.1
Cumulative Percentage of Parents Who Have Ever Discussed the Number of Children to Have by Number of Children at First Discussion



NRO 1995/96

Table 4.4 Percentage of parents who have ever discussed stopping childbearing and of those, the mean number of children at first discussion, the percentage who wanted another child, and the percentage who said the partner wanted another child, according to sex, urban-rural residence, and district, NRO 1995-96

Discussion of stopping childbearing	Lira				Masaka				Total					
	Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Total	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Ever discussed stopping child-bearing	47.1	42.9	27.2	25.0	67.9	63.9	57.2	56.7	55.1	50.8	44.9	44.0	46.6	45.2
Of those who discussed:														
Mean number of children at first discussion	3.5	3.5	4.2	4.6	2.5	3.1	3.7	4.4	3.0	3.3	3.8	4.4	3.7	4.2
Percent who don't remember	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.8	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.8	0.5
Percent who wanted another	65.0	58.7	69.2	46.5	65.9	59.2	59.4	61.4	65.5	58.9	61.8	58.1	62.5	58.2
Percent who said partner wanted another	62.8	70.7	67.7	64.4	71.1	76.4	64.8	74.6	66.7	73.4	65.5	72.3	65.8	72.5
Number (weighted)	63	71	124	135	58	64	375	460	121	135	499	595	619	729
Number (unweighted)	107	139	102	111	265	341	168	201	372	480	270	312	642	792

Over half of the women and men (58 percent and 63 percent, respectively) who have ever talked about stopping childbearing say that they wanted another child at the time they first discussed the issue. These figures are generally comparable to the proportions in the full sample who currently want more children (see Table 4.11). Regional and urban-rural differences are small. Women consistently report lower demand for an additional child than their male partners at the time the subject was first discussed. Interestingly, men's greater likelihood of having discussed family size or fertility limitation does not translate into a greater desire to actually *stop* childbearing. On the contrary, with the exception of rural Masaka where demand for an additional child is virtually identical across sexes, women are significantly less likely than men to have wanted another child when they discussed stopping childbearing; the gap is as great 20 percentage points in the case of rural Lira.

Discussion among couples does not always translate into better understanding of each other's reproductive intentions. In an unusual pattern, respondents of both sexes tend to overestimate their partner's fertility desires: respondents' perceptions of their partner's desire for another child is consistently higher than that actually reported by their partners. For example, 72 percent of all women reported that their male partner wanted another child when they first discussed stopping childbearing, but only 62 percent of the male partners interviewed recalled wanting another child at that time. A similar gap separates men's perceptions from women's own reports of wanting another child. Women, on average, perceive men's desire for another child to be significantly higher than their own, while men imagine women's desires to be similar, if slightly higher, than their own.

4.4 Negotiating Spacing of Births

The study found less evidence of negotiation about spacing births than about stopping altogether. Table 4.5 presents the percent distribution of husbands and wives who have ever discussed their preferred waiting time to the next birth with their partners. Roughly one-third of male and female respondents have ever discussed the timing of the next birth with their partner (39 percent and 31 percent, respectively). In Lira, 26 percent of urban women and a strikingly low 14 percent of rural women have ever discussed this subject with their partner. Men in each category report significantly higher levels of discussion compared with women. In Masaka, more than half of urban men and women have discussed spacing, while slightly less than half of rural men and women have discussed it. Among those who have ever discussed spacing, the preferred number of months to wait before the next birth varied narrowly around 23 months, with virtually no regional, urban, or gender differences.

Respondents were asked to report their perceptions of their partner's desired waiting time at the time the subject was first discussed. These results also appear in Table 4.5. There is little difference between respondents' desired waiting times and their partners' perceptions of their desired waiting times; it ranged from 23 to 24 months across all subpopulations.

Table 4.5 Percentage of men and women who have ever discussed preferred waiting time to next birth with their partner, preferred waiting time at first discussion, and perception of their partner's preferred waiting time at first discussion, according to sex, urban-rural residence, and district, NRO 1995-96

Preferred waiting time to next birth	Lira				Masaka				Total					
	Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Total	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Ever discussed preferred waiting time	42.4	25.9	35.4	14.0	52.4	53.7	40.5	44.6	45.8	35.1	38.1	30.4	39.4	31.2
Respondent														
Respondent's preferred waiting time (months)	23.4	24.0	23.1	22.6	23.8	23.4	23.3	23.4	23.6	23.7	23.2	23.2	23.3	23.3
Percent who want as soon as possible	20.1	9.7	18.4	2.9	13.5	18.5	12.5	21.9	17.6	14.2	15.1	17.8	15.5	17.1
Percent other responses	0.0	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.3	0.0	0.2	0.0
Percent don't know	0.0	3.6	0.0	4.8	1.3	2.4	2.8	2.5	0.5	3.0	1.6	3.0	1.4	3.0
Respondent's partner														
Respondent's perception of partner's preferred waiting time(months)	23.4	24.0	23.2	24.0	23.8	23.8	23.4	23.6	23.5	23.9	23.3	23.7	23.3	23.7
Percent who want as soon as possible	20.1	16.1	17.0	9.6	17.0	23.4	18.2	29.1	18.9	19.8	17.7	24.9	17.9	24.0
Percent other responses	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.8	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.5
Percent don't know	6.6	8.6	5.2	16.1	5.5	5.2	5.1	6.8	6.1	6.9	5.1	8.8	5.3	8.4
Number (weighted)	43	28	124	52	27	29	163	191	70	57	287	242	357	299
Number (unweighted)	79	52	93	36	119	139	70	81	198	191	163	117	361	308

4.5 Discussion with Others on Spacing and Limiting

The NRO study explored the possibility that partners may discuss spacing or limiting issues with people outside the relationship. Discussion with outsiders on stopping childbearing and spacing births appears to be uncommon. In the case of stopping (Table 4.6), nearly three-quarters of respondents report talking to no one else aside from their partner. Discussions with outsiders are reported more frequently in Masaka (by 33 percent of men and 35 percent of women) than in Lira (by 20 percent of men and 17 percent of women). The majority of these respondents have spoken to friends or neighbors. Next in order of importance are relatives: female relatives, especially sisters, for women and male relatives, especially brothers, for men. In Lira, where roughly four out of five respondents have never spoken to anyone other than their partner about stopping childbearing, friends and neighbors represent the principal alternative for discussion. Unlike Masaka women, women in Lira do not appear to consult relatives of either sex to a great extent.

Discussion with people other than one's partner is even less common when the subject is spacing births (Table 4.7). In Lira, for instance, 91 percent of women and 79 percent of men report talking to no one else about spacing other than their partner; in Masaka, 85 percent of women and 84 percent of men have spoken to no one else.

Table 4.6 Percentage of men and women who have ever talked to persons other than their partner about stopping childbearing, by sex and district, NRO 1995-96

Discussion of stopping childbearing with others	Lira		Masaka		Total	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Discussed with:						
Mother	2.1	1.9	2.5	6.1	2.3	4.2
Father	1.3	0.8	1.6	0.0	1.4	0.3
Sister	1.7	1.8	3.2	16.3	2.5	9.9
Other female relative	2.7	4.5	1.9	9.7	2.2	7.4
Brother	6.7	1.1	8.6	1.1	7.8	1.1
Other male relative	3.6	1.7	2.2	0.8	2.8	1.2
Friend/neighbor	10.9	10.7	16.8	25.8	14.2	19.1
Health worker	3.7	2.5	1.7	1.7	2.6	2.1
Religious leader	0.7	0.0	0.4	1.1	0.5	0.6
Co-worker	2.0	0.0	2.5	0.0	2.3	0.0
Other wife/wives	4.0	0.0	7.0	0.0	5.7	0.0
Someone else	0.0	0.3	0.7	0.0	0.4	0.1
Discussed with no one else	79.5	83.1	67.4	65.1	72.8	73.1
Number (weighted)	590	608	741	767	11,331	1,376
Number (unweighted)	637	621	674	671	11,311	1,292

Table 4.7 Percentage of men and women who have ever talked to persons other than their partner about waiting time to next birth, by sex and district, NRO 1995-96

Discussion of waiting time to next birth with others	Lira		Masaka		Total	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Discussed with:						
Mother	1.4	0.7	1.4	3.1	1.4	2.1
Father	1.2	0.1	1.1	0.0	1.1	0.0
Sister	2.9	1.8	1.5	6.8	2.3	4.6
Other female relative	3.9	3.7	1.4	3.6	2.8	3.6
Brother	8.3	0.5	5.5	0.1	7.1	0.3
Other male relative	4.8	0.9	1.4	0.9	3.2	0.9
Friend/neighbor	11.9	3.1	7.3	10.8	9.8	7.4
Health worker	4.2	0.9	1.6	0.1	3.0	0.5
Religious leader	1.2	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.7	0.0
Co-worker	3.1	0.1	0.8	0.0	2.1	0.0
Other wife/wives	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2
Someone else	0.4	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0
Discussed with no one else	78.6	91.3	83.5	85.2	80.8	87.9
Number (weighted)	371	344	299	433	671	777
Number (unweighted)	386	327	266	372	652	699

These finding are supported by the focus group discussions. Most groups agree that involving other people in normal reproductive decisions is unusual.

> *I think when discussion happens, it is a matter between two people. To bring in somebody from the outside probably would not help. Maybe if it is a family friend, but any other person cannot help.*
> (Lira Group 11: male, rural, married)

4.6 Nonverbal Negotiation

Although many couples have never spoken about specific fertility issues, most respondents could, when asked, report the preferences of their partner. For example, of those respondents with at least one child who had never spoken to their partner about stopping childbearing, 62 percent of women and 83 percent of men offered answers about their partner's preferences. Tables 4.8 and 4.9 lists their explanations of how they know about their partner's opinions on limiting and spacing births. Actual responses cover a wide range, from indirect verbal communication (overheard talk, suggestive remarks) to *a priori* assumptions (all men and women want as many children as possible), to possible projections of the respondent's own desires (not enough boys or girls). When the subject is stopping childbearing (Table 4.8), the main sources of information for respondents who have never discussed the issue are suggestive remarks or overheard talk; together they account for 40 percent of men's and 50 percent of women's responses. The pattern for child spacing (Table 4.9) is similar, with an even greater emphasis on indirect communication through suggestive remarks or overheard talk.

Table 4.8 Among men and women with at least one child who know of their partner's desires about stopping childbearing but have never discussed fertility preferences with their partner, percent distribution by source of knowledge about partner's desires concerning stopping childbearing, according to sex and district, NRO 1995-96

Source of knowledge about desires concerning stopping childbearing	Lira		Masaka		Total	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Partner wants as many as possible	9.6	3.2	5.3	14.2	7.6	13.7
All men/women want as many as possible	8.0	11.0	4.7	6.1	6.5	8.6
Someone else told respondent	3.6	1.0	0.0	2.5	2.0	1.8
Religious reasons	1.2	0.0	2.9	0.1	2.0	0.0
Suggestive remarks	11.6	23.1	28.0	33.6	19.1	28.3
Has/plans to get another wife	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.6
Overheard talk	16.5	22.6	26.9	21.2	21.3	21.9
Always wants sex	6.5	1.3	1.3	2.8	4.1	2.1
Opposes/supports family planning	2.4	3.4	2.0	1.0	2.2	2.2
Not enough boys/girls	31.4	16.6	20.0	12.2	26.2	14.4
Other	9.1	6.7	8.9	6.2	9.0	6.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number (weighted)	314	277	269	275	583	552
Number (unweighted)	322	288	203	223	525	511

Table 4.9 Among men and women with at least one child who know of their partner's desires but have never discussed fertility preferences with their partner, percent distribution by source of knowledge about partner's desires concerning waiting time to the next birth, according to sex and district, NRO 1995-96

Source of knowledge about partner's desires concerning waiting time to next birth	Lira		Masaka		Total	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Partner wants as many as possible	8.9	8.9	0.0	10.2	7.6	9.4
All men/women want as many as possible	7.9	2.3	1.5	0.0	6.9	1.4
Someone else told respondent	3.1	0.4	0.0	10.4	2.6	4.1
Religious reasons	0.0	1.1	8.3	0.0	1.2	0.7
Suggestive remarks	20.2	35.1	9.8	47.7	18.7	39.7
Overheard talk	12.3	20.9	78.9	28.4	22.1	23.7
Always wants sex	6.5	1.3	0.0	0.0	5.5	0.8
Opposes/supports family planning	0.6	2.3	0.9	0.4	0.6	1.6
Not enough boys/girls	21.5	10.4	0.0	2.6	18.3	7.5
Other	19.2	17.3	0.6	0.3	16.5	11.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number (weighted)	121	121	21	70	142	191
Number (unweighted)	129	106	24	48	153	154

Results from focus groups indicate that men and women use a number of nonverbal negotiation strategies concerning reproduction. Nonverbal strategies may be divided into two types: changes in a couple's sexual behavior to avoid pregnancy and the secret use of family planning by one partner or the other. These issues are addressed more fully in Chapter 3.

4.7 Evolution of Preferences

At what stage in family formation do couples formulate ideal fertility norms? Respondents were asked if they had ever considered the number of children they desired before the birth of the first child. Although fewer than 10 percent of men and women say they discussed the number of children to have with their partners before beginning childbearing (Table 4.3), Table 4.10 reveals that slightly over one-third of the sample (33 percent of men and 39 percent of women) did think about the subject before their first child.

Table 4.10 Percentage of men and women who thought about the number of children to have prior to the first birth and mean number desired at that time, by sex, urban-rural residence, and district, NRO 1995-96

Desired number of children prior to first birth	Lira				Masaka				Total					
	Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Total	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Percent who thought about number of children to have prior to first birth	38.3	45.4	39.7	40.4	37.2	45.6	26.0	35.6	37.9	45.5	31.6	37.5	32.7	38.8
Mean number desired	5.6	4.6	6.0	5.8	5.0	4.4	6.0	5.3	5.4	4.5	6.0	5.5	5.9	5.3
Number (weighted)	140	177	464	556	88	106	664	821	229	283	1,127	1,377	1,356	1,660
Number (unweighted)	303	372	359	404	405	543	289	341	708	915	648	745	1,356	1,660

Urban women are the most likely of all groups to have considered it (46 percent), and rural women the least likely (32 percent). There are no significant differences by district.

If respondents had considered the issue of ideal family size prior to the first birth, they were asked to recall how many children they wanted at that time. Average responses range from a low of 4.5 for urban women to a high of 6.0 for rural men. Again, regional differences are negligible.

Do fertility ideals change over time or over the course of childbearing? Table 4.11 shows the change in fertility desires since the start of the current union. The majority of respondents (65 percent of women and 60 percent of men) report that their opinions on the number of children they want have not changed since the start of their current unions. Note the strong regional contrast. In Lira, less than 20 percent of the respondents report a change of opinion in either direction. Those wanting fewer children than they did originally outnumber those who now want more children by a ratio of 5 to 3 among women (11 percent versus 6 percent) and 2.5 to 1 among men (12 percent versus 5 percent) In Masaka district, by comparison, respondents whose opinions are unchanged still form the majority (62 percent of women and 57 percent of men), but their percentages are lower than in Lira and the percentage who have no opinion or don't know is relatively negligible. In other words, nearly half of Masaka respondents *have* changed their opinions about the desired number of children since the start of their current unions. Interestingly, the ratio of those wanting fewer to those wanting more children is similar to that observed in Lira. Overall, it appears that almost all men in Masaka who change their minds want fewer children, while, in Lira, one-quarter of men who change their minds want more children. While women are more likely than men in both districts to decide they want more children than they originally thought, most still change their minds to want fewer children.

Table 4.11 Percent distribution of men and women according to whether or not desired number of children changed since the start of their current union, and the direction of change, according to sex and district, NRO 1995-96

Change in opinion concerning desired number of children	Lira		Masaka		Total	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Opinion changed						
Want more children	4.7	6.0	5.0	13.7	4.9	10.3
Want fewer children	11.8	10.5	33.4	21.1	23.8	16.4
Not sure of direction	1.8	0.6	0.9	0.8	1.3	0.7
Opinion did not change	64.4	69.2	56.6	61.5	60.0	64.9
No opinion/Don't know	17.3	13.6	4.2	2.9	10.0	7.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number (weighted)	604	734	752	926	1,356	1,660
Number (unweighted)	662	776	694	884	1,356	1,660

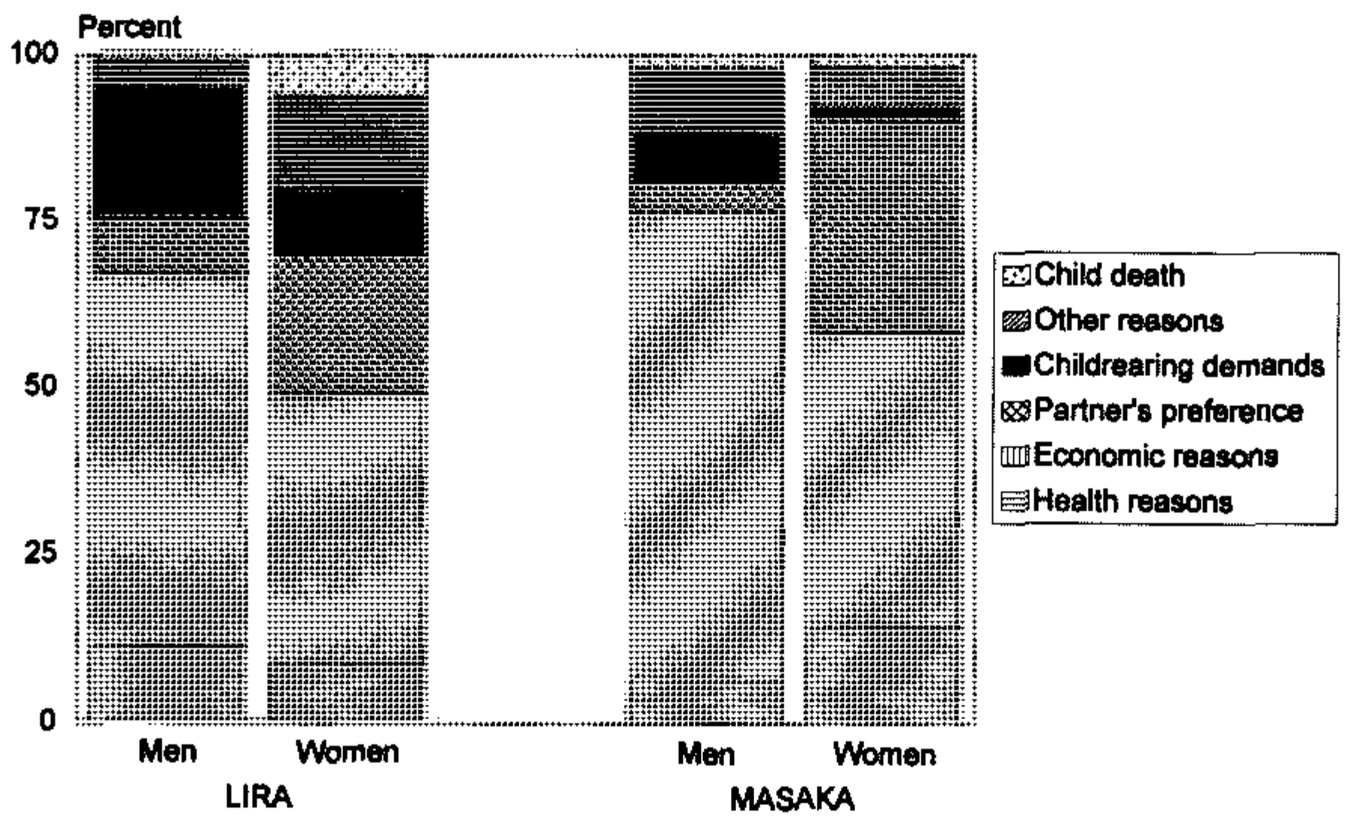
When asked why their opinions about the ideal number of children had changed, most respondents (66 percent of men and 43 percent of women) cite economic justifications as the main reason (Table 4.12 and Figure 4.2). This may reflect men's normative obligation in Ugandan society to cover the main monetary expenses of child rearing, including school fees and medical care.

It is interesting to note that women are far more likely than men to report changing their views on the desired number of children because of their partner's preferences. Overall, 29 percent of women cite

Table 4.12 Percent distribution of men and women whose desired number of children changed since the start of their current union by reason for the change, according to sex and district, NRO 1995-96

Reason for change in desired number of children	Lira		Masaka		Total	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Health	11.0	8.2	6.4	14.4	7.6	12.7
Economic	55.8	40.6	69.8	44.0	66.2	43.1
Partner's preference	8.4	20.6	4.4	31.8	5.5	28.7
Religious	0.0	2.3	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.6
Demands of child rearing	19.3	9.6	7.1	1.7	10.2	3.8
Child death	1.2	6.3	2.1	1.8	1.8	3.1
Other	4.4	12.5	10.2	6.4	8.7	8.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number (weighted)	100	121	288	321	388	443
Number (unweighted)	110	121	278	301	388	422

Figure 4.2
Percent Distribution of Men and Women Whose Desired Fertility Changed since the Start of Their Current Union by Reason for the Change



partner's preferences as the main reason for a change in attitude compared with only 6 percent of men. This one-way influence of men appears to be greater in Masaka than in Lira. A surprisingly large percentage of Lira men report changing their opinions as a result of the "demands of child rearing," but this is most likely an alternative way of expressing the economic demands of child rearing on men. After economic reasons and partner's preferences, health reasons are the next most important explanation for a change in the desired number of children; it accounts for 13 percent of women's and 8 percent of men's responses. This gender gap might be expected, because women are the ones who experience reproductive morbidity and mortality due to pregnancy-related complications.

Future fertility desires of men and women, which are presented in Table 4.13, reveal a surprisingly strong desire in this high-fertility setting to limit fertility. The desire for no more children is higher among women than men and in Masaka compared with Lira. One-third (33 percent) of men and almost half of women (46 percent) either want no more children or are undecided. While this gender gap is found in both districts, it is about twice as large in Lira as in Masaka. In rural Lira, for example, 74 percent of men say they want another child compared with 51 percent of women, while in rural Masaka 59 percent of men want another child compared with 52 percent of women. Urban-rural differentials are evident in Lira but virtually absent in Masaka, for reasons that are not clear.

Table 4.13 Percent distribution of men and women by desire for future childbearing and by perception of their partner's desire for future childbearing, according to sex, urban-rural residence, and district, NRO 1995-96

Fertility desire	Lira				Masaka				Total					
	Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Total	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Respondent's fertility desire														
Have another child	65.4	49.9	73.5	51.4	58.3	51.2	59.4	51.9	62.7	50.4	65.3	51.7	64.9	51.5
No more children	24.6	35.5	19.6	29.9	39.4	45.0	37.4	44.4	30.2	39.0	30.0	38.5	30.0	38.6
Can't get pregnant	5.6	5.2	2.7	6.1	0.2	1.2	0.3	0.6	3.6	3.8	1.3	2.9	1.7	3.0
Don't know/ undecided	4.5	9.3	4.2	12.5	2.1	2.6	2.9	3.0	3.6	6.8	3.4	6.9	3.5	6.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Perception of partner's fertility desire														
Have another child	58.9	47.3	68.0	44.3	60.2	59.8	61.7	55.4	59.4	51.9	64.3	50.8	63.5	51.0
No more children	24.2	18.2	15.6	14.4	31.0	22.2	28.8	23.3	26.8	19.6	23.3	19.7	23.9	19.7
Can't get pregnant	5.6	5.2	2.7	6.1	0.2	1.2	0.3	0.6	3.6	3.8	1.3	2.9	1.7	3.0
Undecided	0.4	0.3	0.5	0.6	1.0	1.2	1.4	0.6	0.6	0.6	1.0	0.6	0.9	0.6
Partner's desire not known	10.9	28.9	13.3	34.6	7.6	15.6	7.9	20.0	9.6	24.0	10.1	26.0	10.0	25.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number (weighted)	140	176	462	553	86	102	649	800	226	279	1,110	1,353	1,336	1,631
Number (uweighted)	302	368	357	401	394	524	284	333	696	892	641	734	1,337	1,626

When asked to report on their partner's preferences, the same unusual pattern emerges in which both men and women hold exaggerated perceptions of their partner's own reported fertility desires. Overall, 39 percent of women say they do not want any more children, but only 24 percent of men believe their female partner wants no more. On the men's side, 30 percent say they want no more children, while only 20 percent of women believe their male partner wants no more. Some, but not all, of this difference might be accounted for by the significant proportion of respondents who do not know their partner's preferences. For the entire sample, 10 percent of men and 26 percent of women were unable to report their partner's future fertility preferences. In both districts and in both urban and rural areas, women are significantly more likely than men to state that they do not know the partner's preference.

Reasons for not wanting another child are varied. Table 4.14 shows that economic reasons are by far the most important, accounting for about 62 percent of male and 46 percent of female responses. However, women are less likely to cite economic reasons than men in both districts. Again, this is probably due to the fact that men are expected to provide financial support for child rearing necessities. Women, on the other

Table 4.14 Percent distribution of men and women who desire no additional children by reason for not wanting another child, according to sex and district, NRO 1995-96

Reason for not wanting another child	Lira		Masaka		Total	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Economic	63.9	49.5	60.4	44.0	61.5	45.9
Reached desired family size	14.3	15.5	21.8	13.5	19.4	14.2
Previous delivery difficult	13.7	19.2	4.3	6.9	7.2	11.3
Wants to rest	4.1	8.8	3.3	26.5	3.5	20.2
Partner wants to stop	1.4	0.0	2.4	0.7	2.1	0.5
Health/AIDS	0.0	2.0	2.4	4.6	1.6	3.7
Other	2.5	4.5	5.5	3.7	4.5	4.0
Don't know	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number (weighted)	125	221	276	400	402	621
Number (unweighted)	135	224	271	394	406	618

hand, are more likely than men to cite health concerns such as difficult delivery, needing to rest, or general health worries. Less then one in five respondents of either sex report not wanting any more children because they have reached the desired family size.

The distribution of reasons for wanting more children is presented in Table 4.15. While a variety of reasons are mentioned, by far the most common—cited by nearly two-thirds of both men and women—is not having enough children. Another 14 percent of men and 6 percent of women justify wanting more children because they are still able to have them, a response which provides some insight into the implicit logic of a high fertility regime. The desire for another boy also appears to be a significant factor in the district of Masaka.

Table 4.15 Percent distribution of men and women who desire additional children by reason for wanting more children, according to sex and district, NRO 1995-96

Reason for wanting more children	Lira		Masaka		Total	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Wants a boy	4.6	1.9	11.4	11.1	8.0	7.1
Wants a girl	1.8	1.4	4.8	7.0	3.3	4.5
Child death	5.5	2.4	5.4	6.0	5.4	4.4
Partner wants more	4.1	2.0	5.2	5.9	4.7	4.2
Doesn't have any/enough	60.5	63.0	65.0	68.0	62.7	65.8
Can still bear children	19.6	12.9	7.4	1.4	13.5	6.4
Other	3.4	13.8	0.7	0.6	2.0	6.4
Don't know	0.6	2.8	0.0	0.0	0.3	1.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number (weighted)	431	365	434	467	865	832
Number (unweighted)	464	375	385	429	849	804

4.8 Resolution of Conflict

An important objective of the NRO study was to measure the degree of consensus on vital matters affecting reproductive health and fertility. To what extent do men and women agree or disagree about childbearing issues in this setting? In view of sometimes divergent desires between partners, respondents were asked about their expectations of how such conflicts would be resolved. Table 4.16 shows the distribution of expectations of future fertility outcome for "dissonant pairs," in other words, for those who believe that they and their partner disagree about whether to have another child. The level of open disagreement between partners is relatively small, because most respondents either do not know their partner's preferences or believe that they and their partner agree. Dissonant pairs account for 9 percent of the female sample and 5 percent of the male sample. Perceived disagreement is highest among women in Masaka, where it reaches 13 percent. Even though most of the sample consists of matched-pair couples, men's and women's responses can differ because disagreement is measured by differences between the respondent's desires and his or her *perception* of the partner's desires—which may or may not correspond to the partner's actual desires. It is a consistent finding of this study that men perceive less conflict over reproductive outcomes than women do.

Table 4.16 Percent distribution of respondents who are in perceived disagreement with their partner as to whether or not to have another child by prediction of their future fertility behavior, current preferences, and perception of their partner's preferences, according to sex and district, NRO 1995-96

Perceived disagreement with partner about having another child	Lira		Masaka		Total	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Percent who perceive disagreement	1.7	4.5	7.1	13.3	4.7	9.4
Respondent wants another, partner wants no more/ undecided						
Will have a child	*	14.9	7.7	13.6	11.9	13.9
Will have no more	*	0.0	3.2	0.1	3.3	0.1
Undecided	*	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2
Don't know	*	0.8	3.1	2.5	3.8	2.1
Respondent wants no more, partner wants another/undecided						
Will have a child	*	32.1	10.4	1.9	15.1	8.3
Will have no more	*	31.1	60.3	62.9	53.1	56.1
Undecided	*	11.3	5.8	12.3	4.9	12.1
Don't know	*	8.9	9.5	6.7	8.0	7.2
Total	*	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number (weighted)	*	33	53	123	63	156
Number (unweighted)	*	42	54	121	65	163

* Fewer than 25 unweighted cases

Most of the conflict observed arises from the respondent wanting no more children, but believing that the partner wants more or is undecided. That is true for men as well as women. A comparison of the two districts points to differences in conflict resolution. In the southern district of Masaka, regardless of sex, respondents report that they expect that their desires will prevail. Thus, 60 percent of men and 63 percent of women report that they want no more children against their partner's wishes and expect to have no more in the future. Similarly, the majority of those who do want more children, while their partner wants no more, expect to have more children. Surprisingly, Masaka men who want no more children expect that they will end up having another child more often than women who want no more children. However, the figures for men and women are not directly comparable since women are more likely to report being uncertain about the future. In Lira, by contrast, women seem much more pessimistic about the chances of prevailing when their partner disagrees. This is particularly evident when a woman wants no more children, while her male partner wants more or is undecided. Women in this group were evenly split as to whether they thought would, in fact, have another child, with about one-quarter remaining undecided. One possible explanation is the existence of greater normative pressures for high fertility in the north.

A similar regional pattern is observed for the anticipated resolution of conflicts over spacing, although the overall level of disagreement on spacing is lower (Table 4.17). In Lira, when the respondent wants the next child before the partner does, the respondent generally expects to prevail. But when the respondent wants to wait longer than his or her partner, women and particularly men are equivocal about the chances of succeeding. In Masaka, respondents usually expect to achieve their own spacing desires even when they are in conflict with the perceived wishes of the partner. The win/lose dichotomy is not as clearly contrasted here as in the case of stopping childbearing, where higher proportions of women and particularly men expect to get their own way.

Table 4.17 Percent distribution of respondents who are in perceived disagreement with their partner as to waiting time to the next birth by prediction of their future fertility behavior, current preferences, and perception of their partner's preferences, according to sex and district, NRO 1995-96

Perceived disagreement with partner about waiting time to next birth	Lira		Masaka		Total	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Percent who perceive disagreement	4.3	3.7	3.6	5.3	3.9	4.6
Respondent thinks partner wants to wait longer						
As long as respondent wants	36.2	5.5	24.0	2.3	30.0	3.4
As long as partner wants	6.9	0.0	8.1	3.1	7.5	2.0
Don't know	0.2	0.0	1.8	18.9	1.0	12.3
Respondent thinks partner wants to wait shorter						
As long as respondent wants	27.2	39.5	20.4	42.5	23.8	41.5
As long as partner wants	29.3	37.1	14.2	10.4	21.7	19.8
Other	0.0	17.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.3
Don't know	0.2	0.0	31.4	22.7	16.0	14.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number (weighted)	26	27	27	49	53	76
Number (unweighted)	29	34	33	41	62	75

4.10 Conclusions

Several common themes emerge from the data on ideal fertility and birth spacing norms. Ideal fertility norms are generally high in both study areas, ranging between 5 and 6 children per woman. Women desire smaller families and longer birth intervals than men, although these differences are small and restricted mainly to urban areas. In rural areas, men's and women's desires are similar. Only one-third of respondents have ever discussed family size or spacing, although most have (or think they have) a clear perception of their partner's desires even in the absence of direct communication. The data point to indirect forms of verbal communication, such as suggestive remarks or overheard conversations, as perhaps the most important mode of communication and negotiation between partners over childbearing issues. Nevertheless, a higher proportion of respondents, approaching one-half, report talking to their partner about the more immediate issue of whether or not to have another child.

The findings suggest that discussion of family size and spacing issues is largely a private matter in these districts. Very low percentages of respondents report discussing fertility issues with anyone besides their partner. The qualitative component of the study also points to a variety of commonly practiced nonverbal negotiating strategies, most notably secret use of family planning or sporadic abstinence to avoid pregnancy.

From these reports it appears that couples in Uganda formulate notions of ideal family size as they go. The majority of respondents report that they did not consider an ideal family size before the birth of their first child. Less than half of urban respondents and one-third of rural respondents considered family size before starting childbearing. Similar percentages had thought about an ideal time to wait until the next birth. Of those who did consider the issue, a sizeable number changed their opinion of the best family size over time, mostly preferring smaller numbers of children. A strong regional difference is observed, with Masaka residents more likely to have reconsidered their ideas of ideal family size than their Lira counterparts. The main reasons cited are economic.

Among respondents who feel that they and their partner are in conflict over fertility or spacing desires, most expect to prevail, although there is a notable tendency for women from the northern district of Lira to expect to be overruled by their partner.

In general, regional differences in survey and focus group data point to higher demands for fertility in the northern district of Lira and higher demands for fertility limitation in the southern district of Masaka. While women may tend towards more moderate fertility goals than men, the contrasts are neither consistent nor powerful. Indeed, it is particularly interesting to note that respondents of both sexes perceive demands for higher fertility from their partners, whether men or women! More consistent are urban-rural differentials, which usually favor longer spacing, smaller families, and more discussion of fertility issues by couples in urban areas.

CHAPTER 5

NEGOTIATING SEXUAL BEHAVIOR AND CONDOM USE

Sex-related problems, such as unintended pregnancies and the rising rate of Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS), require researchers and policymakers to consider the broader context of sexual behavior that may influence the success of programs aimed at inducing behavioral change. In this chapter, societal norms about women's sexual rights and obligations within and outside marriage are examined. Partner communication about sex and men's and women's personal networks for discussions pertaining to sexual intercourse are also explored. The final section presents data on men's and women's influence over whether or not to have sexual intercourse, couple disagreement over sex, and the resolution of such disagreement.

5.1 Sexual Norms

To address issues that affect women's sexual decisionmaking, the NRO asked respondents whether women have the right to refuse to have sex with their partner under specified conditions. Table 5.1 presents respondents' perceptions of the sexual rights of married women, while Table 5.2 presents corresponding information on the sexual rights of unmarried women. The data clearly show strong norms against sexual intercourse during menstruation. Eight out of ten men and nine out of ten women feel that women have the right to exercise sexual restraint during menstruation, regardless of marital status. The data suggest, though, that there is less consensus between men and women on this issue in Masaka than in Lira. In Masaka, especially in rural areas, men are less inclined than women to believe in women's rights to abstain from sex during menstruation. In contrast, slightly more men than women in Lira support women's right to refuse sex during menstruation, with the gender differential being wider for unmarried women's right of refusal.

Table 5.1 Percentage of respondents who say that a married woman can refuse to have sex with her husband under various circumstances, by sex, urban-rural residence, and district, NRO 1995-96

Circumstances under which a married woman can refuse sex with husband	Lira				Masaka				Total					
	Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Total	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
She is tired/not in the mood	67.8	71.6	63.3	61.9	75.5	55.8	76.4	55.5	70.8	65.7	71.0	58.1	71.0	59.4
Does not want to get pregnant	50.9	65.8	41.7	61.0	58.6	55.4	54.0	49.0	53.9	61.9	48.9	53.9	49.7	55.2
Pregnant or breast-feeding	32.4	34.5	40.0	43.1	30.2	4.6	35.1	2.8	31.6	23.3	37.1	19.1	36.2	19.8
She is menstruating	94.9	90.5	91.0	88.6	85.2	97.2	77.8	98.8	91.2	93.0	83.2	94.7	84.5	94.4
He is drunk	52.2	64.5	39.5	56.9	61.3	51.4	55.5	46.5	55.7	59.6	49.0	50.7	50.1	52.2
He has sex with outside women	71.0	72.8	61.7	66.2	66.9	52.3	72.4	46.5	69.4	65.1	68.0	54.5	68.2	56.3
He treats a co-wife better	34.3	52.0	28.4	44.9	42.0	43.7	43.9	35.0	37.3	48.9	37.5	39.0	37.5	40.7
Does not provide economic support	60.7	67.0	49.9	63.0	47.2	58.7	45.1	55.5	55.5	63.9	47.1	58.5	48.5	59.4
Does not provide child support	55.8	69.0	46.8	61.9	48.1	56.7	46.0	53.3	52.8	64.4	46.3	56.8	47.4	58.1
He beat her	56.9	51.8	42.7	49.0	49.1	47.4	44.1	48.1	53.9	50.2	43.5	48.4	45.3	48.7
She knows he has AIDS	85.7	77.2	87.6	75.3	77.2	78.3	65.8	71.1	82.4	77.6	74.8	72.8	76.1	73.6
Number (weighted)	140	177	464	556	88	106	664	821	229	283	1,127	1,377	1,356	1,660
Number (unweighted)	303	372	359	404	405	543	289	341	708	915	648	745	1,356	1,660

Table 5.2 Percentage of respondents who say that a woman who is not married can refuse to have sex with her partner under various circumstances, by sex, urban-rural residence, and district, NRO 1995-96

Circumstances under which an unmarried woman can refuse sex with partner	Lira				Masaka				Total					
	Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Total	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
She is tired/not in the mood	69.3	69.4	62.9	65.5	72.0	67.9	78.6	63.4	70.3	68.8	72.1	64.2	71.8	65.0
Does not want to get pregnant	55.2	71.8	46.1	70.6	75.4	77.7	78.1	72.1	63.0	74.0	65.0	71.5	64.6	71.9
Pregnant or breast-feeding	35.9	40.8	40.5	42.4	32.2	9.1	36.7	5.0	34.4	28.9	38.3	20.1	37.6	21.6
She is menstruating	90.8	81.5	89.7	82.4	84.4	93.4	77.5	96.3	88.3	85.9	82.5	90.7	83.5	89.9
He is drunk	51.0	63.9	40.6	54.4	57.1	50.9	66.1	37.7	53.4	59.0	55.6	44.4	55.2	46.9
He has sex with outside women	58.7	67.3	51.8	61.0	46.5	36.6	59.9	29.8	54.0	55.8	56.6	42.4	56.1	44.7
Does not provide economic support	64.9	72.7	55.5	71.6	52.1	76.0	55.7	71.4	60.0	73.9	55.7	71.5	56.4	71.9
Does not provide child support	61.0	71.7	50.4	71.0	54.3	75.1	56.8	68.6	58.4	73.0	54.2	69.6	54.9	70.2
He beat her	59.8	62.8	45.7	57.6	62.1	65.5	75.1	60.2	60.6	63.8	63.0	59.1	62.6	59.9
She knows he has AIDS	88.0	83.4	91.1	82.5	80.2	88.0	74.7	83.1	85.0	85.1	81.5	82.9	82.1	83.3
Number (weighted)	140	177	464	556	88	106	664	821	229	283	1,127	1,377	1,356	1,660
Number (unweighted)	303	372	359	404	405	543	289	341	708	915	648	745	1,356	1,660

Having an AIDS-infected partner is the second most important condition under which women, both married and unmarried, are perceived to have the right to refuse to have sex. It is surprising, though, that one in four men and women believe that a married woman should have sex with her husband even if she knows he has AIDS (see Table 5.1). This is an alarming finding given the deadly nature of the disease and its speed of transmission in sub-Saharan Africa. It is likely that one reason for the lack of unanimous support for a woman's right to refuse to have sex with an AIDS-infected partner is the awareness that condom use can prevent transmission of the disease. The responses could also reflect a certain degree of fatalism, however, if society perceives a woman whose husband has AIDS to already be infected with the virus; in that case, it would not make sense for her to reject her partner's sexual advances. There is no clearly marked pattern of gender differences in support for a woman's right to refuse sexual relations with a husband who has AIDS. Women in Masaka are more likely than their male counterparts, particularly in rural areas, to say that women have the right to refuse sex under these circumstances. In Lira, men are substantially more likely than women to recognize a woman's right to refuse to have sex with a partner who has AIDS.

Pregnancy and lactation are the conditions under which women's refusal to have sexual intercourse is considered to be least justified. Overall, only 36 percent of men and 20 percent of women feel that a married woman has the right to refuse to have sex with her husband during pregnancy and lactation, implying that prohibitions against sexual intercourse during pregnancy and lactation are not particularly strong. Masaka is characterized by a much sharper contrast than Lira between men's and women's views of married women's rights to exercise sexual restraint during pregnancy and lactation; men are at least six times more likely than women to believe in this aspect of women's sexual rights (see Table 5.1).

Of relevance to family planning programs is the fact that almost half of the sample does not consider a married woman's desire to avoid pregnancy warrants her refusal to have sexual relations with her partner. As Table 5.1 shows, in Lira in particular, men are less likely than women to consider that a married woman

has the right to refuse sex if she does not wish to become pregnant. This gender differential also appears in Table 5.2. In rural Lira, for instance, unmarried women who do not wish to become pregnant are perceived to have the right to refrain from sexual relations by only 46 percent of men compared with 71 percent of women. Interestingly, regional variations do not show consistent patterns. Women in Lira are more likely than those in Masaka to support married women's right to refuse to have sex if they do not wish to become pregnant, but among men the opposite pattern is observed.

In general, women give greater weight to the husband's failure to provide economic support than to domestic violence. Whereas close to 59 percent of all women support a married woman's right to refuse sexual relations with a husband who is not fulfilling his economic obligations, only 49 percent support a married woman's right to refuse sex with a husband who beats her (see Table 5.1). This differential is stronger in Lira than in Masaka and may reflect greater social acceptance of wife-beating in Lira. While domestic violence was not systematically covered in focus group discussions, the issue did arise spontaneously in several instances. The discussions reflect a considerable degree of ambivalence toward domestic violence and, in the following case, even open acceptance:

Moderator: *Does a man have power to fight the wife?*

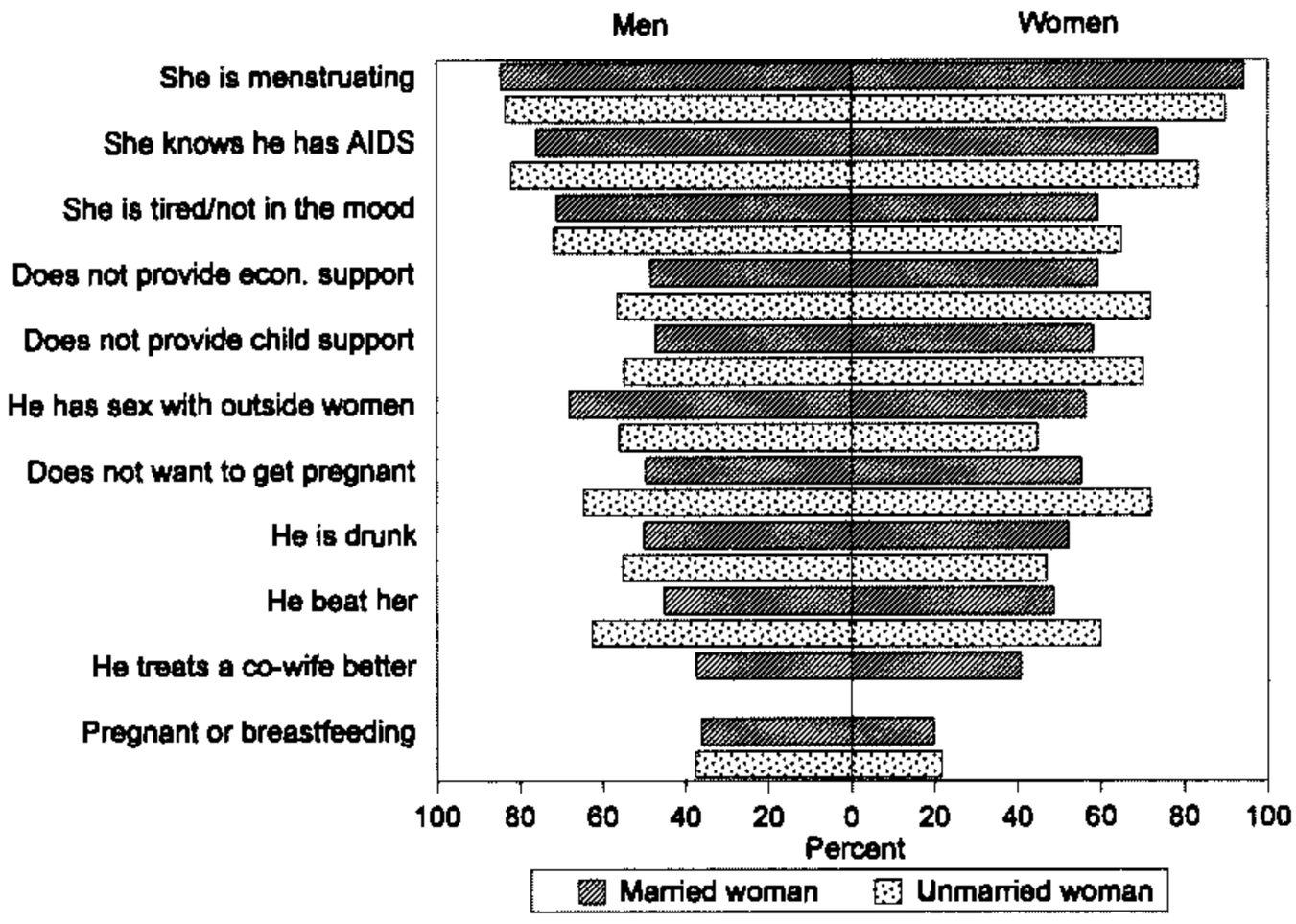
Woman 1: *A man has a right to fight or beat the wife because he has already removed you away from your home, because he is now in the position of your father and mother. And if there is any problem concerning the family, he is the one who is responsible; so the wife should obey..... Since women are married by men, and we are now in their houses, we have no right to fight a man. Men have already bought us, and if you whom they have bought, you go to give headache, that shows that you don't have respect which should not happen with married women. The woman should show respect. Even if the man beats you to death, that's when they can call for her parents so that they are paid because it was a forced death.*

(Lira Group 4: female, urban, married, not educated)

Notable gender differences are seen in Tables 5.1 and 5.2 for domestic violence, but they do not show consistent patterns within regions. In rural Lira, women are more likely than men to believe that a woman has the right to refuse to have sex if her partner beats her, irrespective of marital status. The opposite pattern is seen in rural Masaka, where three-quarters of men compared with 60 percent of women consider that domestic violence perpetrated by a partner merits the withdrawal of sexual favors by an unmarried woman. It is further observed in Table 5.1 that, in urban areas, more men than women support a married woman's right to refuse sex if her husband beats her. When it comes to the sexual rights of unmarried women, however, there are practically no gender differentials in urban areas (see Table 5.2).

A comparison of Tables 5.1 and 5.2 demonstrates the extent to which marriage may impinge on women's sexual rights in intimate relationships. Figure 5.1 depicts the differences in respondents' perceptions of the sexual rights of married and unmarried women. Overall, women believe an unmarried woman has greater rights than a married woman to refuse sexual relations with her partner under all but three of the conditions specified, that is, if she is menstruating, if her partner is drunk, and if her partner is having sex with other women. The perceptions of women regarding the sexual rights of married and unmarried women diverge most sharply when a woman does not want to get pregnant. While 55 percent of women believe married women have the right to withdraw their sexual favors if they do not want to get pregnant, 72 percent believe unmarried women have this same right.

Figure 5.1
Percentage of Respondents Who Say That a Married or Unmarried Woman Can Refuse to Have Sex with Her Partner under Various Circumstances



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Clearly, the institution of marriage imposes more obligations on women to meet the sexual needs of their partner. In focus group discussions, married women show serious concern that their refusal to have sex with their husband would lead to divorce or separation, a situation that many can ill afford due to the importance of marriage for defining women's position in society.

> *Failing to give your husband sex when he demands brings disappointment which aggravates to divorce or separation. Because there would be a lot of disagreement between you.*
>
> (Lira Group 12: female, rural, married)

Information at the aggregate level conceals important differences in respondents' perceptions of the rights of married and unmarried women between and within the two districts. This discussion will focus on those situations in which there is a difference of more than five percentage points in the proportions perceiving that married and unmarried women have a given sexual right. Men's perceptions of married and unmarried women's rights to refuse sexual intercourse are more consistent in Lira than in Masaka. In Lira there are only two conditions under which men believe that married and unmarried women do not have the same right to refuse: if the male partner has sex with outside women and if he provides no economic support for her or for her children. In comparison, Masaka men report at least four conditions under which the sexual rights of married and unmarried women differ: if her partner has sex with outside women, if he does not provide economic support, if the woman does not want to get pregnant, and if her partner beats her. This implies that, in Lira, marriage makes less of a difference to men's perceptions of women's sexual rights in intimate relationships.

5.2 Communication about Sex

Discussion about sex is an important phase of partner communication about reproductive health issues. When couples are able to communicate their sexual needs and intent, they also might find it easier to communicate about family planning, reproductive intentions, family size, and sexual health. In the NRO survey, two questions were asked about partner communication about sex. The first asked how difficult was it for respondents and their partners to talk about sex. The second question explored respondents' personal networks for discussions pertaining to sexual intercourse.

Table 5.3 presents data on respondents' level of comfort in talking about sex and on the degree of consensus between matched partners. Overall, the majority of both men and women report that it is not difficult to talk about sex with their partner, although this is true for substantially higher percentages of men (90 percent) than women (59 percent). Three percent of husbands, compared with 18 percent of wives, find it very difficult to talk about sex. The level of consensus can be seen in the descending diagonal of figures from left to right. Accordingly, 54 percent of couples concur that discussing sex with each other is not difficult, and almost 2 percent concur that it is somewhat or very difficult. In the remainder of couples (44 percent), partners hold discordant views. For example, in 35 percent of couples, women report that sex is somewhat or very difficult to talk about, while their male partner says the issue is not difficult to discuss at all. In 5 percent of couples, men find it somewhat or very difficult to discuss sex, while their female partner says it is not difficult.

Table 5.3 Percent distribution of husbands and wives by how difficult they find it to talk about sex, NRO 1995-96

	Wife says talking about sex is:					Number	
	Very difficult	Somewhat difficult	Not difficult	Don't know	Total	Weighted	Unweighted
Husband says talking about sex is:							
Very difficult	0.4	0.7	1.6	0.0	2.7	36	39
Somewhat difficult	2.1	1.5	3.2	0.2	6.9	94	100
Not difficult	15.1	19.4	53.8	1.6	89.8	1,218	1,208
Don't know	0.0	0.3	0.2	0.0	0.6	8	9
Total	17.5	21.9	58.7	1.8	100.0	-	-
Number (weighted)	237	297	796	25	-	1,356	-
Number (unweighted)	215	274	852	15	-	-	1,356

A woman's ability to refuse or initiate sexual encounters might be viewed as a prerequisite or at least a critical indicator of her ability to negotiate any of the subsequent reproductive health and fertility outcomes. Focus group discussions explored the differential ability of men and women to initiate sexual encounters. It is apparent that the dominant norms governing sexual behavior in both districts openly discourage women from verbalizing their sexual intentions. Instead, women are taught that it is the man's role to verbalize sexual intent and initiate sexual contact. Consequently, many women feel uncomfortable openly discussing their sexual feelings and desires, and many men may reject women who verbally communicate their sexual needs. A woman who communicates her sexual desires may be viewed as promiscuous or a prostitute. Furthermore, for single women, the fear of being stigmatized as having AIDS and wanting to spread it prevents many from communicating their sexual needs verbally.

Moderator: *Now is it proper for a woman to initiate sex?*
Man: *Naturally, it's realistic, but culturally it's taken as wrong, and in most cases as long as she initiates first she is always denied charge, because she is regarded as a prostitute. [chorus] [laughter].*

(Masaka Group 5: male, urban, single, educated)

Woman 8: *You a woman! It's not natural. It is the man to tell the woman. Because even to marry, it's the man who goes and look for a woman. But not a woman to go... a man.*

(Masaka Group 10: female, rural, single)

Moderator: *The question we are discussing now says: is it considered proper for the woman to initiate sex?*
Chorus: *It is not proper*
Man 1: *Culturally, it is not proper!*
Moderator: *Why? She is your wife, why isn't it proper?*
Man 1: *If she is your wife, it is proper. But culturally, it is not proper.*
Moderator: *Culturally it is not proper?*
Chorus: *Yes ....*
Man 10: *On my behalf [Moderator: Yes sir] the way I see it, the wife cannot dare take courage to call you and tell you that thing direct.*

(Masaka Group 11: male, rural, married)

Moderator: *Do you think we women can also begin conning [proposing sex to] men?*
Woman 7: *No, women don't con a man since the Langi were established. Its hard to begin since we are shy.*
Woman 4: *These men in Lango here, if you ask one for love he will first ask you if you are mentally disturbed or he may suspect you have AIDS.*
Woman 5: *They can brand you the "owners of the slim" to mean somebody who has AIDS.*
Woman 4: *Others slap you there and then; as they know, you can take them to no court. Eventually you end up ashamed.*

(Lira Group 10: female, rural, single)

Moderator: *Do you think a girl/women can begin to initiate sex or ask for love?*
Woman 5: *Women do not initiate love. When women begin, men would say you are either mad or you have AIDS and now you want to spread it.*
Woman 1: *From my side, I see that most women are cowards. Although they may be in need but they have that fear; they cannot open their mouth to ask for sex.*
Woman 8: *We are already used to our men to initiate love or sex*
Woman 1: *In Lango here when a woman starts asking for sex, people will begin to fear you; they will associate you with slim [AIDS] or you would be labeled a mad woman.*

(Lira Group 2: female, urban, single, not educated)

In Masaka, there is a general lack of consensus as to whether it is appropriate for married women to talk to their husband about sex. While some participants feel that it has become more acceptable for married women to communicate their sexual needs than in the past, nonverbal behavior is emphasized and considered to be more appropriate. Direct verbal forms of communication tend to be associated with women who drink *waragi* (local gin) and with those who frequent bars. Women are expected to use "tricks" to "con a man" or "signs" that range from seductive looks, gestures, gait or dress, use of perfumes, cooking special foods, and

pampering the male partner to, among the educated, writing "straight-forward" notes that can be placed beside the bed. It is generally agreed that women use more indirect forms of sexual communication than men.

Woman 2: *Women in all ways con men. Except that they con in a long way like telling stories or saying what the man wants; or talking about him to his friends so they can tell him and then the boy will ask her. Also, their way of walking changes. If she sees the man, she smiles.*

Woman 6: *Those women who drink don't find conning difficult. They ask you straight away if she has drunk enough. Sometimes they take you to a drinking joint; then they buy you booze so that you can get drunk. Then she begins telling you boldly that she loves you so much.*

(Lira Group 15: female, rural, married, working)

Moderator: *Do you think or is it proper for the woman to initiate sex?*

Man: *A wife or any woman?*

Man: *A wife*

Moderator: *Okay...*

Man: *Me, if I consider it a proper home, she feels free to pass a message, and I for one see no problem with it. Since you are already one. You are mine and I am yours....*

Man: *...but as you see our society, it brought women to be that they use actions more than words...Okay, let's say the husband is settled reading a newspaper and the wife comes to tell him that, "Come"; the man is going to say "Where did this woman get this harlotism from?" The man sees it as strange because he is not used to it. Because he knows the wife should use signs instead.*

(Masaka Group 16: male, family planning users)

Moderator: *Is it proper for the women to initiate sex?*

Woman 5: *It is very hard. It is very difficult for a woman to tell a man....*

Woman 6: *It would be proper for the women to initiate [sex] when they are in marriage but not to every man. In marriage, it would be proper such that you feel free to initiate because you also have that humanity just as the husband does....*

Woman 7: *It would be okay for married people because they don't get ashamed. But for those not married, a girl in different place to that of a man - I see some problem there for a woman to come from wherever and tell the man. In good discipline, it is not feasible but in marriage you can both show signs.*

(Masaka Group 12: female, rural, married)

Moderator: *Is it normal in this area for a woman to request a man for sex?*

Woman: *It could have been normal but we women are very shy towards men. When you think of telling him what you actually want he will say that "This woman is obscene". Then he names you that....*

Woman: *...it is hard for a woman to say something openly but acts alone can even express it better than words.*

(Masaka Group 15: female, rural, married, working)

Although couples may not talk to each other about sex, they may have personal networks of family members and friends with whom they are comfortable discussing sexual matters. To explore these networks, the NRO survey asked respondents whether they had ever talked to anyone besides their partner about sex. As observed in Table 5.4, 93 percent of men and 78 percent of women report that they have not. Although men are more likely than women to have discussed sex with someone other than their current partner, their

Table 5.4 Percentage of men and women who have talked about sex with someone other than their partner, by sex and district, NRO 1995-1996

Prson with whom respondent talked about sex	Lira		Masaka		Total	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Talked to:						
Mother	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.4	0.1	0.3
Father	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0
Sister/sister-in-law	0.6	0.7	0.2	7.4	0.4	4.4
Other female relative	1.3	1.1	0.3	4.6	0.8	3.0
Brother	3.4	0.0	1.2	0.1	2.2	0.0
Other male relative	3.3	0.0	0.1	0.0	1.5	0.0
Male friend/neighbor	9.1	0.2	3.2	2.0	5.8	1.2
Female friend/neighbor	6.4	2.1	2.5	8.2	4.2	5.5
Religious leader	0.9	0.1	0.1	1.1	0.4	0.6
Health worker	1.2	0.1	0.4	0.4	0.8	0.3
Co-worker	0.6	0.0	2.4	0.0	1.6	0.0
Other wife/wives	11.0	0.0	14.2	0.0	12.7	0.0
Others	2.2	0.0	0.1	0.0	1.0	0.0
Talked to no one	75.5	97.3	79.3	88.9	77.6	92.6
Number (weighted)	604	734	752	926	1,356	1,660
Number (unweighted)	662	776	694	884	1,356	1,660

communication networks are composed largely of other wives or partners. Women tend to discuss sex with other women, mostly their sisters, sisters-in-law, friends, and neighbors, whereas men's networks tend to be more diversified by gender. For example, 6 percent of men have talked to male friends or neighbors about sex, while 4 percent have discussed this issue with female friends or neighbors. Respondents almost never discuss sex with religious leaders or health workers.

Sex discussion networks differ markedly between Lira and Masaka. While there are no regional differentials among men in the level of communication with others about sex, Masaka women are more likely than Lira women to discuss sex with others (11 percent versus 3 percent). Masaka women are equally likely to include female relatives and female friends and neighbors in sex discussion networks. Other wives constitute the largest group with whom men in Masaka and Lira have ever discussed sex. The main regional difference in the composition of men's sex communication networks is the greater importance of relatives and friends of either sex in Lira than in Masaka. For example, 9 percent of men in Lira have discussed sex with male friends or neighbors compared with 3 percent in Masaka. Similarly, 6 percent of men in Lira have discussed sex with female friends or neighbors compared with 3 percent in Masaka.

The Role of Aunties Among the Baganda

The focus groups provide further insights into the nature and composition of sex discussion networks and the ways in which these networks have changed over time. The discussions reveal that, in Baganda culture, parents do not have the primary responsibility for transmitting sexual information to children. Instead, the paternal aunt (or "Auntie") traditionally provided sexual instruction to a young girl shortly before she married for the first time. Much of the information provided focused on sexual behavior itself: "how to play sex," the rules of proper sexual behavior, standards of sexual performance, and advice for young brides to submit to the husband's sexual demands. As the following excerpts illustrate, sexual instruction provided by Aunties is explicit and does not suffer the difficulties of expression that are commonly associated with the transmission of sexual information from adults to children.

Woman 2: *Madam, when I attained the age of thirteen, I had not even left school and did not even know family affairs. I just saw a man who informed my parents that "I must get married." My Auntie took me aside.... "Have you ever had your periods?" I told her I have had it twice. "Have you ever played sex?" I kept quiet, and later on I told her I have never met a man! Now friends [laughter] she told me, "You must be with a man and he must tell you like this."*

Moderator: *To tell you what?*

Woman 2: *That the man is going to tell you to remove your clothes. She told me that, and I told her, "How would it look when I undress and remain naked before him?" She told me that in the culture you must do it. What about the night dress? She said, "No. The man will come to you." The fact that I had never met a man before, I asked her, "How will he come?" She told me that he will come and sleep on you when you are naked and you will give in. I told her that "Auntie, I won't manage that; it is better they take back the things" [bridewealth].*

(Masaka Group 12: female, rural, married)

Another way these Aunts teach their daughters is the way... or maybe when you are in bed, a girl is told how to please the husband [Moderator: Hmm]. Eh, she tells her that when you are with the man in bed, you are not supposed to be like a log, you are supposed to wipe/clean him, you scream and don't just be there... eh, those are some of the things the Aunts teach their daughters.

(Masaka Group 11: male, rural, married)

It is to be noted, however, that the instruction provided by Aunties is not limited to sexual behavior but extends to other areas of marital life, including home management, how to ensure that the marital relationship survives, and the value of maintaining cordial relations with in-laws. Given the traditional importance of communication between Aunties and nieces about sex, it is surprising that the proportion of Masaka wives who report having ever discussed sex with female relatives is so low (less than 5 percent). One explanation of this finding lies in the unidirectional flow of sex information in Auntie-niece communication networks. Because sexual instruction from Aunties may involve less interchange than sex communication channels between women and their peers, respondents may be less likely to include Aunties among the list of individuals with whom they have ever discussed sex. Moreover, the age difference between women and Aunties and the traditional respect accorded to adults and elders may not have facilitated the development of open channels of communication between women and their Aunties. More important, there is a consensus in the focus group discussions that the traditional role of Aunties in providing sexual instruction has declined and that the content of their education is changing. The deterioration of sex communication channels between Aunties and nieces is attributed to the general process of modernization, education, and social change. The groups clearly indicated that increased sexual permissiveness and rising rates of premarital sexual activity largely make Aunties' sexual instruction before marriage redundant.

Woman 4: *The role of Aunts has changed because by the time we get married, we have already played sex with them [our partners]. The Aunt would take it that you already know each other and both of you know everything. Those days they would know that one is green and they used to teach everything. But today, by the time you bring the man, you have already produced [given birth] at times, you introduce him to them. Then where could the Aunt begin from? I can't teach you, but ask you; she says I can't teach you matters of sex; you are now mature.*

(Masaka Group 14: female, urban, married, educated, working)

Moderator: *Do you think these Aunties have changed their way of teaching, especially in this period of AIDS?*

Woman 2: *Currently, me I am sure since 1967 these Aunties have changed the way they teach, because girls see men before seeing their Aunties.*

(Masaka Group 12: female, rural, married)

Furthermore, the media and the school system have taken "sex education" out of the hands of Aunties. The sexual instruction and advice provided by Aunties therefore has been devalued, and, as social values change, a significant basis of the traditional respect accorded to Aunties also has been eroded. The discussions also reveal that, because children are becoming increasingly aware of sexual matters at an earlier age, the knowledge that Aunties impart is not always regarded as valuable by the current generation and is considered largely irrelevant to their world.

As I said, children of today don't want to be taught. At the age of eight years they know almost everything. When the Aunt calls her, she says, "Don't disturb me, you know nothing." Then the Aunt says "Please my daughter don't behave like that".... You tell her, "My child, AIDS is rampant, you will land in problems." She will just say,"That's old age disturbing you." They don't listen. The Aunts these days have nothing they teach them because they can't manage them. They don't listen, they are [not] submissive.

(Masaka Group 1: male, urban, single, not educated)

Moderator: *You have not talked about the Aunts. Do the Aunts still teach?*
Woman 2: *I think even education has spoiled our children. Education is good but they tend to override our cultural practices. "Since scientists tell us so, then this is useless."*

(Masaka Group 17: female, family planning users)

One other idea conveyed in the focus groups held in Masaka is that social stratification within the extended family is an important factor influencing the active involvement of Aunties in the sex socialization of young girls. Families may be reluctant to send their daughters over to their Aunties' households for extended periods of sexual learning if the Aunties are economically disadvantaged or of lower social status than the girls' parents.

As a woman, you may have got married to a poor man. Your brother might be very rich, so they can't send their daughter to you to teach them while in their holidays. They feel that if they send her to you, she (the child) will not feed well at your place because you are poor. They only wait when the girl has finished her education and is to get married. Then they call you to teach her, how do you really teach all the necessary things. It would have been better to send a girl to her aunt immediately after she has started the menstrual periods or if she reaches thirteen years. Most children go to school, then this should be done during school holidays. But some women can't send their children to you because you are poor. "Leave my daughter alone."

(Masaka Group 17: female, family planning users)

Although there is no agreement on which factors are most salient to the disintegration of Auntie-niece sex communication networks, the focus group discussions generally convey that the rapid spread of AIDS may be leading to a change in the content of sexual instruction provided by Aunties. Discussions held among rural married women in Masaka indicate that, nowadays, Aunties are more likely to emphasize the importance of delaying the onset of sexual activity and the value of sexual fidelity to minimize the risk of HIV infection. Some participants suggest that Aunties may no longer wait until girls are of marriageable age to educate them about AIDS and advise them to postpone the initiation of sexual activity; rather, this instruction may commence at a relatively early age. However, other participants maintain that sexual instruction is still provided by Aunties prior to marriage and that, even if it is provided at an earlier age, Aunties' advice is often ignored by the young.

Moderator: *What about during this time of AIDS, have they changed the way they teach?.....*
Woman 4: *No, madam, they have not changed, they talk as they used to do long ago.*
Moderator: *Hmm..*
Woman 8: *They have changed. They tell them as their culture goes, but later on advise them to first go for blood check.*
Moderator: *Anyone with a different view?*
Woman 6: *They have changed. They can teach the girls even when they have not yet seen men. They tell them that when they marry, when the breasts have protruded enough, she tells her how the disease AIDS comes.*

(Masaka Group 12: female, rural, married)

Moderator: *Have these Aunts changed their way of teaching since the coming of AIDS?*
Woman 6: *Nothing has changed.*
Woman 2: *You may be in a home where there are many girls. Then you watch their movements, "Please leave playing sex with men. You will die of AIDS." But they don't mind. You tell a girl that, "Please, you are still a school girl. If you begin men, you will become pregnant or get AIDS." It would not be good to see a girl of thirteen - fourteen years with a man.*
Woman 6: *The Aunts no longer teach much to their children. They only talk to one who is really going to get married. They don't advise them when they are still young.*
Woman: *Even the children are stubborn.*

(Masaka Group 17: female, family planning users)

5.3 Negotiating Sex

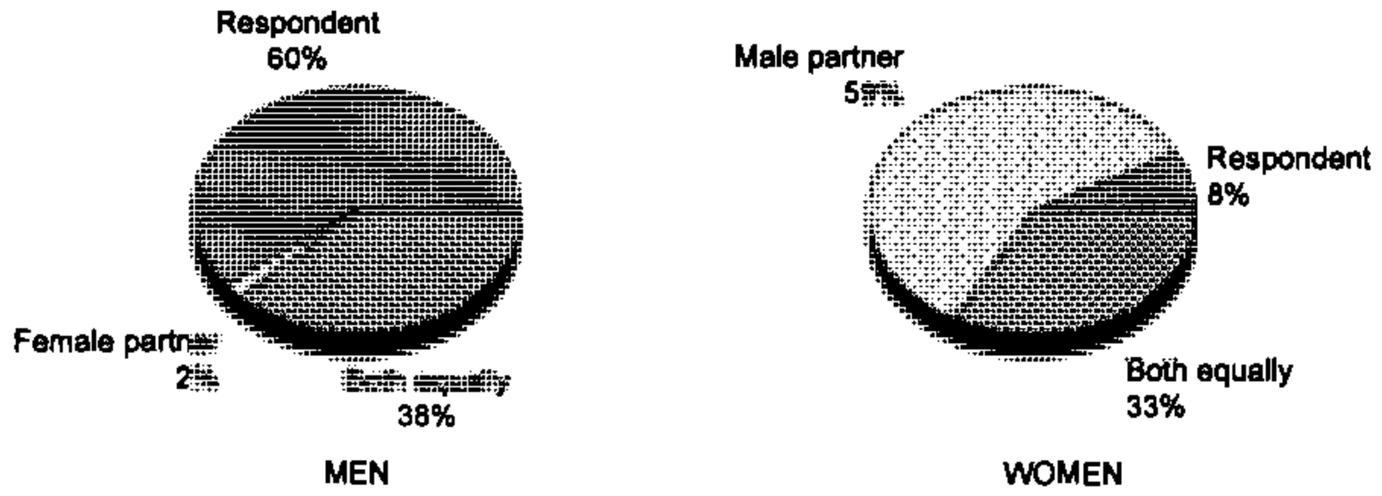
The first section of this chapter examined norms regarding women's rights to refuse sex. This section describes the actual experience of women and men in their sexual relationships, especially women's and men's perceptions of which partner has more influence in determining whether or not to have sex. Next is considered the extent to which couples disagree about having sex and whose preference prevails, followed by a look at partners' communication with one another about disagreements over sex. The primary purpose of these questions is to establish the sexual context within which reproductive decisions, especially the use of condoms, are made by women and men. Emphasis is placed on exploring the extent to which this context may be different for men and women.

Table 5.5 and Figure 5.2 show the percent distribution of male and female responses when asked who has the most influence over whether the couple has sex, the respondent or his or her partner. Overall, there is a high level of agreement on this issue: 60 percent of men and 59 percent of women say that the man has

Table 5.5 Percent distribution of men and women by who has the most influence over whether or not to have sex, according to sex, urban-rural residence, and district, NRO 1995-96

Person who has most influence over whether or not to have sex	Lira				Masaka				Total	
	Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural			
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Respondent	61.8	4.9	66.1	4.0	52.5	6.9	56.9	11.4	60.3	7.7
Partner	1.1	58.3	2.0	72.7	3.8	43.0	2.2	52.6	2.1	59.4
Both equally	37.2	38.8	31.8	23.3	43.7	50.1	40.9	36.0	37.6	32.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number (weighted)	141	174	463	552	88	105	664	817	1,355	1,648
Number (unweighted)	303	361	358	399	404	542	289	340	1,354	1,642

Figure 5.2
Percent Distribution of Men and Women by Who Has the Most Influence Over Whether or Not to Have Sex



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the most influence, while 38 percent of men and 33 percent of women say that the two partners have equal influence. The disparity in reports of men and women is greatest in rural Masaka where 11 percent of women and 2 percent of men say that women have the most influence over the decision to have sex.

About 45 percent of the women who have had sex in the preceding month report that there was at least one time during this period when their partner wanted to have sex but they did not (Table 5.6). In contrast, only about 20 percent of men say that there was a time during the past month when their partner wanted to have sex but they did not. The most common reasons given by women for not wanting to have sex when their partner did are not being in the mood, feeling tired, or being sick. A small percentage cite fear of becoming pregnant. By far the most common reason given by men for not wanting to have sex is being tired.

Focus group discussions about disagreements over sex give some further insight into the reasons for not wanting to have sex. Much of the discussion, especially among women, focuses on the consequences of sexual infidelity.

Table 5.6 Among respondents who had sex in the last month, percent distribution by agreement on timing of sex (whether there was a time when the partner wanted to have sex but the respondent did not) and by reason the respondent did not want sex, according to sex, NRO 1995-96

Agreement on timing of sex	Respondents	
	Men	Women
Agreement about timing of sex		
Respondent and partner did not disagree about timing of sex	79.7	55.5
Respondent did not want sex/partner did	20.3	44.5
Total	100.0	100.0
Reasons respondent did not want sex		
Pregnant	1.2	5.2
Menstruating	0.3	5.5
Not in mood/not willing	3.6	15.5
Tired	12.0	5.7
Sick	2.8	6.3
Angry with husband/partner	0.3	4.6
Fear of pregnancy	0.1	1.7
Total	100.0	100.0
Number (weighted)	1,184	1,422
Number (unweighted)	1,199	1,414

At times it depends on the woman. If she learns that the husband has another woman..."I will not play sex with him. He wants to kill me. I may die." When they reach the bed, the woman will always say, "Leave me. Go to so and so who you love most." And it's even worse these days. If one comes to know that her husband has another woman, she will fear him.

(Masaka Group 2: female, urban, single, not educated)

...If he happens to have sexual relations with someone outside, he may decide not to meet his wife because he feels if he meets his wife, he may transmit the disease, assuming the woman he met outside has an STD. Secondly, a man may refuse to play sex with the wife when he has another woman with whom he's in love, especially men these days who are drunkards.

(Lira Group 13: female, urban, married, not educated, working)

I have seen homes where a man goes in for sex with another one and then the official woman at home decides to stop playing sex with her husband for good. After a full month, the man tells the woman, "Leave my house because you are no longer my wife." Then the woman says, "You have already infected me and now you want to send me away. You can go away and leave me with my children."

(Masaka Group 13: female, urban, married, not educated, working)

Of those who reported being reluctant to have sex in the last month, more women (17 percent) than men (6 percent) say they had sex in spite of not wanting to (Table 5.7). Combined with the results of Table 5.6, this suggests that women are both more likely than men to be asked to have sex when they are unwilling to do so and less likely than men to refuse unwanted sex. Among both men and women, the most common reasons given for having unwanted sex are because their partner persisted or because they wanted to please their partner. Some of the female focus group participants commented on the difficulties of refusing sex with husbands.

Table 5.7 Among respondents who say there was a time in the last month when their partner wanted to have sex but they did not, the percentage who had sex anyway by main reason, by sex, NRO 1995-96

Reason for having unwanted sex	Respondents	
	Men	Women
Had unwanted sex because:		
Partner persisted	4.4	7.4
Partner threatened	0.0	2.3
Afraid to refuse	0.5	1.9
Wanted to please partner	1.2	2.6
Wrong to refuse	0.0	0.5
Partner has more authority	0.0	2.0
Other reasons	0.0	0.1
Don't know	0.0	0.3
Sub-total	6.1	17.2
Did not have unwanted sex	93.9	82.8
Total	100.0	100.0
Number (weighted)	634	241
Number (unweighted)	653	241

...there is no way you can close away your husband from having sex with you. It's God's plan.

(Lira Group 10: female, rural, single)

But some men make it a routine that whenever he quarrels with you, he has to resolve it by playing sex with you. He might hear that I have another man or I get a rumor that he has got another girl. Whether a man has AIDS or not, he can't let you stay in his house without playing sex with you. He has to chase you away.

(Masaka Group 4: female, urban, married, not educated)

I have my neighbor...she refused to play sex with her husband for six months but the man would quarrel all the time. He would not even buy sugar at home. He would tell her, "Let those who have taken your mind buy for you." He even stopped buying food for the children, who were seven of them.

(Masaka Group 17: female, family planning users)

Table 5.8 compares the responses of each member of a couple to the questions on unwanted sex. This table is limited to those women in the sample whose partners were also interviewed. Among matched couples in which both the man and woman report an occasion in the last month when the woman did not want to have sex, approximately 22 percent of women say they had sex anyway, compared with 11 percent of men. The number of cases in which both partners say that the man did not want to have sex is small, but the difference in the reports of men and women is in the same direction; 26 percent of women say that they had sex anyway, compared with about 1 percent of men.

Table 5.8 Percent distribution of women and their partners who say there was a time during the last month when they did not want to have sex or when their partner did not want to have sex by what each partner said happened, according to whether or not their reports agreed, NRO 1995-96

Report of what happened	Same report from both partners		Different report from each partner	
	She wanted no sex	He wanted no sex	She says she wanted no sex	He says he wanted no sex
Woman says:				
They had sex anyway	21.6	26.2	14.7	NA
They did not have sex	78.4	73.8	85.3	NA
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Man says:				
They had sex anyway	11.0	1.2	NA	7.5
They did not have sex	89.0	98.8	NA	92.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number (weighted)	212	40	322	183
Number (unweighted)	204	33	317	192

NA = Not applicable

In even more matched couples, the partners disagree about whether sex was ever unwanted; their responses are recorded in the two right-hand columns of Table 5.8. When the woman says there was an occasion when she did not want to have sex although her partner did, but the man does not acknowledge the disagreement, 15 percent of women say they had sex anyway. Among those couples in which the man says he did not want to have sex, but the woman does not acknowledge the event, about 8 percent of men say they had sex anyway.

Respondents who reported that there was a time in the last month when their partner wanted to have sex but they did not were asked if they had communicated their reluctance to their partner and, if so, how. Women's responses are shown in Table 5.9; there are too few cases for men to yield meaningful results. Almost all women (91 percent) say that they let their partner know that they did not want to have sex, most often by telling them that they did not want to. Most of the remaining women told their partner that they were tired or sick.

Table 5.9 Among women who had unwanted sex in the last month, the percent distribution by whether or not they let their partner know they did not want to have sex and ways of communicating this to partner, NRO 1995-96

Ways of communicating to partner that sex is not wanted	Women
Ways of letting partner know that sex was not wanted	
Told partner she did not want to have sex	55.6
Told partner she was sick	8.4
Told partner she was tired	22.6
"Faced the wall"	3.0
Told partner she was menstruating	1.7
Did not let partner know	8.6
Total	100.0
Number (weighted)	109
Number (unweighted)	104

Note: Data on men were not presented because there were too few cases.

5.4 Knowledge of AIDS Prevention

Virtually all of the survey respondents, both male and female, have heard of AIDS. When asked to name all of the ways that a person can avoid getting the disease, 7 percent of men and 17 percent of women say that there is no way to avoid AIDS (Table 5.10). This response is particularly prevalent among women in Lira, 32 percent of whom report that there is no means of avoiding AIDS.

Table 5.10 Among respondents who have heard of AIDS, the percentage who mentioned various means of avoiding getting AIDS, by sex and district, NRO 1995-96

Ways to avoid getting AIDS	Lira		Masaka		Total	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Ways to avoid AIDS						
Abstain from sex	35.6	4.7	39.1	80.7	37.5	47.3
Use condoms	46.4	28.6	55.2	45.3	51.3	38.0
Avoid multiple partners	56.6	58.1	62.0	66.4	59.6	62.8
Avoid sex with prostitutes	17.6	6.0	12.2	5.8	14.6	5.9
Avoid sex with infected person	15.5	13.2	8.7	9.2	11.7	11.0
Avoid blood transfusion	3.7	1.6	5.4	5.6	4.6	3.8
Avoid sharing razor blades	42.3	14.0	9.5	11.9	24.1	12.8
Other reasons	49.0	17.2	23.5	22.4	34.8	20.1
Does not know	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
Cannot avoid AIDS	9.6	31.7	4.8	6.0	6.9	17.3
Number (weighted)	601	728	752	925	1,353	1,652
Number (unweighted)	659	768	692	883	1,351	1,651

Avoiding multiple sex partners is the most commonly cited means of avoiding the AIDS virus among men in both Lira and Masaka and among women in Lira. Women in Masaka are most likely to mention abstaining from sex, although two-thirds also mentioned avoiding multiple sex partners. Between 45 and 55 percent of men in both districts and women in Masaka cite condom use as a means of avoiding AIDS, but men mention condoms more frequently than women, especially in Lira. Only 29 percent of women in Lira mention using condoms to prevent AIDS. Interestingly, some focus group participants express the opinion that condoms actually promote the spread of AIDS by encouraging people to have sex.

> *I think if condom was not introduced it would be easy for people to change their attitudes towards AIDS. But now the condom has motivated people and they go with courage.*
>
> (Lira Group 6: female, urban, single, educated)

> *The life style is changing, but many people are not yet changed because I see people now using something that encourages people to have sex. For those who want to know, that thing is called condom. So, the rate of sexual activity is rising because of condom use.*
>
> (Lira Group 13: female, urban, married, not educated, working)

> *AIDS has almost made people mad. They make use of condoms and play sex with anybody.*
>
> (Masaka Group 4: female, urban, married, not educated)

Surprisingly, 42 percent of Lira men cite not sharing razor blades with others as a means of avoiding AIDS. This is not a common response among any other group. Almost half of the men in Lira also mention some "other" means of avoiding AIDS, such as not sharing cups, eating utensils, toothbrushes, and beds with others (data not shown).

5.5 Negotiating Condom Use

Norms surrounding the use of condoms and their acceptability within sexual relationships are an important determinant of the ability of both men and women to protect themselves from the AIDS virus. Respondents in the NRO survey were asked whether they believe it is acceptable for married and unmarried women to ask their partner to use a condom. The data show clearly that norms of acceptable behavior differ with marital status (Table 5.11 and Figure 5.3). Overall, a majority of both men and women believe that it is unacceptable for a married woman to ask her husband to use a condom. This is particularly the case in Lira where 75 percent of men and 69 percent of women consider it unacceptable. Men and women in Masaka are more likely than their counterparts in Lira to say that acceptability depends on the circumstances. In contrast, only 19 percent of all men and 12 percent of women believe that it is unacceptable for an unmarried woman to ask her partner to use a condom. Once again, there is a distinct regional difference: while 41 percent of men and 32 percent of women in Lira deem it unacceptable for an unmarried women to ask her partner to use a condom, only 6 percent of men and 3 percent of women in Masaka do so.

Table 5.11 Among respondents who have heard of condoms, the percent distribution by whether or not it is acceptable for a married or unmarried woman to ask her husband/partner to use a condom, according to sex and district, NRO 1995-96

Acceptable to ask husband/partner to use a condom	Lira		Masaka		Total	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Married woman						
Acceptable to ask husband	20.0	22.7	26.0	28.2	23.6	26.4
Not acceptable to ask husband	75.4	68.5	56.4	46.0	63.9	53.5
It depends	3.8	3.4	12.9	14.0	9.3	10.5
Does not know	0.8	5.3	4.7	11.8	3.2	9.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Unmarried woman						
Acceptable to ask partner	45.3	51.2	77.6	76.6	64.8	68.1
Not acceptable to ask partner	40.6	31.7	5.5	2.5	19.3	12.3
It depends	13.0	4.5	7.0	6.6	9.3	5.9
Does not know	1.1	12.5	10.0	14.3	6.5	13.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number (weighted)	458	419	703	835	1,162	1,254
Number (unweighted)	526	498	660	825	1,186	1,323

Those respondents who did not mention condoms as a way to avoid AIDS were asked explicitly if they thought that using condoms can prevent AIDS. Those who said "yes," as well as those who had mentioned condoms spontaneously, were asked if they had ever used or discussed using condoms with their partner and, if so, who had proposed it. In Lira, 83 percent of both men and women say that they have never used and never discussed using a condom with their partner (Table 5.12). The corresponding figures for men and women in Masaka are 62 and 64 percent. Among men and women who have never used a condom but have discussed using it, almost all say that it was they themselves who proposed it. This is also the case among men who have ever used condoms: 81 percent say that they proposed using the method. Among women whose partners have used condoms, about half say that their partner proposed it and about half say that they proposed it themselves.

Figure 5.3
Percentage of Men and Women Who Believe It Is Acceptable for a Married or Unmarried Woman to Ask Her Husband/partner to Use a Condom

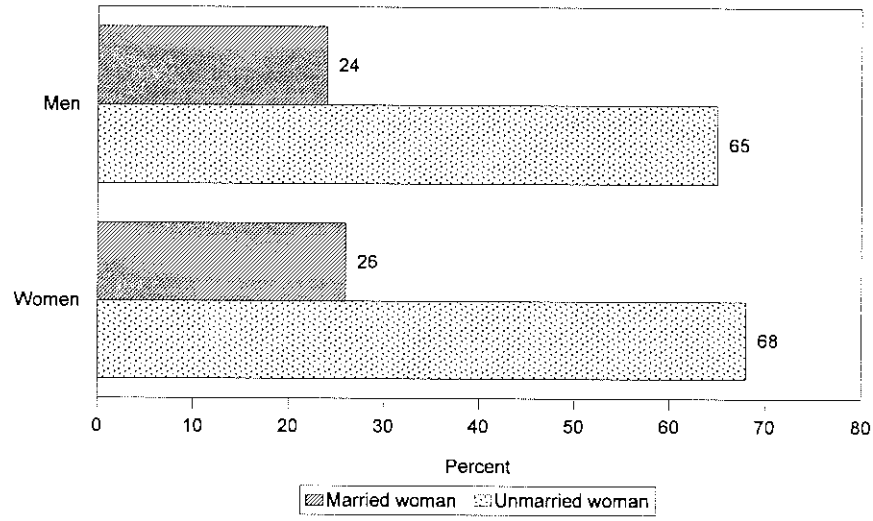

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Table 5.12 Among respondents who know condoms can prevent AIDS, percent distribution of men and women by whether or not they have ever used or discussed using a condom with their partner and, if so, who proposed it, according to sex and district, NRO 1995-96

Person who proposed use of condom with current partner	Lira		Masaka		Total	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Used condom with current partner						
Partner proposed	0.3	5.2	1.8	4.1	1.2	4.5
Respondent proposed	10.4	3.3	10.2	5.2	10.3	4.6
Someone else proposed	0.1	0.0	1.3	0.4	0.8	0.3
Does not remember	1.1	0.3	0.0	0.1	0.5	0.2
Sub-total	11.8	8.9	13.3	9.9	12.7	9.5
Never used coudom with current partner						
Discussed, partner proposed	0.0	2.2	2.5	3.2	1.5	2.9
Discussed, respondent proposed	4.1	5.2	22.1	21.9	14.9	16.4
Discussed, someone else proposed	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.1
Discussed, does not remember	0.6	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.4
Never discussed	83.4	83.3	61.7	64.4	70.5	70.7
Sub-total	88.2	91.1	86.7	90.1	87.3	90.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number (weighted)	280	208	415	419	695	627
Number (unweighted)	321	264	458	525	779	789

Those respondents who have never used or never discussed using a condom with their partner were asked to give the main reason (Table 5.13). There are substantial differences in their responses by both gender and region, although few respondents of either sex report being embarrassed or afraid to discuss the subject. In both Masaka and Lira, men are most likely to say that they have never discussed using condoms with their partner because they do not need to use them—either because the couple is sexually monogamous or because they are already using a different method of family planning (not shown). The second most common reason cited by men is that they do not want to use a condom. Together, these two responses account for 50 to 60 percent of all responses among men. In Lira, other men explain the lack of discussion by saying their partner would think them promiscuous (10 percent) or untrustworthy (8 percent). About 10 percent of Masaka men also say their partner would believe them to be untrustworthy. Twelve percent of men in Masaka gave a variety of other responses, none of which are numerous enough to present separately; these responses include religious prohibitions against condoms, wanting to have a child, and insufficient knowledge of condoms.

In contrast to men, women are more likely to say that they have never thought about discussing condom use with their partner. In Masaka, fully 43 percent of women gave this reply. Women in Masaka also are more likely than any other group to say that their partner would think they were untrustworthy. This distrust is evident is some of the focus group discussions:

...Because there is no person whose health we trust. You suspect each person is sick.
(Masaka Group 2: female, urban, single, not educated)

Let's say, girls who are 30 years and above would have liked to get married, but men fear them. She can get a man from whom to produce a child, not even getting married itself. This has greatly changed behavior. Even the youth are like that...he wants to marry but he fears every woman he looks at. And these days, it's hard to find a partner whether one wants to marry or to be married. You can trust no one.
(Masaka Group 4: female, urban, married, not educated)

Table 5.13 Percent distribution of respondents who have never used or discussed using a condom with their partner by reason for not discussing it, according to sex and district, NRO 1995-96

Reason for not discussing use of condom with partner	Lira		Masaka		Total	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Embarrassed/shy	0.6	2.1	1.8	1.5	1.2	1.7
Afraid	1.2	0.0	1.0	4.5	1.1	2.8
Don't want to use condoms	21.5	16.2	15.1	10.9	18.2	12.9
Don't need to use condoms	38.9	34.0	35.2	6.7	37.0	17.1
Partner will think promiscuous	10.1	3.4	4.5	7.4	7.2	5.9
Partner will think untrustworthy	8.0	5.2	10.9	12.8	9.5	9.9
Would dislike condom	7.0	5.8	3.4	7.5	5.2	6.9
Other reason	2.7	13.0	12.3	3.8	7.7	7.3
Never thought about it	7.6	16.9	10.4	43.0	9.1	33.1
Don't know	2.4	3.2	5.3	2.0	3.9	2.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number (weighted)	224	165	240	269	465	434
Number (unweighted)	233	199	224	275	457	474

5.6 Conclusion

The ability of women and men to regulate their own sexual activity is central to the control of reproduction and avoidance of sexually transmitted diseases. The results presented in this chapter demonstrate that there are strong norms in the study sites that prohibit women, particularly married women, from refusing to have sex with their partner (although there are certain conditions under which the majority of people agree that refusing sex is permissible). Only about half of men and women believe that a married woman can refuse sex with her partner in order to avoid pregnancy. This finding suggests that, especially among women who do not have access to modern contraceptive methods, it may be difficult to take action to delay or avoid a birth if they wish to do so. In addition, only about 75 percent of men and women believe that a married woman can refuse to have sex with her husband if she knows he has AIDS, an indication of the constraints on women's ability to protect themselves from disease. There is also some indication that women are more likely than men to view sex as an obligation in return for economic support, especially if a woman is not married. Higher proportions of women than men agree that a woman can refuse sex if her partner does not provide support for her or her children. That expectations are different for married compared with unmarried women also is clear from the findings on condom use. Only about a quarter of men and women believe that it is acceptable for a married woman to ask her husband to use a condom, compared with about two-thirds who believe that it is acceptable for an unmarried woman to do so.

On the whole, women are expected to be—and both men and women agree that they are—less likely to initiate sexual encounters. The focus groups reveal some ambivalence in current opinion on this issue, however, especially in Masaka where the traditional role of Aunties in transmitting information about appropriate sexual behavior for women has diminished. Much of the discussion in the focus groups about disagreements over sex focused on women's apprehensions about the consequences of their husbands' sexual infidelity. Despite their awareness of the risks posed by AIDS or other STDs, women are limited in their ability to negotiate sex or condom use by their perceived vulnerability to divorce or loss of economic support by men who take on another wife or have children with other women. It seems unlikely that these concerns will be addressed given that women also may find it more difficult than men to communicate about sexual matters: 40 percent of women compared with about 10 percent of men say that it is very difficult or somewhat difficult to talk to their partner about sex. In addition, fewer than 7 percent of women compared with more than 20 percent of men say that they have talked to anyone other than their partner about sexual matters.

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APPENDIX A

SAMPLE DESIGN

APPENDIX A

SAMPLE DESIGN

The NRO sample was designed to provide estimates for women and men in Lira and Masaka separately. It was also designed to allow estimation for urban and rural areas within each district.

A.1 Sample Eligibility

In order to complete a full interview, a woman had to pass three eligibility criteria. She had to be a regular resident of the household. She had to be between age 20 and age 44 in completed years. Finally, those women meeting the age and residence criteria were asked a series of introductory questions about marital status. Within the accepted age range, women who reported themselves to be "married" were automatically considered eligible to complete the full questionnaire. Unmarried women were asked to complete the full questionnaire only if they reported being in a conjugal relationship lasting six months or more. The rationale for the six-month cutoff was that nonmarital, short-term relationships would be less likely to involve negotiations about long-term issues of family formation, family planning, and so forth. Teenagers were excluded on the same grounds; even in a young-marrying population, it was thought that the sample would yield a sizeable proportion of short-term, uncommitted relationships.

A different set of eligibility criteria were set for men. They were required to be partners of eligible women, either formally married or living with a woman. No age criteria were set. Residence criteria depended on marital status. Any married or unmarried partner living in the same household with an eligible woman was considered eligible to answer the male questionnaire. Husbands living in a different residence were still considered eligible, and interviews were attempted if the husband could be located within a reasonable distance of the survey area. If the woman was not married and her partner lived elsewhere, however, he was ruled ineligible (to protect the confidentiality of both partners), and no attempt was made to trace him. Men with multiple wives living in the same household and meeting the other eligibility criteria were administered separate questionnaires for each wife. In general, locating males for interview, whether they were resident or not, proved to be the most difficult and time-consuming part of the fieldwork, requiring multiple visits and visits at irregular times in the early morning or late evening.

A.2 Sample Design

The sample was selected in two stages. At the first stage, census enumeration areas (EAs) were selected systematically with probability proportional to size in the 1991 census. In order to take advantage of the household listings assembled for the recent Uganda DHS, all of the DHS EAs in each district were included. The selection proceeded as follows: if 5 EAs were selected in a district for the DHS survey with a selection interval I and the NRO sample required the selection of 10 EAs, then the NRO sample was selected by reducing the interval by half (i.e., I/2) and maintaining the first random selection as in the DHS sample. At the second stage, households were selected systematically within each EA.

A random stratified sample of 40 enumeration areas was selected from each district. Due to the tendency of Masaka EAs to be larger than Lira EAs, a higher proportion of the total sample was expected from Masaka compared with Lira. In order to obtain adequate representation of urban areas, urban areas were oversampled. In Masaka district, with a population that was 10 percent urban at the time of the 1991 census, 20 EAs—or half of the sample—were drawn from urban areas.

Urban areas in Lira also were oversampled. With 5 percent of the population categorized as urban at the time of the 1991 census, 16 out of the total 40 EAs in Lira were selected as urban. The selection procedure in Lira was altered to adjust for varying definitions of "urban" in Uganda. The Department of Statistics in Uganda defines urban in one of two ways. The first is based on a set of objective demographic criteria taken during every decennial census; these include a population of over 10,000 people, access to roads, water supplies, schools, and related "urban" amenities. The presence of such amenities is determined prior to each census during the mapping of enumeration areas. The second way to achieve urban status is for an area legally to register itself as a city or town. At the time of the 1991 census, many northern districts, including Lira, were never mapped due to local political instability. In the absence of mapping to establish demographic criteria for urban status, Lira town is the only officially recognized urban area in Lira district; its status is based on legal registration. Because Masaka was mapped prior to the 1991 census, the two districts have asymmetric definitions of urban areas.

To improve the comparability of the definitions of "urban" between the two districts and to avoid oversaturation of the one official urban site in Lira, a secondary set of potential urban sites was chosen. A list of the 12 largest trading centers outside Lira town was compiled using the 1981 census records. Six of these were selected at random and included in a kind of second tier, "small urban" sample. The remaining 10 urban EAs were drawn from Lira town.

A.3 Sample Implementation

Due to financial constraints which made it impossible to implement a total or partial household listing in the selected sectors for the NRO survey, it was necessary to use the most recent household listing materials available. For the 23 censal sectors selected in the 1995 Uganda DHS survey, it was decided to use the 1995 household listing material for final household selection. For the additional 57 sectors, use of the household listing material from the 1991 census was planned. When this information proved to be unavailable, alternative methods were devised as described below.

Based on the 1991 census information, a simple sampling fraction of one in three households was planned. When fieldwork began, however, the population of some areas was found to be much larger than census estimates predicted. This was particularly true in urban areas of Masaka which have experienced significant in-migration in recent years. Consequently, a different strategy for sample fractions was used in Masaka than in Lira, both of which are discussed below. Once the sampling fraction was determined, the method of selection of households was identical in both areas. Households could be selected using one of the following three methods.

1. For EAs that had been enumerated by the DHS survey earlier in the year, the DHS listings were used. The Department of Statistics provided copies of area maps, sketch diagrams showing the relative location of numbered structures, and corresponding lists of household names and locations within numbered structures. Since the DHS enumeration was relatively recent, a one-in-three sample was taken for DHS EAs in both Masaka and Lira districts. A systematic random sample was taken by randomly selecting the starting point on the household listing and interviewing every third household afterwards. Households that had been interviewed by the DHS survey were skipped to avoid overlap with the DHS sample. If the systematic count fell on a DHS household, the next household was selected in turn, returning to the original count for the following household.

2. For EAs that were not included in the DHS, a systematic random sample was taken from a list of households kept by local political authorities. Census enumeration areas are typically organized to correspond to one or more political jurisdictions known as RC1 areas. Each

RC1 area has an elected RC1 chairman, among whose responsibilities is to keep an updated list of current residents of the area. RC1 chairmen were contacted in advance to prepare updated lists if one did not exist already. A systematic random sample was taken using the appropriate sampling fraction. Occasionally, an EA would contain more than one RC1 area, in which case the process was repeated for each RC1 area.

3. If RC1 lists could not be obtained, an approximate mapping method was adopted. The Census Statistical Office provided sketch maps showing the boundaries for each EA. On arrival, the supervisor of the interview team contacted the concerned RC1 officials and walked the perimeter of the EA. With the maps available for each EA, the team supervisor would estimate with the RC1 official how to divide the households in the area into roughly equal thirds. A random procedure was then used to select one of the thirds, and all households within were enumerated. In some cases, supervisors walked through the area and counted the total number of households in order to make a more exact division into thirds. This was the sampling method of last resort and was used only if a list could not be obtained.

A.4 Sampling Fractions

In Lira district, population growth was found to be within expected ranges since the 1991 census, and the sampling fraction was held constant at one in three households for all EAs. In Masaka, it was decided to tailor the sampling fraction in each EA in order to reach the number of households projected from the census and DHS enumerations. Since the DHS survey occurred only months before the NRO survey was fielded, the normal one-in-three fraction was applied in DHS EAs. For nonDHS EAs, the actual number of current residents was determined from the RC1 lists. If the 1991 census showed EA size at 300 households, the one-in-three NRO sample was expected to be 100. If the actual number of households was found to be 600 at the time of the survey, then the sample fraction would be reduced to one-in-six, in order to attain the expected 100 final respondents. Thus, the sample fraction was adjusted to meet survey targets and avoid yielding a significantly larger sample than the project could afford. Sample weights were appropriately adjusted to take account of differential probability of selection.

APPENDIX B

HOUSEHOLD AND INDIVIDUAL QUESTIONNAIRES WITH COMMENTARY

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NEGOTIATING REPRODUCTIVE OUTCOMES SURVEY
HOUSEHOLD SCHEDULE

INSTITUTE OF STATISTICS AND APPLIED ECONOMICS/MAKERERE UNIVERSITY
AND MACRO INTERNATIONAL, INC.

IDENTIFICATION

PLACE NAME _____

NAME OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD _____

CLUSTER NUMBER.....

HOUSEHOLD NUMBER.....

REGION (Masaka=1, Lira=2).....

URBAN/RURAL (urban=1, rural=2).....

INTERVIEWER VISITS

	1	2	3	FINAL VISIT
DATE				DAY / MONTH / YEAR
INTERVIEWER'S NAME				NAME
RESULT*				RESULT
NEXT VISIT: DATE				TOTAL NO. OF VISITS
TIME				

*RESULT CODES:

1 COMPLETED
2 NO HOUSEHOLD MEMBER AT HOME OR NO COMPETENT RESPONDENT AT HOME AT TIME OF VISIT
3 ENTIRE HOUSEHOLD ABSENT FOR EXTENDED PERIOD
4 POSTPONED
5 REFUSED
6 DWELLING VACANT OR ADDRESS NOT A DWELLING
7 DWELLING DESTROYED
8 DWELLING NOT FOUND
9 OTHER _____ (specify)

TOTAL IN HOUSEHOLD

TOTAL ELIGIBLE WOMEN

TOTAL NON-RESIDENT-HUSBANDS

LINE NO. OF RESP. TO HOUSE-HOLD SCHEDULE

SUPERVISOR		OFFICE EDITOR	KEYED BY
NAME _____			
DATE _____			

HOUSEHOLD SCHEDULE

Household Listing (1-8)

The household schedule has several purposes. The primary objectives are to screen the sample of households for women eligible to be interviewed and to provide descriptive data on the characteristics of the household. Information on the relationship of each household member to the head of the household provides a picture of the structure and composition of the household. The marital status of members aged 15 years and older and the line number of the husband/partner permits the identification of coresident and noncoresident couples in the household.

HOUSEHOLD SCHEDULE

Now we would like some information about the people who usually live in your household or who are staying with you now.

LINE NO.	USUAL RESIDENTS AND VISITORS	RELATIONSHIP TO HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD*	RESIDENCE		SEX	AGE	FOR AGE 15+ MARITAL STATUS	FOR WOMEN MARRIED OR LIVING TOGETHER		ELIGIBILITY
	Please give me the names of the persons who usually live in your household and guests of the household who stayed here last night, starting with the head of the household.	What is the relationship of (NAME) to the head of the household?	Does (NAME) usually live here?	Did (NAME) stay here last night?	Is (NAME) male or female ?	How old is (NAME)?	What is (NAME)'s marital status? MARRIED...1 LIVING TOGETHER.2 DIVORCED..3 WIDOWED...4 SEPARATED.5 NEVER MARRIED..6 DK.....8	Does (NAME)'s husband live in this household? IF NO: ADD NAME TO LIST OF NON-RESIDENT HUSBANDS	WRITE LINE NUMBER OF HUSBAND	CIRCLE LINE NUMBER OF ALL WOMEN AGE 20-44
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
			YES NO	YES NO	M F	IN YEARS		YES NO		
01			1 2	1 2	1 2			1 2		01
02			1 2	1 2	1 2			1 2		02
03			1 2	1 2	1 2			1 2		03
04			1 2	1 2	1 2			1 2		04
05			1 2	1 2	1 2			1 2		05
06			1 2	1 2	1 2			1 2		06
07			1 2	1 2	1 2			1 2		07
08			1 2	1 2	1 2			1 2		08

LINE	RESIDENTS/VISITORS	RELATIONSHIP	RESIDENCE		SEX	AGE	MARITAL ST.	FOR MARRIED WOMEN		ELIG.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
09		☐☐	1 2	1 2	1 2	☐☐	☐	1 2	☐☐	09
10		☐☐	1 2	1 2	1 2	☐☐	☐	1 2	☐☐	10
11		☐☐	1 2	1 2	1 2	☐☐	☐	1 2	☐☐	11
12		☐☐	1 2	1 2	1 2	☐☐	☐	1 2	☐☐	12
	NON-RESIDENT HUSBANDS									
81						☐☐				
82						☐☐				
83						☐☐				
84						☐☐				

TICK HERE IF CONTINUATION SHEET USED ☐

Just to make sure that I have a complete listing:

1) Are there any other persons such as small children or infants that we have not listed? YES ☐ → ENTER EACH IN TABLE NO ☐
2) In addition, are there any other people who may not be members of your family, such as domestic servants, lodgers, or friends who usually live here? YES ☐ → ENTER EACH IN TABLE NO ☐
3) Are there any guests or temporary visitors staying here, or anyone else who slept here last night that have not been listed? YES ☐ → ENTER EACH IN TABLE NO ☐

* CODES FOR Q.3: RELATIONSHIP TO HEAD OF HOUSEHOLDS

01 = HEAD	05 = GRANDCHILD	09 = CO-WIFE
02 = WIFE OR HUSBAND	06 = PARENT	10 = OTHER RELATIVE
03 = SON OR DAUGHTER	07 = PARENT-IN-LAW	11 = ADOPTED/FOSTER/STEP CHILD
04 = SON-IN-LAW OR DAUGHTER-IN-LAW	08 = BROTHER OR SISTER	12 = NOT RELATED

ENGLISH VERSION

NEGOTIATING REPRODUCTIVE OUTCOMES SURVEY
WOMAN'S QUESTIONNAIRE

INSTITUTE OF STATISTICS AND APPLIED ECONOMICS/MAKERERE UNIVERSITY
AND MACRO INTERNATIONAL, INC.

IDENTIFICATION	
PLACE NAME _____	
NAME OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD _____	
CLUSTER NUMBER.....	
HOUSEHOLD NUMBER.....	
REGION (Masaka=1, Lira=2).....	
URBAN/RURAL (urban=1, rural=2).....	
NAME AND LINE NUMBER OF WOMAN _____	

INTERVIEWER VISITS				
	1	2	3	FINAL VISIT
DATE	_____	_____	_____	DAY / MONTH / YEAR
INTERVIEWER'S NAME	_____	_____	_____	NAME
RESULT*	_____	_____	_____	RESULT
NEXT VISIT: DATE	_____	_____		TOTAL NO. OF VISITS
TIME	_____	_____		

*RESULT CODES:
1 COMPLETED
2 NOT AT HOME
3 POSTPONED
4 REFUSED
5 PARTLY COMPLETED
6 INCAPACITATED
7 OTHER _____ (SPECIFY)

SUPERVISOR		OFFICE EDITOR	KEYED BY
NAME _____			
DATE _____			

SECTION 1: RESPONDENT'S BACKGROUND

Time of Interview (101)

Time, recorded in questions 101 and 828, is used to determine the length of the interview.

Date of Birth and Age (102-103)

Both month and year of birth and age last birthday are to be asked. The interviewer is asked to reconcile age and birth date if possible. Reconciliation in the field is preferable to leaving inconsistencies that plague the editing process and must eventually be solved by the analyst. It is important, therefore, that the interviewer makes a serious effort to determine these dates.

Education (104-106)

If the educational system (or the number of grades at each level) has changed in the last 30-35 years, the interviewer is required to probe for the type of education received. Education is one of the primary factors determining reproductive decisionmaking, fertility preferences, and contraceptive use.

Marital Status (107-108)

These questions are used for classifying the marital status of women. We are interested in women who are in both formal and informal unions as well as in those who have a regular or occasional sexual partner. Therefore, women who report that they are not currently married or living with a man are asked whether they have a regular sexual partner. This information allows us to identify women who are in regular visiting relationships. Information on partner status is important for the study because reproductive decisionmaking, and sexual and fertility outcomes may depend on the type of relationship.

Duration of Regular Sexual Relationship (109-110)

Women in regular or occasional sexual relationships are asked to provide the duration of this relationship. Duration of partnership is used in Q.110 to screen women in regular or occasional sexual relationships for inclusion in the interview. Women whose sexual relationships have lasted for 0-5 months are excluded from the rest of the interview. It is assumed that a union duration of 0-5 months is an inadequate length of time for couples to consider joint reproductive and health desires.

Place of Residence of Husband/Partner (111-112)

Place of residence of husband or partner is used to identify the location of the partner for the male interview. For women who do not reside in the same household as their husband or partner, frequency of contact is considered to be an important factor in the extent to which decisions are made jointly.

NEGOTIATING REPRODUCTIVE OUTCOMES SURVEY

SECTION 1. RESPONDENT'S BACKGROUND

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
101	RECORD THE TIME.	HOUR..... ☐☐ MINUTES..... ☐☐	
102	Thank you for taking the time to talk to me. I would like to ask some questions about you and your household. In what month and year were you born?	MONTH..... ☐☐ DON'T KNOW MONTH.....98 YEAR..... ☐☐ DON'T KNOW YEAR.....98	
103	How old were you at your last birthday? COMPARE AND CORRECT 102 AND/OR 103 IF INCONSISTENT.	AGE IN COMPLETED YEARS..... ☐☐	
104	Have you ever attended school?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→107
105	What is the highest level of school you attended: primary, lower secondary, upper secondary or higher?	PRIMARY.....1 LOWER SECONDARY.....2 UPPER SECONDARY.....3 HIGHER.....4	
106	What is the highest (grade/form/year) you completed at that level?	GRADE..... ☐☐	
107	Are you currently married or living with a man?	YES, CURRENTLY MARRIED.....1 YES, LIVING WITH A MAN.....2 NO.....3	→111
108	We are interested in discussing with women the ways in which they talk with their partners. Do you currently have a regular sexual partner?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→110
109	How long have you been seeing this partner? IF LESS THAN 1 MONTH, RECORD '00' MONTHS.	MONTHS.....1 ☐☐ YEARS.....2 ☐☐	
110	CHECK 108 AND 109: HAS HUSBAND OR PARTNER (6 MONTHS OR LONGER) ☐ NO HUSBAND OR PARTNER ☐	→ TERMINATE INTERVIEW	
111	Does your husband/partner usually live in this household, in this village/town or does he live elsewhere?	SAME HOUSEHOLD.....1 SAME VILLAGE/TOWN.....2 SAME DISTRICT.....3 ELSEWHERE.....4	→113
112	How often do you see your husband/partner?	DAILY.....1 AT LEAST ONCE A WEEK.....2 AT LEAST ONCE A MONTH.....3 AT LEAST ONCE A YEAR.....4 LESS THAN ONCE A YEAR.....5 OTHER_____6 (SPECIFY)	

Literacy and Mass Media (113-117)

These questions provide a simple indicator of exposure to modern ideas and messages communicated through written and visual media. The question on literacy distinguishes difficulty in reading and is restricted to those who have never attended school or have had only primary schooling

Religion, Religiosity, and Ethnicity (118-120)

These questions are relevant because reproduction, sexual behavior and male-female interaction are influenced by normative attitudes associated with religious values and ethnicity. This information is of potential programmatic value in identifying particular groups that have special needs.

Childhood Residence and Mobility (121-123)

This question provides an index of rural-to-urban migration. Rural-to-urban migration and duration of residence have been shown to be important determinants of reproductive behavior, fertility, and health.

Survival Status, Place of Residence, and Frequency of Contact of Parents (124-126, 128-130, 135-139)

The survival status, place of residence, and frequency of contact of parents of the respondent and her partner are measures of kin proximity and the kin support networks available to the respondent. Availability and nearness of parents may influence the couple's reproductive goals, decisionmaking, and ability to negotiate outcomes that they desire.

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
113	CHECK 104 AND 105: PRIMARY OR NEVER ATTENDED ☐ LOWER SECONDARY OR HIGHER ☐		→115
114	Can you read and understand a letter or newspaper easily, with difficulty, or not at all?	EASILY.....1 WITH DIFFICULTY.....2 NOT AT ALL.....3	→116
115	Do you usually read a newspaper or magazine at least once a week?	YES.....1 NO.....2	
116	Approximately how many days a week do you usually listen to a radio? IF LESS THAN ONCE A WEEK, RECORD '0'.	NUMBER..... ☐	
117	Do you usually watch television at least once a week?	YES.....1 NO.....2	
118	What is your religion?	ROMAN CATHOLIC.....1 PROTESTANT.....2 MUSLIM.....3 TRADITIONAL.....4 NO RELIGION.....5 OTHER_____6 (SPECIFY)	→120
119	How many times a week do you usually attend church/mosque related activities, if at all? IF LESS THAN ONCE A WEEK, RECORD '00'.	NUMBER..... ☐☐	
119A	CHECK 118: PROTESTANT OR CATHOLIC ☐ OTHER ☐		→120
119B	Do you consider yourself a "saved" or "born again" Christian?	YES.....1 NO.....2 DON'T KNOW.....8	
120	What is your ethnic group?	BAGANDA.....01 LANGO.....02 OTHER_____96 (SPECIFY)	
121	For most of the time until you were 12 years old, did you live in a city, in a town, or in the countryside?	CITY.....1 TOWN.....2 COUNTRYSIDE.....3	
122	How long have you been living continuously in (NAME OF CURRENT PLACE OF RESIDENCE)?	YEARS..... ☐☐ ALWAYS.....95	→124
123	Just before you moved here, did you live in a city, in a town, or in the countryside?	CITY.....1 TOWN.....2 COUNTRYSIDE.....3	
124	Is your mother still alive?	YES.....1 NO/ DON'T KNOW.....2	→127
125	Where does your mother live?	SAME HOUSEHOLD.....1 SAME VILLAGE/TOWN.....2 SAME DISTRICT.....3 ELSEWHERE.....4	→127

Parent's Education (127, 131)

The literacy level of the respondent's mother and father may have influenced the way the respondent was socialized and the resource base that was available to the respondent in childhood. These factors may be associated with the respondent's attitudes and expectations regarding reproduction, sexual behavior, and decisionmaking.

Father Polygynous (132)

Coming from a polygynous background may affect a respondent's perception about her position within marriage and her attitude toward partner communication and interaction.

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
126	How often do you see your mother?	DAILY.....1 AT LEAST ONCE A WEEK.....2 AT LEAST ONCE A MONTH.....3 AT LEAST ONCE A YEAR.....4 LESS THAN ONCE A YEAR.....5 HAVE NEVER SEEN HER.....6	
127	Can/could your mother read and understand a letter or newspaper easily, with difficulty, or not at all?	EASILY.....1 WITH DIFFICULTY.....2 NOT AT ALL.....3 DON'T KNOW.....8	
128	Is your father still alive?	YES.....1 NO/ DON'T KNOW.....2	→131
129	Where does your father live?	SAME HOUSEHOLD.....1 SAME VILLAGE/TOWN.....2 SAME DISTRICT.....3 ELSEWHERE.....4	→131
130	How often do you see your father?	DAILY.....1 AT LEAST ONCE A WEEK.....2 AT LEAST ONCE A MONTH.....3 AT LEAST ONCE A YEAR.....4 LESS THAN ONCE A YEAR.....5 HAVE NEVER SEEN HIM.....6	
131	Can/could your father read and understand a letter or newspaper easily, with difficulty, or not at all?	EASILY.....1 WITH DIFFICULTY.....2 NOT AT ALL.....3 DON'T KNOW.....8	
132	Does/did your father ever have more than one wife at the same time?	YES.....1 NO.....2 DON'T KNOW.....8	
133	CHECK 107: MARRIED OR LIVING TOGETHER ☐ NOT MARRIED/ NOT LIVING TOGETHER ☐		→140
134	Is your husband's/partner's mother still alive?	YES.....1 NO/ DON'T KNOW.....2	→137
135	Where does she live?	SAME HOUSEHOLD/COMPOUND.....1 SAME VILLAGE/TOWN.....2 SAME DISTRICT.....3 ELSEWHERE.....4	→137
136	How often do you see her?	DAILY.....1 AT LEAST ONCE A WEEK.....2 AT LEAST ONCE A MONTH.....3 AT LEAST ONCE A YEAR.....4 LESS THAN ONCE A YEAR.....5 NEVER SEEN HER.....6	
137	Is your husband's/partner's father still alive?	YES.....1 NO/ DON'T KNOW.....2	→140
138	Where does he live?	SAME HOUSEHOLD/COMPOUND.....1 SAME VILLAGE/TOWN.....2 SAME DISTRICT.....3 ELSEWHERE.....4	→140

Presence of Other Relatives in the Household (140)

The presence of other relatives of the respondent and her partner in the household provides a picture of the structure and composition of the household. It also provides a further indication of kin proximity and availability.

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
139	How often do you see him?	DAILY.....01 AT LEAST ONCE A WEEK.....02 AT LEAST ONCE A MONTH.....03 AT LEAST ONCE A YEAR.....04 LESS THAN ONCE A YEAR.....05 HAVE NEVER SEEN HIM.....06	
140	(Aside from your parents and your parents-in-law) do any other adult relatives usually live in this household? Who usually lives here? CIRCLE ALL MENTIONED.	GRANDPARENT(S) OF RESPONDENT....A GRANDPARENT(S) OF PARTNER.....B ADULT SONS.....C ADULT DAUGHTERS.....D SISTER(S).....E BROTHER(S).....F SISTER(S)-IN-LAW.....G BROTHER(S)-IN-LAW.....H AUNT(S) OF RESPONDENT.....I AUNT(S) OF PARTNER.....J UNCLE(S) OF RESPONDENT.....K UNCLE(S) OF PARTNER.....L CO-WIFE.....M OTHER ADULT RELATIVE(S).....N NO ADULT RELATIVE(S).....O	

SECTION 2: WOMAN'S WORK AND FINANCIAL RESOURCES

Respondent's Employment and Earnings (201-219)

These questions explore important aspects of women's status. Information is obtained on employment status in the cash economy and details on the amount of time worked in the past 12 months, as well as on earnings. As a measure of women's economic independence, questions have been included to determine who it is that decides how the respondent's earnings will be spent and sources of economic support for selected items of expenditure. Studies have shown that these factors have a strong effect on reproductive outcomes and desires.

SECTION 2. WOMAN'S WORK AND FINANCIAL RESOURCES

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
201	Aside from your own housework, are you currently working?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→204
202	As you know, some women take up jobs for which they are paid in cash or kind. Others sell things at the market or have a small business like brewing beer or cooking food for sale. Others might work on the family farm or in the family business. Are you currently doing any of these things or any other work?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→204
203	Have you done any of these things or any other work in the last 12 months?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→217
204	What is your occupation, that is, on what kind of work do you spend most of your time?	_____ [ ][ ] _____ _____	
205	CHECK 204: WORKS IN AGRICULTURE [ ] DOES NOT WORK IN AGRICULTURE [ ]		→207
206	Do/did you work mainly on your own land, on family land, on communal land, or do you rent land, or work on someone else's land?	OWN LAND.....1 FAMILY LAND.....2 COMMUNAL LAND.....3 RENTED LAND.....4 SOMEONE ELSE'S LAND.....5	
207	Do/did you do this work for a member of your family, for someone else, or are you self-employed?	FOR FAMILY MEMBER.....1 FOR SOMEONE ELSE.....2 SELF-EMPLOYED.....3	
208	Do/did you usually work throughout the year, or do you work seasonally, or only once in a while?	THROUGHOUT THE YEAR.....1 SEASONALLY/PART OF THE YEAR.....2 ONCE IN A WHILE.....3	→210 →211
209	During the last 12 months, how many months did you work?	NUMBER OF MONTHS..... [ ][ ]	
210	(In the months you worked,) How many days a week did you usually work?	NUMBER OF DAYS..... [ ]	→212
211	During the last 12 months, approximately how many days did you work?	NUMBER OF DAYS..... [ ][ ][ ]	
212	On a typical working day, how many hours do you spend working?	NUMBER OF HOURS..... [ ][ ]	
213	Do you usually work at home or away from home?	HOME.....1 AWAY.....2	
214	Do/did you earn cash for your work? PROBE: Do you make money for working?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→217

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
215	How much do/did you usually earn for this work? PROBE: Is this by the day, by the week, or by the month? AMOUNT IN SINGLE SHILLINGS.....1 AMOUNT IN THOUSAND SHILLINGS.....2	PER HOUR.....1 PER DAY.....2 PER WEEK.....3 PER MONTH.....4 PER YEAR.....5 OTHER_____ 999996 (SPECIFY)	
215A	Do you share information with your partner about how much you earn from this work?	YES\USUALLY.....1 NO\RARELY.....2 SOMETIMES.....3	
215B	Does your partner share information with you about how much he earns from his main source of income?	YES\USUALLY.....1 NO\RARELY.....2 SOMETIMES.....3 DOESN'T WORK.....4	
216	CHECK 107: CURRENTLY MARRIED/ LIVING WITH A MAN → Who mainly decides how the money you earn will be used: you, your husband/partner, you and your husband/partner jointly, or someone else? NOT CURRENTLY MARRIED/ NOT LIVING WITH A MAN → Who mainly decides how the money you earn will be used: you, someone else, or you and someone else jointly?	RESPONDENT DECIDES.....1 HUSBAND/PARTNER DECIDES.....2 JOINTLY WITH HUSBAND/PARTNER....3 SOMEONE ELSE DECIDES.....4 JOINTLY WITH SOMEONE ELSE.....5	
217	Do you have any money set aside that you can use in any way you wish?	YES.....1 NO.....2	

218 There are many ways a woman can get money for basic family needs. She might use her own money, ask her husband or relatives, borrow from someone or use general housekeeping money - with or with or without permission.

ITEMS	218A When you have to spend money on (ITEM), how do you usually get the money? CIRCLE ALL MENTIONED.	218B In your household, who is usually responsible for paying for (ITEM)? CIRCLE ONE.
Your own health care	A B C D E F G H I	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Children's health care	A B C D E F G H I	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Children's education	A B C D E F G H I	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Support for own parents/rels.	A B C D E F G H I	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Support for partner's par/rels	A B C D E F G H I	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Other basic needs (e.g.transport/clothing)	A B C D E F G H I	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
RESPONSE CODES:	A. ASKS HUSBAND/PARTNER B. ASKS OWN FAMILY MEMBER C. ASKS HUSBAND'S FAMILY MEMBER USES HOUSEKEEPING MONEY D. WITH PERMISSION E. WITHOUT PERMISSION F. USES OWN SEPARATE MONEY G. BORROWS H. NOT APPLICABLE I. OTHER	1. RESPONDENT 2. HUSBAND/PARTNER 3. BOTH 4. RELATIVE OF RESP. 5. RELATIVE OF HUSB. 6. OTHER 7. NOT APPLICABLE

Respondent's Perception of Role in Decisionmaking (220-221)

The first question examines women's perceptions about their role in decisionmaking while the second tries to identify arenas in which women perceive their role in decisionmaking to be equal to or greater than that of their partner.

Household Possessions and Characteristics (222-236)

These questions are included to provide some index of the standard of living or socioeconomic status of the household in which the respondent lives. Questions on whether the individual respondent owns livestock, land, a house, bicycle, or car are included as a measure of wealth which is separate from that of the household of residence. Women's economic independence may influence their bargaining position within sexual unions.

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
219	Do you personally participate in any kind of rotating credit or savings scheme? (USE LOCAL NAME)	YES.....1 NO.....2	
219A	CHECK 107: CURRENTLY MARRIED/ LIVING WITH A MAN ☐ NOT CURRENTLY MARRIED/ NOT LIVING WITH A MAN ☐		→222
220	In your home, does your opinion carry about the same weight as your husband/partner's opinion, more weight than his opinion, less weight, or is your opinion not taken into account at all?	SAME WEIGHT.....1 MORE WEIGHT.....2 LESS WEIGHT.....3 NOT TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT.....4	
221	Who has the final say in your home on the following: you, your husband/partner, both of you or someone else?	RESPONDENT 1 / HUSBAND/PARTNER 2 / BOTH 3 / SOMEONE ELSE 4 / NA 5	
	What food to cook	FOOD TO COOK.....1 2 3 4 5	
	Children's health care	HEALTH CARE.....1 2 3 4 5	
	Children's education	EDUCATION.....1 2 3 4 5	
	Support for own parents/relatives	SUPPORT OWN.....1 2 3 4 5	
	Support for partner's parents/relatives	SUPPORT PARTNER..1 2 3 4 5	
	Fostering children	FOSTERING.....1 2 3 4 5	
	Children's marriage	MARRIAGE.....1 2 3 4 5	
222	Does your household own any land?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→224
223	How much land does it own?	ACRES.....1 ☐☐☐☐☐ HECTARES.....2 ☐☐☐☐☐ SQUARE FEET....3 ☐☐☐☐☐ SQUARE METERS..4 ☐☐☐☐☐ DON'T KNOW.....999998 OTHER_____ 999996 (SPECIFY)	
224	Do you own any land personally?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→226
225	How much land do you own personally?	ACRES.....1 ☐☐☐☐☐ HECTARES.....2 ☐☐☐☐☐ SQUARE FEET....3 ☐☐☐☐☐ SQUARE METERS..4 ☐☐☐☐☐ DON'T KNOW.....999998 OTHER_____ 999996 (SPECIFY)	

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
226	Does your household own any livestock?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→228
227	How many: Cattle? Goats? Sheep? Other animals? IF NONE ENTER '000'	NUMBER OF CATTLE..... NUMBER OF GOATS..... NUMBER OF SHEEP..... NUMBER OF OTHERS.....	
228	Do you have any livestock that belongs only to you?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→230
229	How many: Cattle? Goats? Sheep? Other animals? IF NONE ENTER '000'	NUMBER OF CATTLE..... NUMBER OF GOATS..... NUMBER OF SHEEP..... NUMBER OF ANIMALS.....	
230	Does your household have:	YES NO	
	Electricity?	ELECTRICITY.....1 2	
	A radio?	RADIO.....1 2	
	A television?	TELEVISION.....1 2	
	A refrigerator?	REFRIGERATOR.....1 2	
231	Does any member of your household own:	YES NO	
	A house?	HOUSE.....1 2	
	A bicycle?	BICYCLE.....1 2	
	A pikipiki?	PIKIPIKI.....1 2	
	A car?	CAR.....1 2	
232	We are interested in knowing about property that belongs only to you. Do you own:	YES NO	
	A house?	HOUSE.....1 2	
	A bicycle?	BICYCLE.....1 2	
	A pikipiki?	PIKIPIKI.....1 2	
	A car?	CAR.....1 2	
	A radio?	RADIO.....1 2	
233	What is the main source of drinking water for members of your household?	PIPED WATER PIPED INTO RESIDENCE/YARD/PLOT.....11 PUBLIC TAP.....12 WELL WATER WELL IN RESIDENCE/YARD/PLOT..21 PUBLIC WELL.....22 BORE HOLE.....23 SURFACE WATER SPRING.....31 RIVER/STREAM.....32 POND/LAKE.....33 DAM.....34 RAINWATER.....41 TANKER TRUCK.....51 BOTTLED WATER.....61 OTHER_____ 96 (SPECIFY)	

General Locus of Control (237-243)

These questions give us some indication of women's perceptions about their abilities to control or change life's conditions and events, in general. Questions 238-241 aim at establishing whether the individual has an external locus of control orientation (that is, the individual believes that her life is governed by forces beyond her control: chance, fate, or powerful others). Questions 242-243 aim at establishing whether the individual has an internal locus of control orientation (that is, she believes that her life is largely under her personal control). These questions are important because bargaining strategies ultimately depend upon the range of options that are open to or perceived by the individual. Sense of control may explain why some individuals will bargain more effectively with the same resources than others and why some individuals may not bother to bargain at all.

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
234	What kind of toilet facility does your household have?	FLUSH TOILET OWN FLUSH TOILET.....11 SHARED FLUSH TOILET.....12 PIT TOILET/LATRINE TRADITIONAL PIT TOILET.....21 VENTILATED IMPROVED PIT (VIP) LATRINE.....22 NO FACILITY/BUSH/FIELD.....31 OTHER_____ 96 (SPECIFY)	
235	MAIN MATERIAL OF THE ROOF RECORD OBSERVATION.	THATCH.....1 IRON/TIN.....2 TILES.....3 MULTI-STORY DWELLING.....4 OTHER_____6 (SPECIFY)	
236	MAIN MATERIAL OF THE FLOOR RECORD OBSERVATION.	EARTH.....1 CEMENT.....2 TILE.....3 OTHER_____6 (SPECIFY)	
237	Now, I am going to read you a series of statements. After I read each statement, please tell me whether you agree with the statement, disagree with it, or have no opinion one way or the other. It's not always wise for me to plan too far ahead because many things turn out to be a matter of good or bad luck.	AGREE.....1 DISAGREE.....2 NO OPINION/DK.....3	
238	I have often found that what is going to happen will happen, whether I want it to or not.	AGREE.....1 DISAGREE.....2 NO OPINION/DK.....3	
239	My life is chiefly controlled by people with more power than me.	AGREE.....1 DISAGREE.....2 NO OPINION/DK.....3	
240	In order to get what I want, I have to conform to the wishes of others.	AGREE.....1 DISAGREE.....2 NO OPINION/DK.....3	
241	What others in the family want should always come first before what I want.	AGREE.....1 DISAGREE.....2 NO OPINION/DK.....3	
242	I can generally determine what will happen in my own life.	AGREE.....1 DISAGREE.....2 NO OPINION/DK.....3	
243	When I get what I want, it's usually because I've worked hard for it.	AGREE.....1 DISAGREE.....2 NO OPINION/DK.....3	

SECTION 3: MARRIAGE

Current Marital Status and Polygyny (302-311)

These questions give further information on the respondent's marital history and current marital situation, as well as the prevalence and characteristics of polygyny. Whether the respondent was consulted in the partner's decision to marry another wife measures the degree to which women are considered to have a right to choose whether a union will be monogamous or polygynous.

Age at Start of Union (312-316)

Women are asked to provide the month and year they started living with their current partner and then they are asked their age at the time. In addition, women who have been married more than once are also asked the age at which they first got married. Age at union is important because early marriage may place women in a subordinate position to their husbands, particularly if the age gap between spouses is wide.

SECTION 3. MARRIAGE

301 CHECK 107:
NOT CURRENTLY MARRIED/ NOT LIVING WITH A MAN → (continue)
CURRENTLY MARRIED/ LIVING WITH A MAN → 304

302 Have you ever been married or lived with a man?
- YES, FORMERLY MARRIED.....1
- YES, LIVED WITH A MAN.....2 → 311
- NO.....3 → 327

303 What is your marital status now: are you widowed, divorced, or separated?
- WIDOWED.....1
- DIVORCED.....2
- SEPARATED.....3

→ 311

304 CHECK 107:
- MARRIED → Does your husband have any other wives besides yourself?
- LIVING WITH A MAN → Does your partner have any other wives or partners besides yourself?

- YES.....1
- NO.....2
- DON'T KNOW.....8 → 309

305 How many wives/partners does he have altogether, including you?
- NUMBER.....
- DON'T KNOW.....98 → 310

307 Are you the first, second,.....wife?
- RANK.....

308 CHECK 305 AND 307:
RESPONDENT IS MOST RECENT WIFE → (continue)
OTHER → 310

309 Has your husband/partner ever discussed marrying another wife/getting another partner with you?
- YES.....1
- NO.....2 → 311

310 Did your husband/partner consult you before he married another wife/got another partner?
- YES.....1
- NO.....2

311 Have you been married or lived with a man only once, or more than once?
- ONCE.....1
- MORE THAN ONCE.....2

311A CHECK 107:
CURRENTLY MARRIED/ LIVING WITH A MAN → (continue)
NOT CURRENTLY MARRIED/ NOT LIVING WITH A MAN → 315

312 CHECK 311:
In what month and year did you start living with your (current) husband/partner?
- MONTH.....
- DON'T KNOW MONTH.....98
- YEAR..... → 314
- DON'T KNOW YEAR.....98

313 How old were you when you started living with him?
- AGE.....

Payment of Bridewealth and Registration of Marriage (317-321)

Payment of bridewealth is important because it establishes the validity of customary marriage and the husband's rights over his wife's childbearing abilities in traditional societies. The amount of bridewealth that was agreed upon and the level of completion of bridewealth payments may affect women's perceptions of their rights over matters of reproduction and health and their ability to enforce those rights. Registration of a marriage implies a unique set of codes governing marriage and the family. These codes may bear on many dimensions of husband-wife interaction.

Family Influence over Partner Choice (322-327)

Women are asked to provide the length of time they had known their partner before marriage and the degree of influence their parents had over partner choice. They are also asked in Q.325 about parental approval of partner choice. Questions 326 and 327 assess the extent to which respondents consider parental approval to be critical for the establishment of marriage. This information is important because degree of family influence over partner choice may affect the development of strong emotional ties between partners and spousal communication, particularly in the early stages of the union. It may also bear on sexual behavior, fertility decisionmaking, and reproduction.

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
314	CHECK 311: MARRIED MORE THAN ONCE ☐ MARRIED ONLY ONCE ☐		→316A
315	In what month and year did you start living with your first husband/partner?	MONTH..... ☐☐ DON'T KNOW MONTH.....98 YEAR..... ☐☐ DON'T KNOW YEAR.....98	→316A
316	How old were you when you started living with him?	AGE..... ☐☐	
316A	CHECK 107: CURRENTLY MARRIED/ LIVING WITH A MAN ☐ NOT CURRENTLY MARRIED/ NOT LIVING WITH A MAN ☐		→401
317	Did the union with your current husband/partner involve any bridewealth payment?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→320
318	What amount of bridewealth was agreed to? ENTER ZEROES IF NONE.	NUMBER OF CATTLE..... ☐☐☐ NUMBER OF GOATS..... ☐☐☐ NUMBER OF SHILLINGS.. ☐☐☐☐☐☐☐ OTHER_____1 (SPECIFY) NO OTHER ITEMS.....2	
319	Has all the bride-price been paid or does some part still remain to be paid?	ALL PAID.....1 PARTIALLY PAID.....2	
320	CHECK 107: MARRIED ☐ NOT MARRIED ☐		→322
321	Do you have a marriage certificate? PROBE: Is your marriage registered?	YES.....1 NO.....2	
322	How long did you know your partner before you were married to him/started living with him? IF LESS THAN ONE MONTH, RECORD '00'.	MONTHS.....1 ☐☐ YEARS.....2 ☐☐	
323	Who introduced you to each other?	NOBODY/JUST MET.....1 PARENTS/RELATIVES.....2 AGE-MATES/FRIENDS.....3 RELIGIOUS GROUP.....4 OTHER_____6 (SPECIFY)	

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
324	We are interested in knowing the influence of parents and relatives in your choice of a husband/partner. How much influence did your parents and relatives have on your choice of a (marriage) partner: a major influence, some influence, little influence, or no influence?	MAJOR INFLUENCE.....1 SOME INFLUENCE.....2 LITTLE INFLUENCE.....3 NO INFLUENCE.....4	
325	Did your parents and relatives approve of your current husband/partner when you got married/started living with your partner?	YES.....1 NO.....2 DON'T KNOW.....8	→327
326	Would you have married/started living with your husband/partner if your parents and relatives did not approve?	YES.....1 NO.....2 DON'T KNOW.....8	
327	Was there ever a person who you wanted to marry, but did not because your parents or relative did not approve?	YES.....1 NO.....2 DON'T KNOW.....8	

SECTION 4: REPRODUCTION

Lifetime Fertility (401-409)

These are standard preliminary questions aimed at determining the total number of births (and infant/child deaths) in the woman's history. Experience has shown that certain types of events are underreported; this is the reason for distinguishing among children living at home, those living away, and those who have died. Distinction by sex also improves reporting.

Number of Children Born in Current Relationship (410-414)

The first question asks women how many of their biological children were fathered by their current partner. For women who have had children from previous unions, this information is important for examining whether the number of children born in the current relationship is more relevant to current fertility desires, reproductive decisionmaking, and contraceptive outcomes than total number of children ever born. Women are also asked in Q.413 to report the number of children in the household for whom they and their partner are responsible. Q.414 then asks how many other children live in the household. These additional childrearing responsibilities may bear on desired family size and other reproductive outcomes.

SECTION 4. REPRODUCTION

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
401	Now I would like to ask about all the births you have had during your life. Have you ever given birth?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→406
402	Do you have any sons or daughters to whom you have given birth who are now living with you?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→404
403	How many sons live with you? And how many daughters live with you? IF NONE, RECORD '00'.	SONS AT HOME..... DAUGHTERS AT HOME.....	
404	Do you have any sons or daughters to whom you have given birth who are alive but do not live with you?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→406
405	How many sons are alive but do not live with you? And how many daughters are alive but do not live with you? IF NONE, RECORD '00'.	SONS ELSEWHERE..... DAUGHTERS ELSEWHERE.....	
406	Have you ever given birth to a boy or a girl who was born alive but later died? IF NO, PROBE: Any baby who cried or showed signs of life but survived only a few hours or days?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→408
407	How many boys have died? And how many girls have died? IF NONE, RECORD '00'.	BOYS DEAD..... GIRLS DEAD.....	
408	SUM ANSWERS TO 403, 405, AND 407, AND ENTER TOTAL. IF NONE, RECORD '00'.	TOTAL.....	
409	CHECK 408: Just to make sure that I have this right: you have had in TOTAL ____ births during your life. Is that correct? YES ☐ NO ☐ → PROBE AND CORRECT 401-408 AS NECESSARY.		
410	CHECK 408: ONE OR MORE BIRTHS ☐ NO BIRTHS ☐		→413
411	You told me you had given birth to ____ children in total. How many of these children did you have with your current husband/partner?	NONE.....00 NUMBER.....	→413

Pregnancy Status (415)

Information on the respondent's pregnancy status is important in determining eligibility for questions on current contraceptive use and in phrasing questions on fertility preferences.

Recent Fertility History (417-425)

The respondent is asked about the date and survival status of her last live birth. We have added an interviewer calculation and probe to determine whether the interval between the date of the interview and the date of the last live birth is four years or longer. If so, the respondent is asked if there have been any live births during that interval. The aim is to improve the reporting of both births and infant deaths. Data on the last birth will allow the calculation of recent marital fertility rates to be compared with that of the recent DHS in an evaluation of the quality of the fertility data. Information on the date of the last birth is also required to calculate desired spacing of the next child.

Age of Oldest Child (426)

The respondent is asked the age of her oldest child. This question indicates whether women have any adult children to whom they can turn for assistance if the need arises.

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
412	How many of the children that you had with your current husband/partner are living with you?	NUMBER..... ☐☐	
413	(Aside from your own children), are there any (other) children under age 15 for whom you and your partner are responsible?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→415
414	How many of these children (aside from your own) are living in this household?	NUMBER..... ☐☐	
415	Are you currently pregnant?	YES.....1 NO.....2 DON'T KNOW.....8	
416	CHECK 408: ONE OR MORE BIRTHS ☐ NO BIRTHS ☐		→501

417 Now I would like to record the name of your most recent birth, whether still alive or not.

RECORD NAME OF LAST BIRTH IN 417. RECORD TWINS ON SEPARATE LINES.

418 What name was given to your (last) baby? (NAME)	419 Was this birth twins?	420 Is (NAME) a boy or a girl?	421 In what month and year was (NAME) born? PROBE: What is his/her birthday? OR: In what season was he/she born?	422 Is (NAME) still alive?	423 IF ALIVE: How old was (NAME) at his/her last birthday? RECORD AGE IN COMPLETED YEARS.	424 FROM YEAR OF INTERVIEW SUBTRACT YEAR OF BIRTH. IS THE DIFFERENCE 4 OR MORE?	425 Were there any other births since the birth of (NAME)?
01	SING..1 MULT..2	BOY...1 GIRL..2	MONTH.. ☐☐ YEAR... ☐☐	YES..1 NO...2 → 424	AGE IN YEARS ☐☐	YES....1 NO.....2 → (425A)	YES..1 NO...2
02	SING..1 MULT..2	BOY...1 GIRL..2	MONTH.. ☐☐ YEAR... ☐☐	YES..1 NO...2 → 424	AGE IN YEARS ☐☐	YES....1 NO.....2 → (425A)	YES..1 NO...2

425A	CHECK 402 AND 404: HAS LIVING CHILDREN ☐ DOES NOT HAVE LIVING CHILDREN ☐		→501
426	What is the age of your oldest living child?	AGE..... ☐☐	

SECTION 5: CONTRACEPTION

Knowledge and Ever Use of Contraception (501-503)

The respondent is first asked which methods she has ever heard about, and the interviewer records those spontaneously mentioned methods in Q.501. She is then asked in Q.502 whether she has ever heard of each method not spontaneously mentioned; this is done by reading the description of each method not mentioned earlier by the respondent in Q.501. For each method mentioned in Q.501 or Q.502, information about whether she has ever used that method is collected. Whether any method was ever used is then recorded in Q.503.

While this procedure may seem tedious, experience has indicated that such methodical questioning is necessary to obtain accurate data. By clearly communicating the concept of contraception, questions on knowledge and use of contraception serve to lead into later questions about family planning. Information collected in these questions forms the basis for estimates of prevalence of both modern and traditional methods, and of assessing whether knowledge of contraceptive methods influences women's ability to negotiate contraceptive use.

SECTION 5. CONTRACEPTION

Now I would like to talk about family planning - the various ways or methods that a couple can use to delay or avoid a pregnancy.

CIRCLE CODE 1 IN 501 FOR EACH METHOD MENTIONED SPONTANEOUSLY. THEN PROCEED DOWN COLUMN 502, READING THE NAME AND DESCRIPTION OF EACH METHOD NOT MENTIONED SPONTANEOUSLY. CIRCLE CODE 2 IF METHOD IS RECOGNIZED AND CODE 3 IF NOT RECOGNIZED. THEN, FOR EACH METHOD WITH CODE 1 OR 2 CIRCLED IN 501 OR 502, ASK 503.

	501 Which ways or methods have you heard about? SPONTANEOUS YES	502 Have you ever heard of (METHOD)? PROBED YES	NO	503 Have you ever used (METHOD)?
01 PILL Women can take a pill every day.	1	2	3	YES.....1 NO.....2
02 IUD Women can have a loop or coil placed inside them by a doctor or a nurse.	1	2	3	YES.....1 NO.....2
03 INJECTIONS Women can have an injection by a doctor or nurse which stops them from becoming pregnant for several months.	1	2	3	YES.....1 NO.....2
04 IMPLANTS Women can have several small rods placed in their upper arm by a doctor or nurse which can prevent pregnancy for several years.	1	2	3	YES.....1 NO.....2
05 DIAPHRAGM,FOAM,JELLY Women can place a sponge, suppository, diaphragm, jelly, or cream inside themselves before intercourse.	1	2	3	YES.....1 NO.....2
06 CONDOM Men can put a rubber sheath on their penis during sexual intercourse.	1	2	3	YES.....1 NO.....2
07 FEMALE STERILIZATION Women can have an operation to avoid having any more children.	1	2	3	Have you ever had an operation to avoid having any more children? YES.....1 NO.....2
08 MALE STERILIZATION Men can have an operation to avoid having any more children.	1	2	3	Have you ever had a partner who had an operation to avoid having children? YES.....1 NO.....2
09 RHYTHM, PERIODIC ABSTINENCE Every month that a woman is sexually active she can avoid having sexual intercourse on the days of the month she is most likely to get pregnant.	1	2	3	YES.....1 NO.....2
10 WITHDRAWAL Men can be careful and pull out before climax.	1	2	3	YES.....1 NO.....2
11 SPORADIC ABSTINENCE In order to prevent pregnancy, some men and women avoid sexual intercourse by various means, such as pretending to be ill, spending nights away from home, "facing the wall".	1	2	3	YES.....1 NO.....2
12 Have you heard of any other ways or methods that women or men can use to avoid pregnancy?	1 _____ (SPECIFY) _____ (SPECIFY)		3	YES.....1 NO.....2 YES.....1 NO.....2

Probe on Contraceptive Use (504-506)

A follow-up probe for women who had reported never using any method is included to provide one more check on the classification of user status. This is important because if the respondent is classified as a "never-user", all subsequent questions asked of users of contraception are skipped.

Current Use (509-510)

These questions provide the basic information needed to assess current contraceptive use. They also determine which questions users and nonusers are asked in the remainder of the section.

First Use of Contraception (511)

This question is to determine whether the respondent has used contraception in the past and serves as a lead to questions on discontinuation.

Reasons for Discontinuation (512)

Women who have used a method of contraception more than once are directly asked the main reason for discontinuing the method. They may not have been exposed to the risk of pregnancy - menopausal, subfecund, or were not having sex. Others may have been concerned about possible side effects or costs, may have wanted another child, or may have had a marital disruption. The data will permit the assessment of the relative importance of partner disapproval for contraceptive discontinuation.

Partner's Knowledge of Respondent's Use of Contraception (513-515)

This question aims at finding out whether women use contraception without their partner's knowledge and is directed to women who have used a method of contraception more than once. It also serves as a lead to the next set of questions which ask about partner communication about contraception discontinuation.

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
504	CHECK 503: NOT A SINGLE "YES" (NEVER USED) ☐ AT LEAST ONE "YES" (EVER USED) ☐		→507
505	Have you ever used anything or tried in any way to delay or avoid getting pregnant?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→533
506	What have you used or done? CORRECT 503 AND 504 (AND 502 IF NECESSARY).		
507	CHECK 503: WOMAN NOT STERILIZED ☐ WOMAN STERILIZED ☐		→510A
508	CHECK 415: NOT PREGNANT OR UNSURE ☐ PREGNANT ☐		→512
509	Are you and your husband/partner doing something or using any method to delay or avoid getting pregnant?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→512
510	Which method are you using?	PILL.....01 IUD.....02 INJECTIONS.....03 IMPLANTS.....04 DIAPHRAGM/FOAM/JELLY.....05 CONDOM.....06 FEMALE STERILIZATION.....07 MALE STERILIZATION.....08 RHYTHM.....09 WITHDRAWAL.....10 SPORADIC ABSTINENCE.....11 OTHER_____96 (SPECIFY)	
510A	CIRCLE '07' FOR FEMALE STERILIZATION.		
510B	CHECK 503: OTHER ☐ ONLY METHOD EVER USED IS FEMALE OR MALE STERILIZATION ☐		→518
511	Since you first started doing something to delay or avoid getting pregnant, have you ever stopped using the method for some time?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→518
512	Thinking back to the last time you stopped using something to delay or avoid a pregnancy, what was the main reason you stopped?	INFREQUENT SEX/HUSBAND AWAY....01 BECAME PREGNANT WHILE USING....02 WANTED TO BECOME PREGNANT.....03 HUSBAND DISAPPROVED.....04 HEALTH CONCERNS.....05 SIDE EFFECTS.....06 LACK OF ACCESS/TOO FAR.....07 COST TOO MUCH.....08 INCONVENIENT TO USE.....09 FATALISTIC.....10 MENOPAUSE/ DIFFICULT TO GET PREGNANT.....11 MARITAL DISSOLUTION/SEPARATION.12 OTHER_____96 (SPECIFY) DON'T KNOW.....98	
513	Were you with your current husband/partner the last time you stopped using a method?	YES.....1 NO.....2	
514	Did your husband/partner at that time know that you were using a method?	YES.....1 NO.....2 DON'T KNOW.....8	→516
515	Did you discuss whether to stop using a method with him?	YES.....1 NO.....2	

Reasons for First Contraceptive Use (517-519)

The next set of questions provides basic information on the context of first contraceptive use. These questions have been included because negotiating the transition from nonuse to use is probably more important than negotiating current use. As the context of first contraceptive use pertains to the current partnership, women who were in a previous sexual relationship the last time they stopped using a method to delay or avoid pregnancy are also asked whether they have ever used contraception with their current partner. Then all users are asked the reasons why they started doing something in their current partnership to delay or avoid pregnancy. As a measure of women's ability to take charge of reproductive issues, Q.519 has been added to determine who first proposed doing something to delay or avoid pregnancy.

Couple Disagreement about First Contraceptive Use (520-522)

These questions are intended to provide a picture of couple disagreement at first use of contraception with the current partner. The reasons why women use contraception against their wishes give some indication of factors that may bear on the outcome of the negotiation process.

Partner Involvement in Decision about First Use of Contraception (524-525)

Evidence indicates that discussion and partner approval of contraception are strongly related to actual contraceptive use. Women who first proposed using contraception in their current partnership are asked whether their partner was in agreement at the time. Those who indicate that their partner was not in agreement are further asked in Q.525 whether their partner was aware that they were using a method of contraception. Partners' lack of knowledge about respondents' use of contraception indicates lack of partner communication about contraception or women's control over contraceptive choice.

516	CHECK 509: NOT CURRENTLY USING ANY METHOD ☐ CURRENTLY USING ANY METHOD ☐ →518	
517	Since you first started in your current marriage/relationship, have you ever done anything to delay or avoid getting pregnant?	YES.....1 NO.....2 →533
518	Thinking back to the (first) time that you started to do something to delay or avoid getting pregnant with your current husband/partner, what was the main reason you started to do this?	ECONOMIC REASONS.....01 HEALTH REASONS.....02 REACHED DESIRED FAMILY SIZE....03 PREVIOUS DELIVERY DIFFICULT....04 WANTED TO REST.....05 HUSBAND WANTED TO STOP.....06 WANTED SPACE BETWEEN BIRTHS....07 DID NOT WANT PREMARITAL BIRTH..08 OTHER_____96 (SPECIFY) DON'T KNOW.....98
519	Did you decide to use a method on your own, or did your husband/partner or someone else suggest it?	RESPONDENT.....1 →524 HUSBAND/PARTNER.....2 SOMEONE ELSE_____6 (SPECIFY)
520	Did you agree at the time?	YES.....1 →523 NO.....2
521	What was the main reason that you disagreed?	WANTED ANOTHER CHILD.....01 AFRAID OF SIDE EFFECTS.....02 RELIGIOUS REASONS.....03 AFRAID TO GO TO FP CLINIC.....04 COST TOO MUCH.....05 DIFFICULT TO GET METHODS.....06 CO-WIVES ARE HAVING CHILDREN...07 OTHER_____96 (SPECIFY) DON'T KNOW.....98
522	What was the main reason you decided to do something to delay or avoid pregnancy even though you did not want to?	HAD ENOUGH CHILDREN.....01 HAD A BOY/GIRL.....02 TIRED/NEEDED TO REST.....03 ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES.....04 HUSBAND INSISTED.....05 OTHER_____96 (SPECIFY) DON'T KNOW.....98
523	CHECK 519: HUSBAND SUGGESTED ☐ →528 SOMEONE ELSE SUGGESTED ☐	
524	Did your husband/partner know you were using a method at the time you started using?	YES.....1 NO.....2 DON'T KNOW.....8 →526
525	Did your husband/partner agree at the time?	YES.....1 NO.....2 →528
526	Did he ever discover that you were using a method?	YES.....1 NO.....2 DON'T KNOW.....8 →528

Partner's Reaction to Respondent's First Use of Contraception (526-527)

Limited to women who used a method of contraception without their partner's knowledge, these two questions are intended to assess the consequences of lack of partner communication about family planning, and the risks involved when women exercise control over contraceptive choice.

Partner Communication among Current Users (528-532)

These questions pertain to current users and are parallel to those asked about first use. They seek to find out about partner involvement in decisions regarding current use of contraception and women's perceptions of the risks of using contraception without their partner's knowledge.

Partner Communication about Family Planning among Nonusers (533-537)

These questions examine whether nonusers have ever discussed doing something to delay or avoid pregnancy, whether the discussion was initiated by the respondent, her partner, or someone else, and whether the woman or her partner were in favor of doing something to delay or avoid pregnancy.

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
527	What happened when he discovered it? CIRCLE ALL MENTIONED.	ASKED HER TO LEAVE.....A LEFT HER.....B TALKED WITH RELATIVES/ELDERS....C MADE HER STOP.....D GOT ANOTHER WOMAN.....E BEAT HER.....F QUARRELLED WITH HER.....G DECIDED TO DISCUSS IT .....H DID NOT DO ANYTHING..... I OTHER_____ X (SPECIFY)	
528	CHECK 510: CURRENTLY USING OTHER THAN CONDOM CURRENTLY USING CONDOM NOT CURRENTLY USING ANY METHOD		→544 →540
529	Does your husband/partner know that you are using a method now?	YES.....1 NO.....2 DON'T KNOW.....8	→531
530	What do you think would happen if he discovered that you are doing something to delay or avoid pregnancy? CIRCLE ALL MENTIONED.	WOULD FORCE HER TO LEAVE.....A WOULD LEAVE HER.....B WOULD TALK WITH RELATIVES/ELDERS.C WOULD MAKE HER STOP.....D WOULD GET ANOTHER WOMAN.....E WOULD BEAT HER.....F WOULD QUARREL WITH HER.....G WOULD NOT DO ANYTHING..... H OTHER_____ X (SPECIFY) DON'T KNOW.....Z	→544
531	Does your husband/partner agree with you using a method now?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→544
532	What happened when he discovered that you were using a method? CIRCLE ALL MENTIONED	ASKED HER TO LEAVE.....A LEFT HER.....B TALKED WITH RELATIVES/ELDERS....C MADE HER STOP.....D GOT ANOTHER WOMAN.....E BEAT HER.....F QUARRELLED WITH HER.....G DECIDED TO DISCUSS IT .....H DID NOT DO ANYTHING..... I OTHER_____ X (SPECIFY)	→544
533	Have you and your husband/partner ever discussed doing something to delay or avoid a pregnancy?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→540
534	Who proposed using a method: you, your husband/partner or did someone else suggest it?	RESPONDENT.....1 HUSBAND/PARTNER.....2 SOMEONE ELSE_____6 (SPECIFY)	→537

Reasons for Nonuse of Contraception (539)

Limited to women who are in relationships in which both partners want to do something to delay or avoid pregnancy and to those in unions in which both partners disagree about contraceptive use, this question explores the reasons why women have never used a method of contraception. The objective of this question is to determine whether nonuse may be related to lack of information about where to obtain contraception or to the opposition of one partner to contraceptive use.

Intentions to Use Contraception (540-543)

Women are also asked about their intentions to use contraception, reasons for not intending to use contraception, and the method they would prefer. Such data provide an indication of future demand for services. Women are also explicitly asked about their perceptions regarding their partner's contraceptive intentions.

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
535	Did you want to use a method at that time?	YES.....1 NO.....2	
536	CHECK 534: HUSBAND PROPOSED ☐ → 538 SOMEONE ELSE PROPOSED ☐ ▼		
537	Did your husband/partner want to use a method at that time?	YES.....1 NO.....2	
538	CHECK 535 AND 537: BOTH WANTED TO USE A METHOD OR THEY DISAGREED ☐ ▼ NEITHER WANTED TO USE A METHOD ☐ → 540		
539	What is the main reason you have never used a method to delay or avoid getting pregnant?	AFRAID OF SIDE EFFECTS.....01 RELIGIOUS REASONS.....02 DOESN'T WANT TO GO TO FP CLINIC.03 COST TOO MUCH.....04 DIFFICULT TO GET METHODS.....05 CO-WIVES ARE HAVING CHILDREN....06 WANT CHILDREN.....07 CAN'T GET PREGNANT.....08 OPPOSED TO FP.....09 HUSBAND OPPOSED TO FP.....10 OTHER_____96 (SPECIFY)	
540	Do you think you will do something to delay or avoid a pregnancy at any time in the future?	YES.....1 → 542 NO.....2 DK/UNDECIDED.....8 → 543	
541	What is the main reason that you do not intend to use a method at any time in the future?	NOT MARRIED.....11 FERTILITY-RELATED REASONS INFREQUENT SEX.....22 MENOPAUSAL/HYSTERECTOMY.....23 SUBFECUND/INFECUND.....24 WANTS (MORE) CHILDREN.....26 OPPOSITION TO USE RESPONDENT OPPOSED.....31 HUSBAND OPPOSED.....32 OTHERS OPPOSED.....33 RELIGIOUS PROHIBITION.....34 LACK OF KNOWLEDGE KNOWS NO METHOD.....41 KNOWS NO SOURCE.....42 METHOD-RELATED REASONS HEALTH CONCERNS.....51 FEAR OF SIDE EFFECTS.....52 LACK OF ACCESS/TOO FAR.....53 COST TOO MUCH.....54 INCONVENIENT TO USE.....55 INTERFERES WITH BODY'S NORMAL PROCESSES.....56 OTHER_____ 96 (SPECIFY) DON'T KNOW.....98	→ 543

Discussion of Contraceptive Practice (544-546)

This question explores informal social networks that may initiate or reinforce messages about contraceptive practice. The woman's husband or partner has been included among the categories as an additional probe on whether the woman has ever had any discussions about the practice of contraception with her current partner. The reason for this repetition is that, earlier in the interview, partner communication about family planning is discussed in the context of "doing something to delay or avoid pregnancy". However, it is important to determine whether the couple discussed aspects of contraception aside from actual adoption of a method.

Knowledge of Ovulatory Cycle (547-548)

Women are queried to determine the accuracy of their knowledge of when during the cycle they are most likely to get pregnant.

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
542	What method do you think you will use?	PILL.....01 IUD.....02 INJECTIONS.....03 IMPLANTS.....04 DIAPHRAGM/FOAM/JELLY.....05 CONDOM.....06 FEMALE STERILIZATION.....07 MALE STERILIZATION.....08 RHYTHM.....09 WITHDRAWAL.....10 SPORADIC ABSTINENCE.....11 OTHER_____96 (SPECIFY) DON'T KNOW.....98	
543	Do you think your husband/partner will want to do something to delay or avoid a pregnancy in the future?	YES.....1 NO.....2 UNDECIDED.....3 DON'T KNOW.....8	
544	In the last 6 months have you discussed the practice of family planning with your husband/partner, friends, neighbors, or relatives?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→546
545	With whom? Anyone else? RECORD ALL MENTIONED.	HUSBAND/PARTNER.....A MOTHER.....B FATHER.....C PATERNAL AUNT.....D MEDICAL PERSONNEL.....E FAMILY PLANNING WORKER.....F SISTER(S).....G BROTHER(S).....H DAUGHTER.....I MOTHER-IN-LAW.....J FRIENDS/NEIGHBOURS.....K OTHER_____ X (SPECIFY)	
546	Would you say that most of the people you know approve of the practice of family planning, disapprove of it, or have no opinion?	MOST APPROVE.....1 MOST DISAPPROVE.....2 MOST HAVE NO OPINION.....3 DON'T KNOW.....8	
547	Between the first day of a woman's period and the first day of her next period, are there certain times when she has a greater chance of becoming pregnant than other times?	YES.....1 NO.....2 DON'T KNOW.....8	→549
548	During which times of the monthly cycle does a woman have the greatest chance of becoming pregnant?	DURING HER PERIOD.....1 RIGHT AFTER HER PERIOD HAS ENDED.....2 IN THE MIDDLE OF THE CYCLE.....3 JUST BEFORE HER PERIOD BEGINS...4 OTHER_____6 (SPECIFY) DON'T KNOW.....8	

Family Planning Locus of Control (549-553)

These questions measure the extent to which a woman believes that her use of family planning is determined by others or by her own volition.

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
	Please tell me if you agree, disagree or have no opinion about the following statements.		
549	If my partner doesn't want to use family planning or condoms, there is nothing I can do to change his mind.	AGREE.....1 DISAGREE.....2 NO OPINION/DK.....3	
550	A couple can choose the exact number of children they will have and stop after that.	AGREE.....1 DISAGREE.....2 NO OPINION/DK.....3	
551	If I decide that I want no more children, I will be able to have my way.	AGREE.....1 DISAGREE.....2 NO OPINION/DK.....3	
552	If I decide that I want to delay the next birth, I will be able to have my way.	AGREE.....1 DISAGREE.....2 NO OPINION/DK.....3	
553	Even if he doesn't agree at first, I could convince my husband/partner to use family planning or condoms if I feel we should.	AGREE.....1 DISAGREE.....2 NO OPINION/DK.....3	

SECTION 6: FERTILITY PREFERENCES

Ideal Number of Children (601-602)

These questions have been included in determine basic fertility preferences of respondents. Question 602 on ideal number of boys and girls has been included in order to assess the extent of sex preference.

Fertility Preferences Before the Birth of the First Child (603-605)

Combined with information collected in subsequent questions, data on fertility preferences before the birth of the first child permits an assessment of the extent to which fertility desires evolve over time. This information is restricted to women who have given birth.

Discussion of Desired Number of Children (606)

Discussion of the desired number of children between partners is thought to be instrumental in the decision to take joint action to ensure that actual fertility corresponds to desired fertility. It is also intended to assess the extent to which couples communicate about their fertility preferences.

Partner's Fertility Desires (607)

This question aims at assessing women's perceptions of their partner's fertility desires at the time they first discussed ideal family size.

First Discussion of Fertility Desires (608-609)

Information on the number of children born (if any) at the time of first discussion is required to determine the timing of partner communication about fertility desires.

SECTION 6. FERTILITY PREFERENCES

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
601	CHECK 403 AND 405: HAS LIVING CHILDREN ☐ → If you could go back to the time you did not have any children and could choose exactly the number of children to have in your whole life, how many would that be? NO LIVING CHILDREN ☐ → If you could choose exactly the number of children to have in your whole life, how many would that be? PROBE FOR A NUMERIC RESPONSE.	NUMBER..... ☐☐ OTHER_____ 96 (SPECIFY)	→603
602	How many of these children would you like to be boys, how many would you like to be girls and for how many would it not matter?	NUMBER OF BOYS..... ☐☐ NUMBER OF GIRLS..... ☐☐ NUMBER OF EITHER..... ☐☐ OTHER_____ 96 (SPECIFY)	
603	CHECK 408: HAS GIVEN BIRTH ☐ HAS NEVER GIVEN BIRTH ☐		→606
604	Before you had your first child, did you ever think about the number of children you would like to have?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→606
605	How many children did you want at that time?	NUMBER..... ☐☐ OTHER_____ 96 (SPECIFY) DON'T KNOW 98	
606	Have you talked with your partner at any time about the total number of children you would like to have together?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→610
607	At the time you first talked, did he want more children than you, fewer children than you, or the same number as you?	MORE.....1 FEWER.....2 SAME.....3 DON'T KNOW.....8	
608	CHECK 408: HAS GIVEN BIRTH ☐ HAS NEVER GIVEN BIRTH ☐		→610
609	How many children had you given birth to when you first talked with your partner about the number of children to have together?	NUMBER..... ☐☐ OTHER_____ 96 (SPECIFY) DON'T KNOW 98	

Change in Fertility Desires (610-615)

Women are asked whether their fertility desires have changed over time, and the direction of and reasons for the change in their fertility desires. In addition, women who have children from previous unions are asked their ideal family size at the time their current sexual relationship started. These questions are included in order to assess the extent to which fertility desires may have evolved over time.

Reproductive Intentions (617)

This question determines the basic preferences of women for future childbearing in terms of whether additional children are wanted. Previous research reveals that reproductive intentions are highly correlated with contraceptive outcomes and fertility.

Reasons for Wanting or Not Wanting an Additional Child (618-619)

These questions ascertain why the woman wants or does not want another child and are intended to provide some insight into women's motivations to limit fertility.

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
610	Has your opinion about the number of children you want to have changed since the time you first started going with your current husband/partner?	YES.....1 NO.....2 NO OPINION/DON'T KNOW.....8	→613
611	Do you now want more children than before or fewer children than before?	MORE CHILDREN.....1 FEWER CHILDREN.....2 NOT SURE.....3	→613
612	Why has the number of children you want changed?	HEALTH REASONS.....1 ECONOMIC REASONS.....2 HUSBAND'S PREFERENCE.....3 RELIGIOUS REASONS.....4 DEMANDS OF CHILDREARING.....5 OTHER_____ 6 (SPECIFY)	
613	How many children do you think your husband/partner would like to have with you?	NUMBER..... ☐☐ OTHER_____ 96 (SPECIFY) DON'T KNOW 98	
614	CHECK 408 AND 411: HAD CHILDREN IN PAST RELATIONSHIP ☐ DID NOT HAVE CHILDREN IN PAST RELATIONSHIP ☐		→616
615	Thinking back to the time you started going with your current partner, how many children did you want to have at that time?	NUMBER..... ☐☐ OTHER_____ 96 (SPECIFY) DON'T KNOW.....98	
616	CHECK 510: NEITHER STERILIZED ☐ HE OR SHE STERILIZED ☐		→621
617	CHECK 415: NOT PREGANT OR UNSURE ☐ Now I have some questions about the future. Would you like to have (a/another) child or would you prefer not to have any (more) children? PREGNANT ☐ Now I have some questions about the future. After the child you are expecting now, would you like to have another child or would you prefer not to have any more children?	HAVE (A/ANOTHER) CHILD.....1 NO MORE/NONE.....2 SAYS SHE CAN'T GET PREGNANT.....3 UNDECIDED/DON'T KNOW.....8	→619 →620
618	What is the main reason that you prefer not to have any (more) children?	ECONOMIC REASONS.....01 REACHED DESIRED FAMILY SIZE....02 PREVIOUS DELIVERY DIFFICULT....03 WANTS TO REST/TIRED OUT.....04 HUSBAND WANTS TO STOP.....05 OTHER_____ 96 (SPECIFY) DON'T KNOW.....98	→620

Partner's Reproductive Intentions (620-623)

The first question aims at assessing women's perceptions about their partner's reproductive intentions. As agreement on future fertility between partners is considered essential for the successful attainment of reproductive goals, respondents whose reproductive intentions differ from those of their partners are asked their perceptions about future childbearing. Respondents' perceptions regarding future childbearing will provide some indication of the fertility implications of couple disagreement about reproductive intentions. It may also give some insight into the relative influence of each partner's fertility preference on actual childbearing.

Discussion of Preferences for Future Childbearing (624-628)

Women are asked whether they have ever discussed their preferences for future childbearing with their partner and the timing of their first discussion. Those who have discussed their reproductive intentions are asked to report on their and their partner's preferences for future childbearing at the time they first discussed preferences. These questions determine whether the couple's reproductive intentions have evolved over time and whose reproductive intentions are dominant.

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
619	What is the main reason that you would like to have another child?	WANTS A BOY.....01 WANTS A GIRL.....02 CHILD DIED.....03 PARTNER WANTS.....04 DOESN'T HAVE ENOUGH.....05 CAN STILL BEAR CHILDREN.....06 OTHER_____96 (SPECIFY) DON'T KNOW.....98	
620	CHECK 415: NOT PREGANT OR UNSURE: Do you think your husband/partner would like to have a/another child or would he prefer not to have any (more) children with you? PREGNANT: After the child you are expecting now, do you think your husband/partner would like to have another child or would he prefer not to have any more children with you?	HAVE (A/ANOTHER) CHILD.....1 NO MORE/NONE.....2 UNDECIDED.....3 DON'T KNOW PARTNER'S DESIRE....8	→624
621	CHECK 510 AND 617: OTHER CAN'T GET PREGNANT OR EITHER PARTNER STERILIZED		→624
622	CHECK 617 AND 620: OTHER BOTH WANT NO MORE OR BOTH WANT MORE OR BOTH UNDECIDED		→624
623	CHECK 415: NOT PREGANT OR UNSURE: Do you think you will have a/another child or will you not have any (more) children? PREGNANT: After the child you are expecting now, do you think you will have another child or will you not have any (more) children?	WILL HAVE A/ANOTHER CHILD.....1 WILL HAVE NO MORE/NONE.....2 UNDECIDED.....3 DON'T KNOW.....8	
624	CHECK 408: HAS GIVEN BIRTH HAS NEVER GIVEN BIRTH		→633
625	Have you ever discussed whether to stop having children with your husband/partner?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→629
626	How many children had you given birth to when you first discussed it?	NUMBER..... DON'T REMEMBER.....98	
627	At the time you first discussed this, did you want a/another child?	YES.....1 NO.....2	
628	Did your partner want a/another child?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→631

Sources of Information About Partner's Reproductive Intentions (630)

Previous DHS surveys have assumed that couples talk to each other about reproductive issues. Limited to women who know their partner's reproductive intentions but have never discussed their preferences for future childbearing with him, this question aims at unraveling alternative or indirect modes of partner communication.

Persons With Whom Respondent Discussed Reproductive Intentions (631-632)

This question explores the kinds of social interaction that plausibly may be related to fertility control.

Desired Spacing of the Next Child (634)

This question determines women's preferences for future childbearing in terms of the desired spacing of the next child. Research on DHS and earlier survey data reveals that, in some contexts, issues pertaining to birth-spacing are of greater concern than those pertaining to limiting.

Partner's Desired Birthspacing (635-642)

Parallel to questions asked in the previous section on reproductive intentions, these questions aim at assessing women's perceptions of their partner's desired birth spacing and the extent to which couples communicate about spacing issues. Women's perceptions regarding the outcome of couple disagreement about the spacing of the next child would yield useful insights into their personal assessment of their bargaining position relative to that of their partner. In order to investigate indirect or alternative forms of partner communication, women who know their partner's desired birth spacing but have never discussed it are also asked in Q.642 how they came to know of his spacing preference.

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
629	CHECK 620 AND 510: DOES NOT KNOW PARTNER'S DESIRE (Q.620=8) OR EITHER PARTNER STERILIZED ☐ → 631 OTHER ☐ ↓		
630	Since you have not discussed it, how is it that you know that he wants/doesn't want a/another child?	HE WANTS AS MANY CHILDREN AS POSSIBLE.....01 ALL MEN WANT AS MANY CHILDREN AS POSSIBLE.....02 SOMEONE ELSE TOLD RESPONDENT..03 RELIGIOUS REASONS.....04 HE MADE SUGGESTIVE REMARKS....05 HE IS PLANNING TO MARRY ANOTHER WIFE.....06 OVERHEARD HIM TALKING ABOUT IT.....07 ALWAYS WANTS TO PLAY SEX.....08 OPPOSES USE OF FAMILY PLANNING.....09 HASN'T GOT ENOUGH BOYS/GIRLS..10 OTHER_____96	
631	(Aside from your husband/partner), have you ever talked to anyone (else) about stopping having children?	YES.....1 NO.....2 → 633	
632	Who have you talked to? CIRCLE ALL MENTIONED.	MOTHER.....A FATHER.....B SISTER(S).....C BROTHER(S).....D OTHER FEMALE RELATIVE(S).....E OTHER MALE RELATIVE(S).....F FRIEND/NEIGHBOR(S).....G HEALTH WORKER(S).....H RELIGIOUS LEADER(S).....I OTHER_____X (SPECIFY)	
633	CHECK 617 AND 510: WANTS ANOTHER CHILD ☐ ↓ DOES NOT WANT ANOTHER CHILD OR EITHER PARTNER STERILIZED ☐ → 645		
634	CHECK 415: NOT PREGANT OR UNSURE ☐ ↓ How long would you like to wait from now before the birth of (a/another) child? PREGNANT ☐ ↓ After the child you are expecting now, how long would you like to wait before the birth of another child?	MONTHS.....1 ☐☐ YEARS.....2 ☐☐ SOON/NOW.....993 SAYS SHE CAN'T GET PREGNANT...994 → 645 AFTER MARRIAGE.....995 OTHER_____996 (SPECIFY) DON'T KNOW.....998 → 638	
634A	CHECK 620: PARTNER WANTS ANOTHER CHILD OR DON'T KNOW PARTNER'S DESIRE ☐ ↓ PARTNER DOES NOT WANT ANOTHER CHILD OR EITHER PARTNER STERILIZED ☐ → 645		
635	Do you think your husband/partner would like to wait longer than you, shorter than you, or about the same time as you would like to wait?	LONGER.....1 SHORTER.....2 ABOUT THE SAME.....3 DON'T KNOW PARTNER'S DESIRE....8 → 638	

Discussion about Birthspacing (643-644)

These questions explore social networks for the discussion of ideal birthspacing.

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
637	Do you think you will wait as long as you want to wait or as long as your husband/partner wants to wait?	AS LONG AS RESPONDENT WANTS.....1 AS LONG AS HUSBAND WANTS.....2 OTHER_____6 (SPECIFY) DON'T KNOW.....8	
638	Have you ever discussed this with your husband/partner?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→641
639	At the time you first discussed this, how long did you want to wait to have another child?	MONTHS.....1 ☐☐ YEARS.....2 ☐☐ AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.....993 AFTER MARRIAGE.....995 OTHER_____ 996 (SPECIFY) DON'T KNOW.....998	
640	How long did your partner want to wait?	MONTHS.....1 ☐☐ YEARS.....2 ☐☐ AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.....993 AFTER MARRIAGE.....995 OTHER_____ 996 (SPECIFY) DON'T KNOW.....998	→643
641	CHECK 635: DOES NOT KNOW PARTNER'S DESIRE ☐		→643
	OTHER ☐		
642	Since you have not discussed it, how is it that you know how long he wants to wait to have another child?	HE WANTS AS MANY CHILDREN AS POSSIBLE.....01 ALL MEN WANT AS MANY CHILDREN AS POSSIBLE.....02 SOMEONE ELSE TOLD RESPONDENT..03 RELIGIOUS REASONS.....04 HE MADE SUGGESTIVE REMARKS....05 HE IS PLANNING TO MARRY ANOTHER WIFE.....06 OVERHEARD HIM TALKING ABOUT IT.....07 ALWAYS WANTS TO PLAY SEX.....08 OPPOSES USE OF FAMILY PLANNING.....09 HASN'T GOT ENOUGH BOYS/GIRLS..10 OTHER_____96	
643	Aside from your husband/partner, have you ever talked to anyone (else) about how long to wait before having another child?	YES.....01 NO.....02	→645

Fertility Locus of Control (645-648)

These questions were constructed to measure women's sense of control over the number and spacing of births.

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
644	Who have you talked to? CIRCLE ALL MENTIONED.	MOTHER.....A FATHER.....B SISTER(S).....C BROTHER(S).....D OTHER FEMALE RELATIVE(S).....E OTHER MALE RELATIVE(S).....F FRIEND/NEIGHBOR(S).....G HEALTH WORKER(S).....H RELIGIOUS LEADER(S).....I CO-WORKER(S).....J CO-WIFE/WIVES.....K OTHER_____X (SPECIFY)	
645	Please tell me whether you agree, disagree, or have no opinion about the following statements. I don't have much control over the number of children I will have with my partner; it is mostly up to the will of God or chance.	AGREE.....1 DISAGREE.....2 NO OPINION/DK.....3	
646	I don't have much control over how long I wait until I have the next child; it is mostly up to the will of God or chance.	AGREE.....1 DISAGREE.....2 NO OPINION/DK.....3	
647	The number of children that I will have with my partner depends mostly on what my partner or others want, not what I want.	AGREE.....1 DISAGREE.....2 NO OPINION/DK.....3	
648	The time we wait before the next birth depends mostly on what my partner or others want, not what I want.	AGREE.....1 DISAGREE.....2 NO OPINION/DK.....3	

SECTION 7: SEXUAL DYNAMICS

Sexual Rights of Married Women (701)

This question aims at identifying normative attitudes toward women's sexual rights within marriage. The extent to which a woman is able to negotiate a particular sexual act may define her capacity to seek family planning advice and adopt effective methods of contraception.

Sexual Rights of Unmarried Women (702)

This question is designed to determine whether norms regarding women's control over their sexual lives differ by marital status. The linkages between sexuality and gender may be stronger in marital/consensual unions than in noncohabiting unions.

Communication about Sex (703-705)

Women are asked whether they and their partners find it very difficult, somewhat difficult, or not difficult to talk about sex. Couples who feel comfortable talking about sex may also find it easier to communicate about family planning, reproductive intentions, and desired family size. In addition, questions Q.704 and Q.705 explore women's personal networks for discussions pertaining to sexual intercourse.

SECTION 7. SEXUAL DYNAMICS

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
701	Now, I want to ask you some questions about men and women and playing sex. I am aware that these questions are personal, but we hope that your answers will be as complete and truthful as possible. In your opinion, should a <u>married</u> woman be able to refuse to play sex with her husband if:	YES NO DK	
	She is menstruating?	MENSTRUATING.....1 2 8	
	She knows he has AIDS?	HE HAS AIDS.....1 2 8	
	She doesn't want to get pregnant?	PREGNANT.....1 2 8	
	He beat her?	BEAT HER.....1 2 8	
	She is tired or not in the mood?	TIRED/MOOD.....1 2 8	
	He doesn't provide economic support	ECONOMIC SUPPORT	
	for her children?	CHILDREN 1 2 8	
	for her?	RESPONDENT.....1 2 8	
	He treats a co-wife better?	CO-WIFE BETTER...1 2 8	
	He is drunk?	DRUNK.....1 2 8	
	He plays sex with outside women?	OUTSIDE WOMEN....1 2 8	
	She is breastfeeding?	BREASTFEED.....1 2 8	
	He is planning to marry another wife?	MARRY ANOTHER....1 2 8	
		1 2 8	
	Any other reasons?	OTHER....._____ (SPECIFY)	
702	In your opinion, should an woman who is <u>not married</u> be able to refuse to play sex with her partner if:	YES NO DK	
	She is menstruating?	MENSTRUATING.....1 2 8	
	She knows he has AIDS?	HE HAS AIDS.....1 2 8	
	She doesn't want to get pregnant?	PREGNANT.....1 2 8	
	He beat her?	BEAT HER.....1 2 8	
	She is tired or not in the mood?	TIRED/MOOD.....1 2 8	
	He doesn't provide economic support	ECONOMIC SUPPORT	
	for her children?	CHILDREN 1 2 8	
	for her?	RESPONDENT.....1 2 8	
	He is drunk?	DRUNK.....1 2 8	
	He plays sex with other women?	OUTSIDE WOMEN....1 2 8	
	She is breastfeeding?	BREASTFEED.....1 2 8	
	He is planning to marry another woman?	MARRY ANOTHER....1 2 8	
		1 2 8	
	Any other reasons?	OTHER....._____ (SPECIFY)	
703	Some couples find it difficult to talk about sex while others do not. For you and your partner, is it very difficult to talk about sex, somewhat difficult, or not difficult to talk about sex?	VERY DIFFICULT.....1 SOMEWHAT DIFFICULT.....2 NOT DIFFICULT.....3 DON'T KNOW.....8	
704	Aside from your husband/partner, do you talk to anyone else about sex?	YES.....1 NO.....2 → 706 OTHER_____6 (SPECIFY)	
705	Who do you talk to? CIRCLE ALL MENTIONED.	MOTHER.....A FATHER.....B SISTER.....C SISTER-IN-LAW.....D BROTHER.....E OTHER FEMALE RELATIVE.....F OTHER MALE RELATIVE.....G MALE FRIEND/NEIGHBOR.....H FEMALE FRIEND/NEIGHBOR.....I RELIGIOUS LEADER.....J HEALTH WORKER.....K OTHER_____X (SPECIFY)	

Conditions Surrounding Sexual Initiation (706)

Respondents are asked who has the most influence over whether or not to have sexual intercourse. This question has been included in the interview because the conditions surrounding the initiation of sexual intercourse may be important in shaping subsequent attitudes and behavior regarding reproductive and health outcomes. More egalitarian sexual relations may be associated with greater partner communication and joint decisionmaking regarding reproductive and health outcomes.

Timing of Last Sexual Intercourse (707)

Information on the timing of last sexual intercourse serves as a lead to questions about couple disagreement over sex within the past month and its resolution.

Disagreement over Sex and Its Outcome (709-712)

These questions ascertain whether couples disagreed about whether or not to have sexual intercourse in the past month and in whose favor the disagreement was resolved. This information serves as a lead to Q.713 which asks about the reasons why women or their partners had sexual intercourse even though they did not want to at first.

Reasons for Engaging in Sex Reluctantly (713-716)

These questions try to uncover factors that are considered when individuals engage in sexual activity reluctantly. Women are asked why they decided to engage in sexual activity with their partners even though they did not want to at first. A similar question is asked if the woman wanted to have sexual intercourse and her husband/partner did not. These questions may uncover sexual norms or ideologies about what is appropriate for men and women to do sexually and the fear of or actual occurrence of violence or rape. For example, women may feel powerless to decide if and when to have intercourse with their partners because they are faced with threats of beating and infidelity. Men may be pressured to conform with cultural ideologies of manhood, virility, and responsibility.

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
706	In your marriage/relationship, who would you say has more influence over whether or not to play sex - you, your husband/partner or both of you equally?	RESPONDENT.....1 PARTNER.....2 BOTH EQUALLY.....3	
707	When was the last time that you and your husband/partner played sex?	DAYS AGO.....1 [ ][ ] WEEKS AGO.....2 [ ][ ] MONTHS AGO.....3 [ ][ ] YEARS AGO.....4 [ ][ ] BEFORE LAST BIRTH.....996	
708	CHECK 707: LAST SEX ONE MONTH AGO OR LESS ☐ LAST SEX MORE THAN ONE MONTH AGO ☐		→717
709	In the last month, was there a time when your husband/partner wanted to play sex and you did not?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→714
709A	Thinking back to the last time this happened, why did you not want to play sex?	PREGNANT.....01 MENSTRUATING.....02 NOT IN MOOD/NOT WILLING.....03 TIRED.....04 SICK.....05 ANGRY WITH HUSBAND/PARTNER.....06 OTHER_____96 (SPECIFY)	
710	When this happened, did you let your partner know that you did not want to play sex?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→712
711	How did you let him know this?	TOLD HIM I DID NOT WANT TO.....1 TOLD HIM I WAS SICK.....2 TOLD HIM I WAS TIRED.....3 FACED THE WALL.....4 TOLD HIM I WAS MENSTRUATING.....5 OTHER_____6 (SPECIFY)	
712	Did you play sex that time?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→714
713	What was the main reason you decided to play sex even though you did not want to at first?	HE PERSISTED/PERSUADED HER.....01 HE THREATENED HER.....02 AFRAID TO REFUSE.....03 HE OFFERED HER SOMETHING.....04 SHE WANTED TO PLEASE HIM.....05 IT IS WRONG TO REFUSE.....06 HE HAS MORE AUTHORITY.....07 OTHER_____96 (SPECIFY)	
714	In the last month, was there a time when you wanted to play sex and your husband/partner did not?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→717
715	Did you play sex that time?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→717
716	What made him decide to play sex even though he did not want to at first?	SHE PERSISTED/PERSUADED HIM.....01 SHE THREATENED HIM.....02 AFRAID TO REFUSE.....03 SHE OFFERED HIM SOMETHING.....04 HE WANTED TO PLEASE HER.....05 IT IS WRONG TO REFUSE.....06 SHE HAS MORE AUTHORITY.....07 OTHER_____96 (SPECIFY) DON'T KNOW.....98	

Resolution of Conflict (718-722)

The first part of this set of questions explores the normative context of conflict resolution between partners, and the second part examines the respondent's actual experience. Women are asked whether their partner had ever committed any of the following acts during serious misunderstandings or arguments: quarreled loudly, kept quiet, cried, threatened them with violence, actually committed acts of physical violence, withheld sex, or had extramarital sexual partners. In Q.720, respondents are asked whether they had ever done any of these things during serious misunderstandings or arguments. Threats or actual acts of violence and the threat of infidelity may affect the degree to which an individual persists in negotiating the outcome that he or she desires. Questions Q.721 and Q.722 investigate whether the responsibility for restoring peace lies with the respondent or her partner and the role of the family in resolving conflicts between partners.

717 Sometimes men and women have serious misunderstandings or arguments. I would like to talk about the ways people behave during such times.

	718 Sometimes men and women (ACTION) when they have a serious misunderstanding with their partner?		719 Has your husband/ partner ever (ACTION)?	720 Have you ever (ACTION)?
01	QUARREL OR YELL		YES.....1 NO.....2	YES.....1 NO.....2
02	KEEP QUIET		YES.....1 NO.....2	YES.....1 NO.....2
03	CRY		YES.....1 NO.....2	YES.....1 NO.....2
04	THREATEN TO BEAT, SLAP, KICK OR PHYSICALLY HARM PARTNER		YES.....1 NO.....2	YES.....1 NO.....2
05	ACTUALLY BEAT, SLAP, KICK OR PHYSICALLY HARM PARTNER		YES.....1 NO.....2	YES.....1 NO.....2
06	DENY PARTNER SEX		YES.....1 NO.....2	YES.....1 NO.....2
07	GO OUTSIDE MARRIAGE/RELATIONSHIP TO PLAY SEX		YES.....1 NO.....2 DK.....8	YES.....1 NO.....2
08	SEPARATE FROM YOUR PARTNER		YES.....1 NO.....2	YES.....1 NO.....2
09	Do you know of any other things men and women do when they have a serious misunderstanding with their partner?	YES 1 NO 2 _____ (SPECIFY) _____ (SPECIFY)	YES.....1 NO.....2 DK.....8 YES.....1 NO.....2 DK.....8	YES.....1 NO.....2 YES.....1 NO.....2

721 When you and your husband/partner have a misunderstanding, who usually takes the initiative to restore peace: you or your husband/partner?

RESPONDENT.....1
HUSBAND/PARTNER.....2
IT DEPENDS.....3
NEVER HAD A MISUNDERSTANDING....4 →801
DON'T KNOW.....8

722 Have you ever called on your family or your husband's family to help you resolve a misunderstanding or conflict?

YES.....1
NO.....2
DON'T KNOW.....8

SECTION 8: AIDS AND CONDOM USE

Knowledge of AIDS and its Prevention (801-804)

These questions obtain basic information about whether women have heard of AIDS and what the respondent believes can be done to avoid contracting the disease. Women who have never heard of AIDS are asked whether they know of any sexually transmitted disease. This filter is important for subsequent questions about condom use.

Condom Use to Avoid AIDS (806)

This question is a follow-up probe for women who did not mention condom use among the things that can be done to avoid contracting AIDS. This is important because if the respondent does not know that condoms can be used to prevent AIDS, all subsequent questions on the negotiation of condom use are skipped.

Perception of Risk and Risk-Avoidance Behavior (807-811)

It is important to learn whether women feel they are at risk of contracting AIDS and whether they have changed their sexual behavior in order to prevent AIDS. A woman's perception of her risk of contracting AIDS may influence whether or not she negotiates condom use. Condom use and other behavioral changes may need to be negotiated with her partner.

SECTION 8. AIDS AND CONDOM USE

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
801	Have you ever heard of an illness called AIDS?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→803
802	Have you ever heard of any diseases that a person can get by playing sex?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→817 →828
803	How can a person get AIDS? Any other ways? RECORD ALL MENTIONED	SEXUAL INTERCOURSE WITH INFECTED PERSON.....A SKIN PIERCING INSTRUMENTS.....B SEXUAL INTERCOURSE WITH MULTIPLE PARTNERS.....C SEX WITH PROSTITUTES.....D NOT USING CONDOM.....E HOMOSEXUAL CONTACT.....F BLOOD TRANSFUSION.....G INJECTIONS.....H KISSING.....I MOSQUITO BITES.....J MOTHER TO CHILD.....K RAZOR BLADES.....L OTHER_____ (SPECIFY) W OTHER_____ (SPECIFY) X DOES NOT KNOW.....Z	
804	Is there anything a person can do to avoid getting AIDS?	YES.....1 NO.....2 DOES NOT KNOW.....8	→808
805	What can a person do? Any other ways? RECORD ALL MENTIONED	ABSTAIN FROM SEX.....A USE CONDOMS.....B AVOID MULTIPLE SEX PARTNERS.....C AVOID SEX WITH PROSTITUTES.....D AVOID SEX WITH HOMOSEXUALS.....E AVOID BLOOD TRANSFUSIONS.....F AVOID INJECTIONS.....G AVOID KISSING.....H AVOID MOSQUITO BITES.....I SEEK PROTECTION FROM TRADITIONAL HEALER.....J HAVE SEX WITH A VIRGIN.....K HAVE SEX WITH AN OLD WOMAN.....L PRAY.....M AVOID SHARING RAZOR BLADES.....N AVOID SEX WITH INFECTED PERSONS.O USE SCREENED BLOOD FOR TRANSFUSIONS.....P OTHER_____ (SPECIFY) W OTHER_____ (SPECIFY) X DOES NOT KNOW.....Z	
806	CHECK 805: DID NOT MENTION CONDOMS MENTIONED CONDOMS		→808
807	Can using a condom during sexual intercourse reduce the chances of getting AIDS?	YES.....1 NO.....2 DON'T KNOW.....8	
808	Do you think your chances of getting HIV/AIDS are great, moderate, small, or no risk at all?	GREAT.....1 MODERATE.....2 SMALL.....3 NO RISK AT ALL.....4 HIV+/HAS AIDS.....5 CANNOT TELL.....6	→810 →814 →811

Knowledge of AIDS Victims (812-813)

Knowing someone (a close friend or family member) who died of AIDS may be a critical factor in behavioral changes aimed at reducing the chances of contracting the disease.

Acceptability of Condom Use (815-816)

As a measure of the normative context of condom use, women are first asked whether it is acceptable for married women and unmarried women to ask their partners to use a condom.

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
809	Why do you think that you have (NO RISK/A SMALL CHANCE) of getting AIDS? Any other reasons? RECORD ALL MENTIONED	ABSTAIN FROM SEX.....A INFREQUENT SEX.....B USE CONDOMS.....C HAVE ONLY ONE SEX PARTNER.....D LIMITED NUMBER OF SEX PARTNERS..E SPOUSE HAS NO OTHER PARTNER.....F NO HOMOSEXUAL CONTACT.....G NO BLOOD TRANSFUSIONS.....H NO INJECTIONS.....I OTHER_____X (SPECIFY) DON'T KNOW.....Z	→811
810	Why do you think that you have a (MODERATE/GREAT) chance of getting AIDS? Any other reasons? RECORD ALL MENTIONED	DO NOT USE CONDOMS.....A MORE THAN ONE SEX PARTNER.....B MANY SEX PARTNERS.....C SPOUSE HAS OTHER PARTNER(S).....D HOMOSEXUAL CONTACT.....E HAD BLOOD TRANSFUSION.....F HAD INJECTIONS.....G SPOUSE/PARTNER HAS AIDS.....H OTHER_____X (SPECIFY)	
811	Since you first heard of AIDS, have you changed your behavior to prevent getting AIDS? IF YES, what did you do? Anything else? RECORD ALL MENTIONED	STOPPED ALL SEX.....A STARTED USING CONDOMS.....B RESTRICTED SEX TO ONE PARTNER...C REDUCED NUMBER OF PARTNERS.....D ASK SPOUSE TO BE FAITHFUL.....E NO MORE HOMOSEXUAL CONTACTS.....F STOPPED INJECTIONS.....G OTHER_____W (SPECIFY) OTHER_____X (SPECIFY) NO, HAVE NOT CHANGED.....Y NO, ALREADY RESTRICTED TO ONE SEX PARTNER.....Z	
812	Do you personally know someone who has AIDS or has died of AIDS?	YES.....1 NO.....2 NOT SURE/DOES NOT KNOW.....8	→814
813	Do any of your family members or close friends have AIDS or has anyone died of AIDS?	YES.....1 NO.....2 NOT SURE/DOES NOT KNOW.....8	
814	CHECK 502, 805, AND 807: KNOWS ABOUT CONDOMS ☐ ▼ DOES NOT KNOW ABOUT CONDOMS ☐		→828
815	Do you think it is acceptable for a married woman to ask her husband to use a condom?	YES.....1 NO.....2 IT DEPENDS.....3 DOES NOT KNOW.....8	
816	If a woman and her sexual partner are not married, is it acceptable for her to ask him to use a condom?	YES.....1 NO.....2 IT DEPENDS.....3 DOES NOT KNOW.....8	

Ever Use of Condom (817-818)

Women who are not currently using the condom are asked whether they have ever used one with their current partner. The reason for this repetition is that, earlier in the interview, condoms are discussed in the context of family planning, but condoms protect users against AIDS as well, and it is important to determine whether women are using condoms for protection against sexually-transmitted disease.

Discussion of Condom Use (819-821)

Questions on the negotiation of condom use for disease protection are intended to examine the relative power of each partner. Women are asked whether they have ever discussed using a condom with their current partner, and if not, whether they had ever thought of doing so. The reasons for nondiscussion of condom use will permit an understanding of some of the emotional, sexual, physical, or other costs that may be associated with condom use by women in different types of sexual partnerships.

Person Proposing Condom Use (822-827)

Respondents are asked who first brought up the discussion about condom use or who first proposed condom use. Depending on who initiated condom use (or discussions pertaining to condom use), the next questions ask whether or not the respondent and her partner wanted to use condoms at the time. Combined with other information, these questions serve as a measure of control over sexual decisionmaking.

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
816A	CHECK 805 AND 807: KNOWS CONDOMS CAN PREVENT AIDS ☐ → DOES NOT KNOW CONDOMS CAN PREVENT AIDS ☐		→828
817	CHECK 510: NOT USING CONDOM ☐ → USING CONDOM ☐		→822
818	Have you ever used a condom with your current partner?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→822
819	Have you ever discussed with him about whether or not to use a condom?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→822
821	What is the main reason that you have not discussed this directly with your partner?	EMBARRASSED/SHY.....01 AFRAID.....02 DON'T WANT TO USE CONDOM.....03 DON'T NEED TO USE CONDOM.....04 HE WILL THINK I'M PROMISCUOUS..05 WILL THINK I DON'T TRUST HIM...06 HE WOULDN'T LIKE CONDOM.....07 NEVER THOUGHT ABOUT IT.....08 DON'T KNOW.....98 OTHER_____96 (SPECIFY)	→828
822	The first time you and your current partner used or discussed using condoms, who proposed the idea: you, your partner, or someone else?	RESPONDENT PROPOSED.....1 PARTNER PROPOSED.....2 SOMEONE ELSE.....3 DOES NOT REMEMBER.....8	→827 →828
825	At that time, did your husband want to use condoms?	YES.....1 NO.....2 DON'T KNOW.....8	
826	CHECK 822: SOMEONE ELSE PROPOSED ☐ → RESPONDENT PROPOSED ☐		→828
827	At that time did you want to use condoms?	YES.....1 NO.....2 DON'T KNOW.....8	
828	RECORD THE TIME.	HOUR..... MINUTES.....	

SECTION 9: PARTNER INFORMATION

In order to facilitate the identification of husbands/partners for the male interviews, women are asked the name and address of their current partner, the ideal time to contact him and the reason(s) why they may not want the interviewer to contact their husband/partner.

SECTION 9. PARTNER INFORMATION

901 CHECK 107:

CURRENTLY MARRIED/ LIVING WITH A MAN ☐ → As I told you at the beginning of the interview and as you can see from the questions I have been asking you, we are interested in the ways in which men and women talk with their partners. Now that we have interviewed you, we would also like to interview your husband/partner.

NOT CURRENTLY MARRIED/ NOT LIVING WITH A MAN ☐ → SEC 10

All of the information you have given us in this interview will remain strictly confidential. We will not share any information with your husband/partner and he will not be interviewed by me, but by a male interviewer.

Would you give me his name and where he can be contacted so that a male member of the team can contact him?

PARTNER'S SURNAME

PARTNER'S FIRST NAME

LINE NUMBER OF PARTNER..... ☐☐

PARTNER'S ADDRESS_____

_____

_____

What is the best time to contact him?

_____

_____

IF RESPONDENT REFUSES TO PROVIDE PARTNER INFORMATION, RECORD REASON.

_____

_____

SECTION 10: LANGUAGE INFORMATION

SECTION 10. LANGUAGE INFORMATION

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
10A	WHAT IS THE RESPONDENT'S OWN LANGUAGE?	LUGANDA.....1 LANGO.....2 OTHER_____6 (SPECIFY)	
10B	IN WHAT LANGUAGE DID YOU CONDUCT THE INTERVIEW?	LUGANDA.....1 LANGO.....2 OTHER_____6 (SPECIFY)	
10C	FOR HOW MUCH OF THE INTERVIEW DID YOU DEPEND ON A THIRD PERSON TO INTERPRET FOR YOU?	NONE OF THE INTERVIEW.....1 A SMALL PORTION.....2 MOST OF THE INTERVIEW.....3 ALL OF THE INTERVIEW.....4	

INTERVIEWER OBSERVATIONS:_____

ENGLISH VERSION
DATE: 11/01/95

NEGOTIATING REPRODUCTIVE OUTCOMES SURVEY
MEN'S QUESTIONNAIRE

INSTITUTE OF STATISTICS AND APPLIED ECONOMICS/MAKERERE UNIVERSITY AND MACRO INTERNATIONAL, INC.

IDENTIFICATION

RESPONDENT'S SURNAME

RESPONDENT'S FIRST NAME

LINE NUMBER OF RESPONDENT.....

PLACE NAME _____

STATUS (Married=1, Living together=2).....

WIFE/PARTNER INFORMATION

PLACE NAME _____

NAME OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD _____

NAME AND LINE NUMBER OF WIFE/PARTNER _____

CLUSTER NUMBER.....

HOUSEHOLD NUMBER.....

REGION (Masaka=1, Lira=2).....

URBAN/RURAL (urban=1, rural=2).....

HAS RESPONDENT BEEN INTERVIEWED BEFORE? (Yes=1, No=2).....

INTERVIEWER VISITS

	1	2	3	FINAL VISIT
DATE				DAY / MONTH / YEAR
INTERVIEWER'S NAME				NAME
RESULT*				RESULT
NEXT VISIT: DATE				TOTAL NO. OF VISITS
TIME				

*RESULT CODES:

1 COMPLETED
2 NOT AT HOME
3 POSTPONED
4 REFUSED
5 PARTLY COMPLETED
6 INCAPACITATED
7 UNABLE TO CONTACT/TOO FAR AWAY
8 OTHER _____ (SPECIFY)

SUPERVISOR		OFFICE EDITOR	KEYED BY
NAME _____			
DATE _____			

The men's questionnaire is parallel to the women's questionnaire. However, the following questions have been excluded from the male interview: Q107-110 (marital status and duration of relationship), Q217 (control over savings), Q219 (participation in rotating credit or savings schemes), Q301-303 (current marital status), Q514 (partner's knowledge of first contraceptive use), Q525-527 (partner's approval of respondent's use of contraception and partner's reaction to respondent's prior use of contraception without her knowledge), and Q529 (partner's knowledge of current contraceptive use).

Two questions are unique to the men's questionnaire and the rationale for including them in the male survey are described below.

Intention to Marry Another Wife (305c)

To the extent that African marriage is potentially polygynous, this question is an important aspect of men's and their partner's fertility preferences.

Current Use of Contraception With Other Wives/Partners (510c)

Previous analysis of DHS data has shown that married men report greater contraceptive use than their wives. This question is asked in order to distinguish whether some of the gender difference in reported use of contraception is due to gender differences in reporting or to the male use of contraception with partners other than their wives, even in monogamous unions.

NEGOTIATING REPRODUCTIVE OUTCOMES SURVEY

SECTION 1. RESPONDENT'S BACKGROUND

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
101	RECORD THE TIME.	HOUR..... ☐☐ MINUTES..... ☐☐	
102	Thank you for taking the time to talk to me. I would like to ask some questions about you and your household. In what month and year were you born?	MONTH..... ☐☐ DON'T KNOW MONTH.....98 YEAR..... ☐☐ DON'T KNOW YEAR.....98	
103	How old were you at your last birthday? COMPARE AND CORRECT 102 AND/OR 103 IF INCONSISTENT.	AGE IN COMPLETED YEARS..... ☐☐	
104	Have you ever attended school?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→111
105	What is the highest level of school you attended: primary, lower secondary, upper secondary or higher?	PRIMARY.....1 LOWER SECONDARY.....2 UPPER SECONDARY.....3 HIGHER.....4	
106	What is the highest (grade/form/year) you completed at that level?	GRADE..... ☐☐	
111	Please remember that for the rest of this interview, we will be talking about (NAME). Does she usually live in this household, in this village/town, or does she live elsewhere?	SAME HOUSEHOLD.....1 SAME VILLAGE/TOWN.....2 SAME DISTRICT.....3 ELSEWHERE.....4	→113
112	How often do you see (NAME)?	DAILY.....1 AT LEAST ONCE A WEEK.....2 AT LEAST ONCE A MONTH.....3 AT LEAST ONCE A YEAR.....4 LESS THAN ONCE A YEAR.....5 OTHER_____6 (SPECIFY)	
113	CHECK 104 AND 105: PRIMARY OR NEVER ATTENDED ☐ LOWER SECONDARY OR HIGHER ☐		→115
114	Can you read and understand a letter or newspaper easily, with difficulty, or not at all?	EASILY.....1 WITH DIFFICULTY.....2 NOT AT ALL.....3	→116
115	Do you usually read a newspaper or magazine at least once a week?	YES.....1 NO.....2	
116	Approximately how many days a week do you usually listen to a radio? IF LESS THAN ONCE A WEEK, RECORD '0'.	NUMBER..... ☐	

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
117	Do you usually watch television at least once a week?	YES.....1 NO.....2	
118	What is your religion?	ROMAN CATHOLIC.....1 PROTESTANT.....2 MUSLIM.....3 TRADITIONAL.....4 NO RELIGION.....5 OTHER_____6 (SPECIFY)	→120
119	How many times a week do you usually attend church/mosque related activities, if at all? IF LESS THAN ONCE A WEEK, RECORD '00'.	NUMBER..... ☐☐	
119A	CHECK 118: PROTESTANT OR CATHOLIC ☐ OTHER ☐		→120
119B	Do you consider yourself a "saved" or "born again" Christian?	YES.....1 NO.....2 DON'T KNOW.....3	
120	What is your ethnic group?	BAGANDA.....01 LANGO.....02 OTHER_____96 (SPECIFY)	
121	For most of the time until you were 12 years old, did you live in a city, in a town, or in the countryside?	CITY.....1 TOWN.....2 COUNTRYSIDE.....3	
122	How long have you been living continuously in (NAME OF CURRENT PLACE OF RESIDENCE)?	YEARS..... ☐☐ ALWAYS.....95	→124
123	Just before you moved here, did you live in a city, in a town, or in the countryside?	CITY.....1 TOWN.....2 COUNTRYSIDE.....3	
124	Is your mother still alive?	YES.....1 NO/ DON'T KNOW.....2	→127
125	Where does your mother live?	SAME HOUSEHOLD.....1 SAME VILLAGE/TOWN.....2 SAME DISTRICT.....3 ELSEWHERE.....4	→127
126	How often do you see your mother?	DAILY.....1 AT LEAST ONCE A WEEK.....2 AT LEAST ONCE A MONTH.....3 AT LEAST ONCE A YEAR.....4 LESS THAN ONCE A YEAR.....5 HAVE NEVER SEEN HER.....6	
127	Can/could your mother read and understand a letter or newspaper easily, with difficulty, or not at all?	EASILY.....1 WITH DIFFICULTY.....2 NOT AT ALL.....3 DON'T KNOW.....8	
128	Is your father still alive?	YES.....1 NO/ DON'T KNOW.....2	→131
129	Where does your father live?	SAME HOUSEHOLD.....1 SAME VILLAGE/TOWN.....2 SAME DISTRICT.....3 ELSEWHERE.....4	→131

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
130	How often do you see your father?	DAILY.....1 AT LEAST ONCE A WEEK.....2 AT LEAST ONCE A MONTH.....3 AT LEAST ONCE A YEAR.....4 LESS THAN ONCE A YEAR.....5 HAVE NEVER SEEN HIM.....6	
131	Can/could your father read and understand a letter or newspaper easily, with difficulty, or not at all?	EASILY.....1 WITH DIFFICULTY.....2 NOT AT ALL.....3 DON'T KNOW.....8	
132	Does/did your father ever have more than one wife at the same time?	YES.....1 NO.....2 DON'T KNOW.....8	
134	Is (NAME)'s mother still alive?	YES.....1 NO/ DON'T KNOW.....2	→137
135	Where does she live?	SAME HOUSEHOLD/COMPOUND.....1 SAME VILLAGE/TOWN.....2 SAME DISTRICT.....3 ELSEWHERE.....4	→137
136	How often do you see her?	DAILY.....1 AT LEAST ONCE A WEEK.....2 AT LEAST ONCE A MONTH.....3 AT LEAST ONCE A YEAR.....4 LESS THAN ONCE A YEAR.....5 HAVE NEVER SEEN HER.....6	
137	Is (NAME)'s father still alive?	YES.....1 NO/ DON'T KNOW.....2	→139A
138	Where does he live?	SAME HOUSEHOLD\COMPOUND.....1 SAME VILLAGE/TOWN.....2 SAME DISTRICT.....3 ELSEWHERE.....4	→139A
139	How often do you see him?	DAILY.....01 AT LEAST ONCE A WEEK.....02 AT LEAST ONCE A MONTH.....03 AT LEAST ONCE A YEAR.....04 LESS THAN ONCE A YEAR.....05 HAVE NEVER SEEN HIM.....06	
139A	CHECK 111: WIFE/PARTNER DOES NOT LIVE IN SAME HOUSEHOLD WIFE/PARTNER LIVES IN SAME HOUSEHOLD		→201
140	(Aside from your parents and your parents-in-law), do any other adult relatives usually live in this household? Who usually lives here? CIRCLE ALL MENTIONED.	GRANDPARENT(S) OF RESPONDENT....A GRANDPARENT(S) OF PARTNER.....B ADULT SONS.....C ADULT DAUGHTERS.....D SISTER(S).....E BROTHER(S).....F SISTER(S)-IN-LAW.....G BROTHER(S)-IN-LAW.....H AUNT(S) OF RESPONDENT.....I AUNT(S) OF PARTNER.....J UNCLE(S) OF RESPONDENT.....K UNCLE(S) OF PARTNER.....L OTHER WIFE/WIVES.....M OTHER ADULT RELATIVE(S).....N NO ADULT RELATIVE(S).....O	

SECTION 2. WORK AND FINANCIAL RESOURCES

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
201	Are you currently working?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→204
203	Have you done any work in the last 12 months?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→218
204	What is your occupation, that is, on what kind of work do you spend most of your time?	_____ ☐☐ _____ _____	
205	CHECK 204: WORKS IN AGRICULTURE ☐ DOES NOT WORK IN AGRICULTURE ☐		→207
206	Do/did you work mainly on your own land, on family land, on communal land, or do you rent land, or work on someone else's land?	OWN LAND.....1 FAMILY LAND.....2 RENTED LAND.....3 COMMUNAL LAND.....4 SOMEONE ELSE'S LAND.....5	
207	Do/did you do this work for a member of your family, for someone else, or are you self-employed?	FOR FAMILY MEMBER.....1 FOR SOMEONE ELSE.....2 SELF-EMPLOYED.....3	
208	Do/did you usually work throughout the year, or do you work seasonally, or only once in a while?	THROUGHOUT THE YEAR.....1 SEASONALLY/PART OF THE YEAR.....2 ONCE IN A WHILE.....3	→210 →211
209	During the last 12 months, how many months did you work?	NUMBER OF MONTHS..... ☐☐	
210	(In the months you worked,) How many days a week did you usually work?	NUMBER OF DAYS..... ☐	→212
211	During the last 12 months, approximately how many days did you work?	NUMBER OF DAYS..... ☐☐☐	
212	On a typical working day, how many hours do you spend working?	NUMBER OF HOURS..... ☐☐	
213	Do you usually work at home or away from home?	HOME.....1 AWAY.....2	
214	Do/did you earn cash for your work? PROBE: Do you make money for working?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→218

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
215	How much do/did you usually earn for this work? PROBE: Is this by the day, by the week, or by the month? AMOUNT IN SINGLE SHILLINGS.....1 AMOUNT IN THOUSAND SHILLINGS.....2	PER HOUR.....1 PER DAY.....2 PER WEEK.....3 PER MONTH.....4 PER YEAR.....5 OTHER_____ 999996 (SPECIFY)	
215A	Do you share information with your partner about how much you earn from this work?	YES\USUALLY.....1 NO\RARELY.....2 SOMETIMES.....3	
215B	Does your partner share information with you about how much he earns from his main source of income?	YES\USUALLY.....1 NO\RARELY.....2 SOMETIMES.....3 DOESN'T WORK.....4	
216	Who mainly decides how the money you earn will be used: you, your wife/partner, you and your wife/partner jointly, or someone else?	RESPONDENT DECIDES.....1 WIFE/PARTNER DECIDES.....2 JOINTLY WITH WIFE/PARTNER.....3 SOMEONE ELSE DECIDES.....4 JOINTLY WITH SOMEONE ELSE.....5	

218 There are many ways a man can get money for basic family needs. He might use his own money, ask his wife or relatives, borrow from someone or use general housekeeping money - with or with or without permission.

ITEMS	218A When you have to spend money on (ITEM), how do you usually get the money? CIRCLE ALL MENTIONED.	218B In your household, who is usually responsible for paying for (ITEM)? CIRCLE ONE.
Your own health care	A B C D E F G H I	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Children's health care	A B C D E F G H I	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Children's education	A B C D E F G H I	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Support for own parents/rels.	A B C D E F G H I	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Support for partner's par/rels	A B C D E F G H I	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Other basic needs (e.g.transport/clothing)	A B C D E F G H I	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
RESPONSE CODES:	A. ASKS WIFE/PARTNER B. ASKS OWN FAMILY MEMBER C. ASKS WIFE'S FAMILY MEMBER USES HOUSEKEEPING MONEY D. WITH PERMISSION E. WITHOUT PERMISSION F. USES OWN SEPARATE MONEY G. BORROWS H. NOT APPLICABLE I. OTHER	1. RESPONDENT 2. WIFE/PARTNER 3. BOTH 4. RELATIVE OF RESP. 5. RELATIVE OF WIFE 6. OTHER 7. NOT APPLICABLE

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
220	In your home, does your wife/partner's opinion carry about the same weight as your opinion, more weight than your opinion, less weight, or is her opinion not taken into account at all?	SAME WEIGHT.....1 MORE WEIGHT.....2 LESS WEIGHT.....3 NOT TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT.....4	
221	Whose opinion carries more weight in your home on the following: yours, your wife's/partner's, both of yours equally or someone else's?	R E S P / W I F E / B O T H / E L S E / N / A	
	What food to cook	FOOD TO COOK.....1 2 3 4 5	
	Children's health care	HEALTH CARE.....1 2 3 4 5	
	Children's education	EDUCATION.....1 2 3 4 5	
	Support for own parents/relatives	SUPPORT.OWN.....1 2 3 4 5	
	Support for partner's parents/relatives	SUPPORT.PARTNER..1 2 3 4 5	
	Fostering children	FOSTERING.....1 2 3 4 5	
	Children's marriage	MARRIAGE.....1 2 3 4 5	

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
222	Does your household own any land?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→224
223	How much land does it own?	ACRES.....1 HECTARES.....2 SQUARE FEET....3 SQUARE METERS..4 DON'T KNOW.....999998 OTHER_____ 999996 (SPECIFY)	
224	Do you own any land personally?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→226
225	How much land do you own personally?	ACRES.....1 HECTARES.....2 SQUARE FEET....3 SQUARE METERS..4 DON'T KNOW.....999998 OTHER_____ 999996 (SPECIFY)	
226	Does your household own any livestock?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→228
227	How many: Cattle? Goats? Sheep? Other animals? IF NONE ENTER '000'	NUMBER OF CATTLE..... NUMBER OF GOATS..... NUMBER OF SHEEP..... NUMBER OF OTHERS.....	
228	Do you have any livestock that belongs only to you?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→229A
229	How many: Cattle? Goats? Sheep? Other animals? IF NONE ENTER '000'	NUMBER OF CATTLE..... NUMBER OF GOATS..... NUMBER OF SHEEP..... NUMBER OF ANIMALS.....	
229A	CHECK 111: WIFE/PARTNER DOES NOT LIVE IN SAME HOUSEHOLD WIFE/PARTNER LIVES IN SAME HOUSEHOLD		→232
230	Does your household have: Electricity? A radio? A television? A refrigerator?	YES NO ELECTRICITY.....1 2 RADIO.....1 2 TELEVISION.....1 2 REFRIGERATOR.....1 2	

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
231	Does any member of your household own: A house? A bicycle? A pikipiki? A car?	YES NO HOUSE.....1 2 BICYCLE.....1 2 PIKIPIKI.....1 2 CAR.....1 2	
232	We are interested in knowing about property that belongs only to you. Do you own: A house? A bicycle? A pikipiki? A car? A radio?	YES NO HOUSE.....1 2 BICYCLE.....1 2 PIKIPIKI.....1 2 CAR.....1 2 RADIO.....1 2	
232A	CHECK 111: WIFE/PARTNER DOES NOT LIVE IN SAME HOUSEHOLD ☐ WIFE/PARTNER LIVES IN SAME HOUSEHOLD ☐ → 237		
233	What is the main source of drinking water for members of your household?	PIPED WATER PIPED INTO RESIDENCE/YARD/PLOT.....11 PUBLIC TAP.....12 WELL WATER WELL IN RESIDENCE/YARD/PLOT..21 PUBLIC WELL.....22 BORE HOLE.....23 SURFACE WATER SPRING.....31 RIVER/STREAM.....32 POND/LAKE.....33 DAM.....34 RAINWATER.....41 TANKER TRUCK.....51 BOTTLED WATER.....61 OTHER_____ 96 (SPECIFY)	
234	What kind of toilet facility does your household have?	FLUSH TOILET OWN FLUSH TOILET.....11 SHARED FLUSH TOILET.....12 PIT TOILET/LATRINE TRADITIONAL PIT TOILET.....21 VENTILATED IMPROVED PIT (VIP) LATRINE.....22 NO FACILITY/BUSH/FIELD.....31 OTHER_____ 96 (SPECIFY)	
235	MAIN MATERIAL OF THE ROOF RECORD OBSERVATION.	THATCH.....1 IRON/TIN.....2 TILES.....3 MULTI-STORY DWELLING.....4 OTHER_____6 (SPECIFY)	
236	MAIN MATERIAL OF THE FLOOR RECORD OBSERVATION.	EARTH.....1 CEMENT.....2 TILE.....3 OTHER_____6 (SPECIFY)	

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
237	Now, I am going to read you a series of statements. After I read each statement, please tell me whether you agree with the statement, disagree with it, or have no opinion one way or the other. It's not always wise for me to plan too far ahead because many things turn out to be a matter of good or bad luck.	AGREE.....1 DISAGREE.....2 NO OPINION/DK.....3	
238	I have often found that what is going to happen will happen, whether I want it to or not.	AGREE.....1 DISAGREE.....2 NO OPINION/DK.....3	
239	My life is chiefly controlled by people with more power than me.	AGREE.....1 DISAGREE.....2 NO OPINION/DK.....3	
240	In order to get what I want, I have to conform to the wishes of others.	AGREE.....1 DISAGREE.....2 NO OPINION/DK.....3	
241	What others in the family want should always come first before what I want.	AGREE.....1 DISAGREE.....2 NO OPINION/DK.....3	
242	I can generally determine what will happen in my own life.	AGREE.....1 DISAGREE.....2 NO OPINION/DK.....3	
243	When I get what I want, it's usually because I've worked hard for it.	AGREE.....1 DISAGREE.....2 NO OPINION/DK.....3	

SECTION 3. MARRIAGE

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
304	CHECK COVER SHEET: MARRIED ☐ → Do you have any other wives besides (NAME)? LIVING WITH A WOMAN ☐ → Do you have any other wives or partners besides (NAME)?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→305C
305	How many other wives/partners do you have?	NUMBER..... ☐☐	
305A	Is (NAME) your most recent wife/partner?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→305C
305B	Before marrying another wife/getting another partner, did you discuss it with (NAME)?	YES.....1 NO.....2	
305C	Do you intend to marry another wife/get another partner?	YES.....1 NO.....2 DON'T KNOW.....8	
312	In what month and year did you start living with (NAME)?	MONTH..... ☐☐ DON'T KNOW MONTH.....98 YEAR..... ☐☐ DON'T KNOW YEAR.....98	→313A
313	How old were you when you started living with her?	AGE..... ☐☐	
313A	Is (NAME) the first woman you have ever married or lived with?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→317
315	In what month and year did you start living with your first wife/partner?	MONTH..... ☐☐ DON'T KNOW MONTH.....98 YEAR..... ☐☐ DON'T KNOW YEAR.....98	→317
316	How old were you when you started living with her?	AGE..... ☐☐	

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
317	Did the union with (NAME) involve any bridewealth payment?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→320
318	What amount of bridewealth was agreed to? ENTER ZEROS IF NONE.	NUMBER OF CATTLE..... [ ][ ][ ] NUMBER OF GOATS..... [ ][ ][ ] NUMBER OF SHILLINGS.. [ ][ ][ ][ ][ ][ ][ ] OTHER_____ (SPECIFY) 1 NO OTHER ITEMS.....2	
319	Has all the bride-price been paid or does some part still remain to be paid?	ALL PAID.....1 PARTIALLY PAID.....2	
320	CHECK MARITAL STATUS ON COVER SHEET: MARRIED ☐ LIVING WITH A WOMAN ☐		→322
321	Do you have a marriage certificate? PROBE: Is your marriage registered?	YES.....1 NO.....2	
322	How long did you know (NAME) before you were married to her/started living with her? IF LESS THAN ONE MONTH, RECORD '00'.	MONTHS.....1 YEARS.....2 [ ][ ]	
323	Who introduced you to each other?	NOBODY/JUST MET.....1 PARENTS/RELATIVES.....2 AGE-MATES/FRIENDS.....3 RELIGIOUS GROUP.....4 OTHER_____ (SPECIFY) 6	
324	We are interested in knowing the influence of parents and relatives in your choice of a wife/partner. How much influence did your parents and relatives have on your choice of a (marriage) partner: a major influence, some influence, little influence, or no influence?	MAJOR INFLUENCE.....1 SOME INFLUENCE.....2 LITTLE INFLUENCE.....3 NO INFLUENCE.....4	
325	Did your parents and relatives approve of (NAME) when you got married/started living with her?	YES.....1 NO.....2 DON'T KNOW.....8	→327
326	Would you have married/started living with (NAME) if your parents and relatives did not approve?	YES.....1 NO.....2 DON'T KNOW.....8	
327	Was there ever a person who you wanted to marry, but did not because your parents or relatives did not approve?	YES.....1 NO.....2 DON'T KNOW.....8	

SECTION 4. REPRODUCTION

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
401	Now I would like to ask about your children. I am interested only in the children that are biologically yours. Have you ever had children?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→406
402	Do you have any sons or daughters who are now living with you?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→404
403	How many sons live with you? And how many daughters live with you? IF NONE, RECORD '00'.	SONS AT HOME..... DAUGHTERS AT HOME.....	
404	Do you have any sons or daughters who are alive but do not live with you?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→406
405	How many sons are alive but do not live with you? And how many daughters are alive but do not live with you? IF NONE, RECORD '00'.	SONS ELSEWHERE..... DAUGHTERS ELSEWHERE.....	
406	Have you ever had a son or daughter who was born alive but later died? IF NO, PROBE: Any baby who cried or showed signs of life but survived only a few hours or days?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→408
407	How many boys have died? And how many girls have died? IF NONE, RECORD '00'.	BOYS DEAD..... GIRLS DEAD.....	
408	SUM ANSWERS TO 403, 405, AND 407, AND ENTER TOTAL. IF NONE, RECORD '00'.	TOTAL.....	
409	CHECK 408: Just to make sure that I have this right: you have had in TOTAL ____ children during your life. Is that correct? YES ☐ NO ☐→ PROBE AND CORRECT 401-408 AS NECESSARY.		
410	CHECK 408: ONE OR MORE CHILDREN ☐ NO CHILDREN ☐		→413
411	You told me you had given birth to ____ children in total. How many of these children did you have with [NAME]?	NONE.....00 NUMBER.....	→413
412	How many of the children that you had with (NAME) are living with you?	NUMBER.....	
413	(Aside from your own children), are there any (other) children under age 15 for whom you alone or you and (NAME) together are responsible?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→415

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
414	How many of these children (aside from your own) are living in this household?	NUMBER.....	
415	Is (NAME) currently pregnant?	YES.....1 NO.....2 DON'T KNOW.....8	
416	CHECK 411: ONE OR MORE CHILDREN ☐ ▼ NO CHILDREN ☐ →501		

417 Now I would like to record the name of the most recent child you had with (NAME) whether still alive or not.

RECORD NAME OF LAST BIRTH IN 417. RECORD TWINS ON SEPARATE LINES.

418 What name was given to your (last) baby? (NAME)	419 Was this birth twins?	420 Is (NAME) a boy or a girl?	421 In what month and year was (NAME) born? PROBE: What is his/her birthday? OR: In what season was he/she born?	422 Is (NAME) still alive?	423 IF ALIVE: How old was (NAME) at his/her last birthday? RECORD AGE IN COMPLETED YEARS.	424 FROM YEAR OF INTERVIEW SUBTRACT YEAR OF BIRTH. IS THE DIFFERENCE 4 OR MORE?	425 Were there any other births since the birth of (NAME)?
01	SING..1 MULT..2	BOY...1 GIRL..2	MONTH.. YEAR...	YES..1 NO...2 ▼ 424	AGE IN YEARS	YES....1 NO.....2 (425A)	YES..1 NO...2
02	SING..1 MULT..2	BOY...1 GIRL..2	MONTH.. YEAR...	YES..1 NO...2 ▼ 424	AGE IN YEARS	YES....1 NO.....2 (425A)	YES..1 NO...2

425A	CHECK 402 AND 404: HAS LIVING CHILDREN ☐ ▼ DOES NOT HAVE LIVING CHILDREN ☐ →501		
426	What is the age of your oldest living child?	AGE.....	

SECTION 5. CONTRACEPTION

Now I would like to talk about family planning - the various ways or methods that a couple can use to delay or avoid a pregnancy.

CIRCLE CODE 1 IN 501 FOR EACH METHOD MENTIONED SPONTANEOUSLY. THEN PROCEED DOWN COLUMN 502, READING THE NAME AND DESCRIPTION OF EACH METHOD NOT MENTIONED SPONTANEOUSLY. CIRCLE CODE 2 IF METHOD IS RECOGNIZED AND CODE 3 IF NOT RECOGNIZED. THEN, FOR EACH METHOD WITH CODE 1 OR 2 CIRCLED IN 501 OR 502, ASK 503.

	501 Which ways or methods have you heard about? SPONTANEOUS YES	502 Have you ever heard of (METHOD)? PROBED YES	NO	503 Have you ever used (METHOD)?
01 PILL Women can take a pill every day.	1	2	3	YES.....1 NO.....2
02 IUD Women can have a loop or coil placed inside them by a doctor or a nurse.	1	2	3	YES.....1 NO.....2
03 INJECTIONS Women can have an injection by a doctor or nurse which stops them from becoming pregnant for several months.	1	2	3	YES.....1 NO.....2
04 IMPLANTS Women can have several small rods placed in their upper arm by a doctor or nurse which can prevent pregnancy for several years.	1	2	3	YES.....1 NO.....2
05 DIAPHRAGM,FOAM,JELLY Women can place a sponge, suppository, diaphragm, jelly, or cream inside themselves before intercourse.	1	2	3	YES.....1 NO.....2
06 CONDOM Men can put a rubber sheath on their penis during sexual intercourse.	1	2	3	YES.....1 NO.....2
07 FEMALE STERILIZATION Women can have an operation to avoid having any more children.	1	2	3	Have you ever had a partner who had an operation to avoid having children? YES.....1 NO.....2
08 MALE STERILIZATION Men can have an operation to avoid having any more children.	1	2	3	Have you ever had an operation to avoid having children? YES.....1 NO.....2
09 RHYTHM, PERIODIC ABSTINENCE Every month that a woman is sexually active she can avoid having sexual intercourse on the days of the month she is most likely to get pregnant.	1	2	3	YES.....1 NO.....2
10 WITHDRAWAL Men can be careful and pull out before climax.	1	2	3	YES.....1 NO.....2
11 SPORADIC ABSTINENCE In order to prevent pregnancy, some men and women avoid sexual intercourse by various means, such as pretending to be ill, spending nights away from home, "facing the wall".	1	2	3	YES.....1 NO.....2
12 Have you heard of any other ways or methods that women or men can use to avoid pregnancy?	1 _____ (SPECIFY) _____ (SPECIFY)		3	YES.....1 NO.....2 YES.....1 NO.....2

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
504	CHECK 503: NOT A SINGLE "YES" (NEVER USED) ☐ AT LEAST ONE "YES" (EVER USED) ☐		→507
505	Have you or any of your partners ever used anything or tried in any way to delay or avoid getting pregnant?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→533
506	What have you used or done? CORRECT 503 AND 504 (AND 502 IF NECESSARY).		
507	CHECK 503: MAN NOT STERILIZED ☐ MAN STERILIZED ☐		→510A
508	CHECK 415: WIFE/PARTNER NOT PREGNANT OR UNSURE ☐ WIFE/PARTNER PREGNANT ☐		→512
509	Are you or (NAME) currently doing something or using any method to delay or avoid pregnancy?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→510B
510 510A	Which method are you using? CIRCLE '08' FOR MALE STERILIZATION.	PILL.....01 IUD.....02 INJECTIONS.....03 IMPLANTS.....04 DIAPHRAGM/FOAM/JELLY.....05 CONDOM.....06 FEMALE STERILIZATION.....07 MALE STERILIZATION.....08 RHYTHM.....09 WITHDRAWAL.....10 SPORADIC ABSTINENCE.....11 OTHER_____96 (SPECIFY)	
510B	CHECK 304: RESPONDENT HAS OTHER WIVES/PARTNERS ☐ RESPONDENT DOES NOT HAVE OTHER WIVES/PARTNERS ☐		→510D
510C	Are you currently using a method with any of your other wives/partners?	YES.....1 NO.....2	
510D	CHECK 503: OTHER ☐ ONLY METHOD EVER USED IS FEMALE OR MALE STERILIZATION ☐		→518
511	Since the first time you started doing something to delay or avoid a pregnancy, have you or your partner ever stopped using a method for some time?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→518
512	Thinking back to the last time you stopped using something to delay or avoid a pregnancy, what was the main reason you or she stopped?	INFREQUENT SEX/PARTNER AWAY....01 WIFE BECAME PREG. WHILE USING..02 WANTED TO HAVE CHILDREN..... .03 WIFE/PARTNER DISAPPROVED.....04 HEALTH CONCERNS.....05 SIDE EFFECTS.....06 LACK OF ACCESS/TOO FAR.....07 COST TOO MUCH.....08 INCONVENIENT TO USE.....09 FATALISTIC.....10 WIFE MENOPAUSE/ DIFFICULT TO GET PREGNANT.....11 MARITAL DISSOLUTION/SEPARATION.12 OTHER_____96 (SPECIFY) DON'T KNOW.....98	

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
513	Were you using this method with (NAME)?	YES.....1 NO.....2	
515	Did you and your partner at that time discuss whether to stop using a method at that time?	YES.....1 NO.....2	
516	CHECK 509: NOT CURRENTLY USING ANY METHOD ☐ CURRENTLY USING ANY METHOD ☐		→518
517	Since you first married/started living with (NAME), have you ever done anything to delay or avoid a pregnancy?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→533
518	Thinking back to the (first) time that you started to do something so that (NAME) would not get pregnant, what was the main reason you started to do this?	ECONOMIC REASONS.....01 HEALTH REASONS.....02 REACHED DESIRED FAMILY SIZE....03 PREVIOUS DELIVERY DIFFICULT....04 WANTED TO REST.....05 WIFE/PARTNER WANTED TO STOP....06 WANTED SPACE BETWEEN BIRTHS....07 DID NOT WANT PREMARITAL BIRTH..08 OTHER_____96 (SPECIFY) DON'T KNOW.....98	
519	Did you suggest using a method, or did (NAME) or someone else suggest it?	RESPONDENT.....1 WIFE/PARTNER.....2 SOMEONE ELSE_____6 (SPECIFY)	→524
520	Did you agree at the time?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→523
521	What was the main reason that you disagreed?	WANTED ANOTHER CHILD.....01 AFRAID OF SIDE EFFECTS.....02 RELIGIOUS REASONS.....03 AFRAID TO GO TO FP CLINIC.....04 COST TOO MUCH.....05 DIFFICULT TO GET METHODS.....06 CO-WIVES ARE HAVING CHILDREN...07 OTHER_____96 (SPECIFY) DON'T KNOW.....98	
522	What was the main reason that you and (NAME) ended up using a method even though you did not want to?	HAD ENOUGH CHILDREN.....01 HAD A BOY/GIRL.....02 WIFE TIRED/NEEDED TO REST.....03 ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES.....04 WIFE INSISTED.....05 OTHER_____96 (SPECIFY) DON'T KNOW.....98	
523	CHECK 519: WIFE SUGGESTED ☐ SOMEONE ELSE SUGGESTED ☐		→524A
524	Did your wife/partner agree at the time?	YES.....1 NO.....2 WIFE DID NOT KNOW.....3	→544

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
524A	CHECK 510: NOT CURRENTLY USING ☐ → 530 CURRENTLY USING ☐		→544
530	What would you do if you discovered that (NAME) was doing something to delay or avoid pregnancy? CIRCLE ALL MENTIONED.	WOULD FORCE HER TO LEAVE.....A WOULD LEAVE HER.....B WOULD TALK WITH RELATIVES/ELDERS.C WOULD MAKE HER STOP.....D WOULD GET ANOTHER WOMAN.....E WOULD BEAT HER.....F WOULD QUARREL WITH HER.....G WOULD NOT DO ANYTHING..... H OTHER_____ X (SPECIFY) DON'T KNOW.....Z	→544
533	Have you and (NAME) ever discussed doing something to delay or avoid a pregnancy?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→540
534	Who proposed using a method: you, your wife/partner or did someone else suggest it?	RESPONDENT.....1 WIFE/PARTNER.....2 SOMEONE ELSE_____6 (SPECIFY)	→537
535	Did you want to use a method at the time?	YES.....1 NO.....2	
536	CHECK 534: WIFE PROPOSED ☐ → 538 SOMEONE ELSE PROPOSED ☐ → 537		
537	Did your wife/partner want to use a method at the time?	YES.....1 NO.....2	
538	CHECK 535 AND 537: BOTH WANTED TO USE A METHOD OR THEY DISAGREED → 539 NEITHER WANTED TO USE A METHOD ☐		→540
539	What is the main reason you and (NAME) have never used a method to delay or avoid a pregnancy?	AFRAID OF SIDE EFFECTS.....01 RELIGIOUS REASONS.....02 DOESN'T WANT TO GO TO FP CLINIC.03 COST TOO MUCH.....04 DIFFICULT TO GET METHODS.....05 WANT CHILDREN.....07 SHE CAN'T GET PREGNANT.....08 OPPOSED TO FP.....09 WIFE OPPOSED TO FP.....10 OTHER_____96 (SPECIFY)	

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
540	Do you think you will do something to delay or avoid a pregnancy at any time in the future?	YES.....1 NO.....2 DK/UNDECIDED.....8	→542 →543
541	What is the main reason that you do not intend to use a method at any time in the future?	NOT MARRIED.....11 FERTILITY-RELATED REASONS INFREQUENT SEX.....22 PARTNER IS MENOPAUSAL/HYSTERECTOMY....23 SUBFECUND/INFECUND.....24 WANTS (MORE) CHILDREN.....26 OPPOSITION TO USE RESPONDENT OPPOSED.....31 WIFE OPPOSED.....32 OTHERS OPPOSED.....33 RELIGIOUS PROHIBITION.....34 LACK OF KNOWLEDGE KNOWS NO METHOD.....41 KNOWS NO SOURCE.....42 METHOD-RELATED REASONS HEALTH CONCERNS.....51 FEAR OF SIDE EFFECTS.....52 LACK OF ACCESS/TOO FAR.....53 COST TOO MUCH.....54 INCONVENIENT TO USE.....55 INTERFERES WITH BODY'S NORMAL PROCESSES.....56 OTHER_____ 96 (SPECIFY) DON'T KNOW.....98	→543
542	What method do you think you will use?	PILL.....01 IUD.....02 INJECTIONS.....03 IMPLANTS.....04 DIAPHRAGM/FOAM/JELLY.....05 CONDOM.....06 FEMALE STERILIZATION.....07 MALE STERILIZATION.....08 RHYTHM.....09 WITHDRAWAL.....10 SPORADIC ABSTINENCE.....11 OTHER_____96 (SPECIFY) DON'T KNOW.....98	
543	Do you think your wife/partner will want to do something to delay or avoid a pregnancy in the future?	YES.....1 NO.....2 UNDECIDED.....3 DON'T KNOW.....8	
544	In the last 6 months have you discussed the practice of family planning with your wife/partner, friends, neighbors, or relatives?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→546
545	With whom? Anyone else? RECORD ALL MENTIONED.	WIFE/PARTNER.....A MOTHER.....B FATHER.....C PATERNAL AUNT.....D MEDICAL PERSONNEL.....E FAMILY PLANNING WORKER.....F SISTER(S).....G BROTHER(S).....H DAUGHTER(S).....I MOTHER-IN-LAW.....J FRIENDS/NEIGHBORS.....K OTHER_____ X (SPECIFY)	

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
546	Would you say that most of the people you know approve of the practice of family planning, disapprove of it, or have no opinion?	MOST APPROVE.....1 MOST DISAPPROVE.....2 MOST HAVE NO OPINION.....3 DON'T KNOW.....8	
547	Between the first day of a woman's period and the first day of her next period, are there certain times when she has a greater chance of becoming pregnant than other times?	YES.....1 NO.....2 DON'T KNOW.....8	→549
548	During which times of the monthly cycle does a woman have the greatest chance of becoming pregnant?	DURING HER PERIOD.....1 RIGHT AFTER HER PERIOD HAS ENDED.....2 IN THE MIDDLE OF THE CYCLE.....3 JUST BEFORE HER PERIOD BEGINS...4 OTHER_____6 (SPECIFY) DON'T KNOW.....8	
	Please tell me if you agree, disagree or have no opinion about the following statements.		
549	If my partner doesn't want to use family planning or condoms, there is nothing I can do to change her mind.	AGREE.....1 DISAGREE.....2 NO OPINION/DK.....3	
550	A couple can choose the exact number of children they will have and stop after that.	AGREE.....1 DISAGREE.....2 NO OPINION/DK.....3	
551	If I decide that I want no more children, I will be able to have my way.	AGREE.....1 DISAGREE.....2 NO OPINION/DK.....3	
552	If I decide that I want to delay the next birth, I will be able to have my way.	AGREE.....1 DISAGREE.....2 NO OPINION/DK.....3	
553	Even if she doesn't agree at first, I could convince my wife/partner to use family planning or condoms if I feel we should.	AGREE.....1 DISAGREE.....2 NO OPINION/DK.....3	

SECTION 6. FERTILITY PREFERENCES

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
601	CHECK 403 AND 405: HAS LIVING CHILDREN ☐ → If you could go back to the time you did not have any children and could choose exactly the number of children to have in your whole life, how many would that be? NO LIVING CHILDREN ☐ → If you could choose exactly the number of children to have in your whole life, how many would that be? PROBE FOR A NUMERIC RESPONSE.	NUMBER..... ☐☐ OTHER _____ (SPECIFY) 96	→603
602	How many of these children would you like to be boys, how many would you like to be girls and for how many would it not matter?	NUMBER OF BOYS..... ☐☐ NUMBER OF GIRLS..... ☐☐ NUMBER OF EITHER..... ☐☐ OTHER _____ (SPECIFY) 96	
603	CHECK 408: HAS CHILDREN ☐ HAS NEVER HAD CHILDREN ☐		→606
604	Before you had your first child, did you ever think about the number of children you would like to have?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→606
605	How many children did you want at that time?	NUMBER..... ☐☐ OTHER _____ (SPECIFY) 96 DON'T KNOW 98	
606	Have you talked with (NAME) at any time about the total number of children you would like to have together?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→610
607	At the time you first talked, did she want more children than you, fewer children than you, or the same number as you?	MORE.....1 FEWER.....2 SAME.....3 DON'T KNOW.....8	
608	CHECK 408: HAS HAD CHILDREN ☐ HAS NEVER HAD CHILDREN ☐		→610
609	How many children did you have when you first talked with (NAME) about the number of children to have together?	NUMBER..... ☐☐ OTHER _____ (SPECIFY) 96 DON'T KNOW 98	

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
610	Has your opinion about the number of children you want to have changed since the time you first started going with (NAME)?	YES.....1 NO.....2 NO OPINION/DON'T KNOW.....8	→613
611	Do you now want more children than before or fewer children than before?	MORE CHILDREN.....1 FEWER CHILDREN.....2 NOT SURE.....3	→ 613
612	Why has the number of children you want changed? RECORD RESPONSE	HEALTH REASONS.....1 ECONOMIC REASONS.....2 WIFE/PARTNER'S PREFERENCE.....3 RELIGIOUS REASONS.....4 DEMANDS OF CHILDREARING.....5 OTHER_____ (SPECIFY) 6	
613	How many children do you think (NAME) would like to have with you?	NUMBER..... ☐☐ OTHER_____ (SPECIFY) 96 DON'T KNOW 98	
614	CHECK 408 AND 411: HAD CHILDREN IN PAST RELATIONSHIP ☐ DID NOT HAVE CHILDREN IN PAST RELATIONSHIP ☐		→616
615	Thinking back to the time you started going with (NAME), how many children did you want to have with her at that time?	NUMBER..... ☐☐ OTHER_____ (SPECIFY) 96 DON'T KNOW.....98	
616	CHECK 510: NEITHER STERILIZED ☐ HE OR SHE STERILIZED ☐		→621
617	CHECK 415: WIFE/PARTNER NOT PREGANT OR UNSURE ☐ Now I have some questions about the future. Would you like to have (a/another) child with (NAME) or would you prefer not to have any (more) children? WIFE/PARTNER PREGNANT ☐ Now I have some questions about the future. After the child (NAME) is expecting now, would you like to have another child with her or would you prefer not to have any more children?	HAVE (A/ANOTHER) CHILD.....1 NO MORE/NONE.....2 SAYS SHE CAN'T GET PREGNANT.....3 UNDECIDED/DON'T KNOW.....8	→619 →621 →620
618	What is the main reason that you prefer not to have any (more) children with (NAME)?	ECONOMIC REASONS.....01 REACHED DESIRED FAMILY SIZE....02 PREVIOUS DELIVERY DIFFICULT....03 WIFE WANTS TO REST/TIRED OUT...04 WIFE WANTS TO STOP.....05 OTHER_____ (SPECIFY) 96 DON'T KNOW.....98	→620

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
619	What is the main reason that you would like to have another child with (NAME)?	WANTS A BOY.....01 WANTS A GIRL.....02 CHILD(REN) DIED.....03 PARTNER WANTS.....04 DOESN'T HAVE ENOUGH.....05 CAN STILL FATHER CHILDREN.....06 OTHER_____96 (SPECIFY) DON'T KNOW.....98	
620	CHECK 415: WIFE/PARTNER NOT PREGNANT OR UNSURE ☐ → Do you think (NAME) would like to have a/another child or would she prefer not to have any (more) children with you? WIFE/PARTNER PREGNANT ☐ → After the child (NAME) is expecting now, do you think she would like to have another child or would she prefer not to have any more children with you?	HAVE (A/ANOTHER) CHILD.....1 NO MORE/NONE.....2 UNDECIDED.....3 DON'T KNOW PARTNER'S DESIRE....8	→624
621	CHECK 510 AND 617: OTHER ☐ CAN'T GET PREGNANT OR EITHER PARTNER STERILIZED ☐		→624
622	CHECK 617 AND 620: OTHER ☐ BOTH WANT NO MORE OR BOTH WANT MORE OR BOTH UNDECIDED ☐		→624
623	CHECK 415: WIFE/PARTNER NOT PREGANT OR UNSURE ☐ → Do you think you and (NAME) will have a/another child or will you not have any (more) children? WIFE/PARTNER PREGNANT ☐ → After the child (NAME) is expecting now, do you think you will have another child or will you not have any (more) children?	WILL HAVE A/ANOTHER CHILD.....1 WILL HAVE NO MORE/NONE.....2 UNDECIDED.....3 DON'T KNOW.....8	
624	CHECK 408: HAS CHILDREN ☐ HAS NEVER HAD CHILDREN ☐		→633
625	Have you and (NAME) ever discussed whether to stop having children?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→629
626	How many children did you have when you first discussed it?	NUMBER.....☐☐ DON'T REMEMBER.....98	
627	At the time you first discussed this, did you want a/another child?	YES.....1 NO.....2	
628	Did (NAME) want a/another child?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→631

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
629	CHECK 620 AND 510: DOES NOT KNOW PARTNER'S DESIRE (Q.620=8) OR EITHER PARTNER STERILIZED ☐		→631
	OTHER ☐		
630	Since you have not discussed it, how is it that you know that she wants/doesn't want a/another child?	SHE WANTS AS MANY CHILDREN AS POSSIBLE.....01 ALL WOMEN WANT AS MANY CHILDREN AS POSSIBLE.....02 SOMEONE ELSE TOLD RESPONDENT..03 RELIGIOUS REASONS.....04 SHE MADE SUGGESTIVE REMARKS...05 OVERHEARD HER TALKING ABOUT IT.....07 ALWAYS WANTS TO PLAY SEX.....08 OPPOSES USE OF FAMILY PLANNING.....09 HASN'T GOT ENOUGH BOYS/GIRLS..10 SHE USES FAMILY PLANNING.....11 OTHER_____96	
631	(Aside from (NAME)), have you ever talked to anyone (else) about stopping having children?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→633
632	Who have you talked to? CIRCLE ALL MENTIONED.	MOTHER.....A FATHER.....B SISTER(S).....C BROTHER(S).....D OTHER FEMALE RELATIVE(S).....E OTHER MALE RELATIVE(S).....F FRIEND/NEIGHBOR(S).....G HEALTH WORKER(S).....H RELIGIOUS LEADER(S).....I CO-WORKERS.....J OTHER WIFE/WIVES.....K OTHER_____X (SPECIFY)	
633	CHECK 617 AND 510: WANTS ANOTHER CHILD ☐ DOES NOT WANT ANOTHER CHILD OR EITHER PARTNER STERILIZED ☐		→645
634	CHECK 415: WIFE/PARTNER NOT PREGANT OR UNSURE ☐ How long would you like to wait from now before having (a/another) child?	MONTHS.....1 ☐☐ YEARS.....2 ☐☐ SOON/NOW.....993 WIFE/PARTNER CAN'T GET PREG...994 AFTER MARRIAGE.....995 OTHER_____996 (SPECIFY) DON'T KNOW.....998	→645 →638
	WIFE/PARTNER PREGNANT ☐ After the child (NAME) is expecting now now, how long would you like to wait before the birth of another child?		
634A	CHECK 620: PARTNER WANTS ANOTHER CHILD OR DON'T KNOW PARTNER'S DESIRE ☐ PARTNER DOES NOT WANT ANOTHER CHILD OR EITHER PARTNER STERILIZED ☐		→645
635	Do you think (NAME) would like to wait longer than you, shorter than you, or about the same time as you would like to wait?	LONGER.....1 SHORTER.....2 ABOUT THE SAME.....3 DON'T KNOW PARTNER'S DESIRE....8	→638

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
637	Do you think you will wait as long as you want to wait or as long as (NAME) wants to wait?	AS LONG AS RESPONDENT WANTS.....1 AS LONG AS WIFE WANTS.....2 OTHER_____6 (SPECIFY) DON'T KNOW.....8	
638	Have you ever discussed this with (NAME)?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→641
639	At the time you first discussed this, how long did you want to wait to have another child?	MONTHS.....1 ☐☐ YEARS.....2 ☐☐ AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.....993 AFTER MARRIAGE.....995 OTHER_____ 996 (SPECIFY) DON'T KNOW.....998	
640	How long did (NAME) want to wait?	MONTHS.....1 ☐☐ YEARS.....2 ☐☐ AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.....993 AFTER MARRIAGE.....995 OTHER_____ 996 (SPECIFY) DON'T KNOW.....998	→643
641	CHECK 635: DOES NOT KNOW PARTNER'S DESIRE ☐ OTHER ☐		→643
642	Since you have not discussed it, how is it that you know how long (NAME) wants to wait to have another child?	SHE WANTS AS MANY CHILDREN AS POSSIBLE.....01 ALL WOMEN WANT AS MANY CHILDREN AS POSSIBLE.....02 SOMEONE ELSE TOLD RESPONDENT..03 RELIGIOUS REASONS.....04 SHE MADE SUGGESTIVE REMARKS...05 OVERHEARD HER TALKING ABOUT IT.....07 ALWAYS WANTS TO PLAY SEX.....08 OPPOSES USE OF FAMILY PLANNING.....09 HASN'T GOT ENOUGH BOYS/GIRLS..10 OTHER_____96	
643	Aside from your wife/partner, have you ever talked to anyone (else) about how long to wait before having another child?	YES.....01 NO.....02	→645

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
644	Who have you talked to? CIRCLE ALL MENTIONED.	MOTHER.....A FATHER.....B SISTER(S).....C BROTHER(S).....D OTHER FEMALE RELATIVE(S).....E OTHER MALE RELATIVE(S).....F FRIEND/NEIGHBOR(S).....G HEALTH WORKER(S).....H RELIGIOUS LEADER(S).....I CO-WORKERS.....J OTHER WIFE/WIVES.....K OTHER_____X (SPECIFY)	
645	Please tell me whether you agree, disagree, or have no opinion about the following statements. I don't have much control over the number of children I will have with my partner; it is mostly up to the will of God or chance.	AGREE.....1 DISAGREE.....2 NO OPINION/DK.....3	
646	I don't have much control over how long I wait until I have the next child; it is mostly up to the will of God or chance.	AGREE.....1 DISAGREE.....2 NO OPINION/DK.....3	
647	The number of children that I will have with my partner depends mostly on what my partner or others want, not what I want.	AGREE.....1 DISAGREE.....2 NO OPINION/DK.....3	
648	The time we wait before the next birth depends mostly on what my partner or others want, not what I want.	AGREE.....1 DISAGREE.....2 NO OPINION/DK.....3	

SECTION 7. SEXUAL DYNAMICS

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
701	Now, I want to ask you some questions about men and women and playing sex. I am aware that these questions are personal, but we hope that your answers will be as complete and truthful as possible. In your opinion, should a <u>married</u> woman be able to refuse to play sex with her husband if:	YES NO DK	
	She is menstruating?	MENSTRUATING.....1 2 8	
	She knows he has AIDS?	HE HAS AIDS.....1 2 8	
	She doesn't want to get pregnant?	PREGNANT.....1 2 8	
	He beat her?	BEAT HER.....1 2 8	
	She is tired or not in the mood?	TIRED/MOOD.....1 2 8	
	He doesn't provide economic support	ECONOMIC SUPPORT	
	for her children?	CHILDREN 1 2 8	
	for her?	RESPONDENT.....1 2 8	
	He treats a co-wife better?	CO-WIFE BETTER...1 2 8	
	He is drunk?	DRUNK.....1 2 8	
	He plays sex with outside women?	OUTSIDE WOMEN....1 2 8	
	She is breastfeeding?	BREASTFEED.....1 2 8	
	He is planning to marry another wife?	MARRY ANOTHER....1 2 8	
	Any other reasons?	1 2 8 OTHER....._____ (SPECIFY)	
702	In your opinion, should an woman who is <u>not married</u> be able to refuse to play sex with her partner if:	YES NO DK	
	She is menstruating?	MENSTRUATING.....1 2 8	
	She knows he has AIDS?	HE HAS AIDS.....1 2 8	
	She doesn't want to get pregnant?	NOT WANT PREG....1 2 8	
	He beat her?	BEAT HER.....1 2 8	
	She is tired or not in the mood?	TIRED/MOOD.....1 2 8	
	He doesn't provide economic support	ECONOMIC SUPPORT	
	for her children?	CHILDREN 1 2 8	
	for her?	RESPONDENT.....1 2 8	
	He is drunk?	DRUNK.....1 2 8	
	He plays sex with other women?	OUTSIDE WOMEN....1 2 8	
	She is breastfeeding?	BREASTFEEED.....1 2 8	
	He is planning to marry another woman?	MARRY ANOTHER....1 2 8	
	Any other reasons?	1 2 8 OTHER....._____ (SPECIFY)	
703	Some couples find it difficult to talk about sex while others do not. For you and (NAME), is it very difficult to talk about sex, somewhat difficult, or not difficult to talk about sex?	VERY DIFFICULT.....1 SOMEWHAT DIFFICULT.....2 NOT DIFFICULT.....3 DON'T KNOW.....8	
704	Aside from (NAME), do you talk to anyone else about sex?	YES.....1 NO.....2 → 706 OTHER_____6 (SPECIFY)	
705	Who do you talk to? CIRCLE ALL MENTIONED.	MOTHER.....A FATHER.....B SISTER.....C SISTER-IN-LAW.....D BROTHER.....E OTHER FEMALE RELATIVE.....F OTHER MALE RELATIVE.....G MALE FRIEND/NEIGHBOR.....H FEMALE FRIEND/NEIGHBOR.....I RELIGIOUS LEADER.....J HEALTH WORKER.....K CO-WORKER.....L OTHER WIFE/WIVES.....M OTHER_____X (SPECIFY)	

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
706	In your marriage/relationship, who would you say has more influence over whether or not to play sex - you, your wife/partner or both of you equally?	RESPONDENT.....1 PARTNER.....2 BOTH EQUALLY.....3	
707	When was the last time that you and (NAME) played sex?	DAYS AGO.....1 ☐☐ WEEKS AGO.....2 ☐☐ MONTHS AGO.....3 ☐☐ YEARS AGO.....4 ☐☐ BEFORE LAST BIRTH.....996	
708	CHECK 707: LAST SEX ONE MONTH AGO OR LESS ☐ ▼ LAST SEX MORE THAN ONE MONTH AGO ☐		→717
709	In the last month, was there a time when (NAME) wanted to play sex and you did not?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→714
709A	Thinking back to the last time this happened, why did you not want to play sex?	WIFE WAS PREGNANT.....01 WIFE WAS MENSTRUATING.....02 NOT IN MOOD/NOT WILLING.....03 TIRED.....04 SICK.....05 ANGRY WITH WIFE/PARTNER.....06 OTHER_____96 (SPECIFY)	
710	Thinking back to the last time this happened, did you let her know that you did not want to play sex?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→712
711	How did you let him know this?	TOLD HER I DID NOT WANT TO.....1 TOLD HER I WAS SICK.....2 TOLD HER I WAS TIRED.....3 FACED THE WALL.....4 OTHER_____6 (SPECIFY)	
712	Did you play sex that time?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→714
713	What was the main reason you decided to play sex even though you did not want to at first?	SHE PERSISTED/PERSUADED HIM ...01 SHE THREATENED HIM.....02 AFRAID TO REFUSE.....03 SHE OFFERED HIM SOMETHING.....04 HE WANTED TO PLEASE HER.....05 IT IS WRONG TO REFUSE.....06 SHE HAS MORE AUTHORITY.....07 OTHER_____96 (SPECIFY)	
714	In the last month, was there a time when you wanted to play sex and (NAME) did not?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→717
715	Did you play sex that time?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→717
716	What made her decide to play sex even though she did not want to at first?	HE PERSISTED/PERSUADED HER.....01 HE THREATENED HER.....02 AFRAID TO REFUSE.....03 HE OFFERED HER SOMETHING.....04 SHE WANTED TO PLEASE HIM.....05 IT IS WRONG TO REFUSE.....06 HE HAS MORE AUTHORITY.....07 OTHER_____96 (SPECIFY) DON'T KNOW.....98	

717 Sometimes men and women have serious misunderstandings or arguments. I would like to talk about the ways people behave during such times.

718 Sometimes men and women (ACTION) when they have a serious misunderstanding with their partner?		719 Has your wife/ partner ever (ACTION)?	720 Have you ever (ACTION)?
01 QUARREL OR YELL		YES.....1 NO.....2	YES.....1 NO.....2
02 KEEP QUIET		YES.....1 NO.....2	YES.....1 NO.....2
03 CRY		YES.....1 NO.....2	YES.....1 NO.....2
04 THREATEN TO BEAT, SLAP, KICK OR PHYSICALLY HARM PARTNER		YES.....1 NO.....2	YES.....1 NO.....2
05 ACTUALLY BEAT, SLAP, KICK OR PHYSICALLY HARM PARTNER		YES.....1 NO.....2	YES.....1 NO.....2
06 DENY PARTNER SEX		YES.....1 NO.....2	YES.....1 NO.....2
07 GO OUTSIDE MARRIAGE/RELATIONSHIP TO PLAY SEX		YES.....1 NO.....2 DK.....8	YES.....1 NO.....2 DK.....8
08 SEPARATE FROM THEIR PARTNER		YES.....1 NO.....2	YES.....1 NO.....2
09 Do you know of any other things men and women do when they have a serious misunderstanding with their partner?	YES 1 NO 2 _____ (SPECIFY) _____ (SPECIFY)	YES.....1 NO.....2 DK.....3 YES.....1 NO.....2 DK.....3	YES.....1 NO.....2 YES.....1 NO.....2

721 When you and (NAME) have a misunderstanding, who usually takes the initiative to restore peace: you or (NAME)?

RESPONDENT.....1
WIFE/PARTNER.....2
IT DEPENDS.....3
NEVER HAD A MISUNDERSTANDING....4 →801

722 Have you ever called on your family or on (NAME)'s family to help you resolve a misunderstanding or conflict?

YES.....1
NO.....2

SECTION 8. AIDS AND CONDOM USE

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
801	Have you ever heard of an illness called AIDS?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→803
802	Have you ever heard of any diseases that a person can get by playing sex?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→817 →828
803	How can a person get AIDS? Any other ways? RECORD ALL MENTIONED	SEXUAL INTERCOURSE WITH INFECTED PERSON.....A SKIN PIERCING INSTRUMENTS.....B SEXUAL INTERCOURSE WITH MULTIPLE PARTNERS.....C SEX WITH PROSTITUTES.....D NOT USING CONDOM.....E HOMOSEXUAL CONTACT.....F BLOOD TRANSFUSION.....G INJECTIONS.....H KISSING.....I MOSQUITO BITES.....J MOTHER TO CHILD.....K RAZOR BLADES.....L OTHER_____W (SPECIFY) OTHER_____X (SPECIFY) DOES NOT KNOW.....Z	
804	Is there anything a person can do to avoid getting AIDS?	YES.....1 NO.....2 DOES NOT KNOW.....8	→808
805	What can a person do? Any other ways? RECORD ALL MENTIONED	ABSTAIN FROM SEX.....A USE CONDOMS.....B AVOID MULTIPLE SEX PARTNERS.....C AVOID SEX WITH PROSTITUTES.....D AVOID SEX WITH HOMOSEXUALS.....E AVOID BLOOD TRANSFUSIONS.....F AVOID INJECTIONS.....G AVOID KISSING.....H AVOID MOSQUITO BITES.....I SEEK PROTECTION FROM FROM TRADITIONAL HEALER.....J HAVE SEX WITH A VIRGIN.....K HAVE SEX WITH AN OLD WOMAN.....L PRAY.....M AVOID SHARING RAZOR BLADES.....N AVOID SEX WITH INFECTED PERSONS.O USE SCREENED BLOOD FOR TRANSFUSIONS.....P OTHER_____W (SPECIFY) OTHER_____X (SPECIFY) DOES NOT KNOW.....Z	
806	CHECK 805: DID NOT MENTION CONDOMS MENTIONED CONDOMS		→808
807	Can using a condom during sexual intercourse reduce the chances of getting AIDS?	YES.....1 NO.....2 DON'T KNOW.....8	
808	Do you think your chances of getting HIV/AIDS are great moderate, small, or no risk at all?	GREAT.....1 MODERATE.....2 SMALL.....3 NO RISK AT ALL.....4 HIV+/HAS AIDS.....5 CANNOT TELL.....6	→810 →814 →811

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
809	Why do you think that you have (NO RISK/A SMALL CHANCE) of getting AIDS? Any other reasons? RECORD ALL MENTIONED	ABSTAIN FROM SEX.....A INFREQUENT SEX.....B USE CONDOMS.....C HAVE ONLY ONE SEX PARTNER.....D LIMITED NUMBER OF SEX PARTNERS..E SPOUSE HAS NO OTHER PARTNER.....F NO HOMOSEXUAL CONTACT.....G NO BLOOD TRANSFUSIONS.....H NO INJECTIONS.....I OTHER_____X (SPECIFY)	→811
810	Why do you think that you have a (MODERATE/GREAT) chance of getting AIDS? Any other reasons? RECORD ALL MENTIONED	DO NOT USE CONDOMS.....A MORE THAN ONE SEX PARTNER.....B MANY SEX PARTNERS.....C SPOUSE HAS OTHER PARTNER(S).....D HOMOSEXUAL CONTACT.....E HAD BLOOD TRANSFUSION.....F HAD INJECTIONS.....G SPOUSE/PARTNER HAS AIDS.....H OTHER_____X (SPECIFY)	
811	Since you first heard of AIDS, have you changed your behavior to prevent getting AIDS? IF YES, what did you do? Anything else? RECORD ALL MENTIONED	STOPPED ALL SEX.....A STARTED USING CONDOMS.....B RESTRICTED SEX TO ONE PARTNER...C REDUCED NUMBER OF PARTNERS.....D ASK SPOUSE TO BE FAITHFUL.....E NO MORE HOMOSEXUAL CONTACTS.....F STOPPED INJECTIONS.....G OTHER_____W (SPECIFY) OTHER_____X (SPECIFY) NO, HAVE NOT CHANGED.....Y NO, ALREADY RESTRICTED TO ONE SEX PARTNER.....Z	
812	Do you personally know someone who has AIDS or has died of AIDS?	YES.....1 NO.....2 NOT SURE/DOES NOT KNOW.....8	→814
813	Do any of your family members or close friends have AIDS or has anyone died of AIDS?	YES.....1 NO.....2 NOT SURE/DOES NOT KNOW.....8	
814	CHECK 502, 805, AND 807: KNOWS ABOUT CONDOMS ☐ ↓ DOES NOT KNOW ABOUT CONDOMS ☐		→828
815	Do you think it is acceptable for a married woman to ask her husband to use a condom?	YES.....1 NO.....2 IT DEPENDS.....3 DOES NOT KNOW.....8	
816	If a woman and her sexual partner are not married, is it acceptable for her to ask him to use a condom?	YES.....1 NO.....2 IT DEPENDS.....3 DOES NOT KNOW.....8	

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
816A	CHECK 805 AND 807: KNOWS CONDOMS CAN PREVENT AIDS ☐ DOES NOT KNOW CONDOMS CAN PREVENT AIDS ☐		→828
817	CHECK 510: NOT USING CONDOM ☐ USING CONDOM ☐		→822
818	Have you ever used a condom with (NAME)?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→822
819	Have you ever discussed with her about whether or not to use a condom?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→822
821	What is the main reason that you have not discussed this directly with (NAME)?	EMBARRASSED/SHY.....01 AFRAID.....02 DON'T WANT TO USE CONDOM.....03 DON'T NEED TO USE CONDOM.....04 SHE WILL THINK I'M PROMISCUOUS.05 WILL THINK I DON'T TRUST HER...06 SHE WOULDN'T LIKE CONDOM.....07 NEVER THOUGHT ABOUT IT.....08 DON'T KNOW.....98 OTHER_____96 (SPECIFY)	→828
822	The first time you and (NAME) used or discussed using condoms, who proposed the idea: you, your partner, or someone else?	RESPONDENT PROPOSED.....1 PARTNER PROPOSED.....2 SOMEONE ELSE.....3 DOES NOT REMEMBER.....8	→827 →828
825	At that time, did (NAME) want to use condoms?	YES.....1 NO.....2 DON'T KNOW.....8	
826	CHECK 822: SOMEONE ELSE PROPOSED ☐ PARTNER PROPOSED ☐		→828
827	At that time did you want to use condoms?	YES.....1 NO.....2 DON'T KNOW.....8	
828	RECORD THE TIME.	HOUR..... MINUTES.....	

SECTION 9. IDENTIFICATION OF OTHER INTERVIEWED WIVES/PARTNERS

901	CHECK COVER PAGE: RESPONDENT HAS BEEN INTERVIEWED BEFORE [ ] ↓ RESPONDENT HAS NOT BEEN INTERVIEWED BEFORE [ ]	→ 10A
901A	HOW MANY TIMES HAS RESPONDENT BEEN INTERVIEWED?	NUMBER.................... [ ]

INFORMATION ON WIFE/PARTNER ABOUT WHOM RESPONDENT WAS PREVIOUSLY INTERVIEWED

PLACE NAME ____________________

NAME OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD ____________________

NAME AND LINE NUMBER OF WIFE/PARTNER ____________________ [ ][ ]

LINE NUMBER OF RESPONDENT.. [ ][ ]

CLUSTER NUMBER.. [ ][ ][ ]

HOUSEHOLD NUMBER.. [ ][ ]

REGION (Masaka=1, Lira=2).. [ ]

URBAN/RURAL (urban=1, rural=2).. [ ]

INFORMATION ON WIFE/PARTNER ABOUT WHOM RESPONDENT WAS PREVIOUSLY INTERVIEWED

PLACE NAME ____________________

NAME OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD ____________________

NAME AND LINE NUMBER OF WIFE/PARTNER ____________________ [ ][ ]

LINE NUMBER OF RESPONDENT.. [ ][ ]

CLUSTER NUMBER.. [ ][ ][ ]

HOUSEHOLD NUMBER.. [ ][ ]

REGION (Masaka=1, Lira=2).. [ ]

URBAN/RURAL (urban=1, rural=2).. [ ]

INFORMATION ON WIFE/PARTNER ABOUT WHOM RESPONDENT WAS PREVIOUSLY INTERVIEWED

PLACE NAME ____________________

NAME OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD ____________________

NAME AND LINE NUMBER OF WIFE/PARTNER ____________________ [ ][ ]

LINE NUMBER OF RESPONDENT.. [ ][ ]

CLUSTER NUMBER.. [ ][ ][ ]

HOUSEHOLD NUMBER.. [ ][ ]

REGION (Masaka=1, Lira=2).. [ ]

URBAN/RURAL (urban=1, rural=2).. [ ]

SECTION 10. LANGUAGE INFORMATION

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
10A	WHAT IS THE RESPONDENT'S OWN LANGUAGE?	LUGANDA.....1 LANGO.....2 OTHER_____6 (SPECIFY)	
10B	IN WHAT LANGUAGE DID YOU CONDUCT THE INTERVIEW?	LUGANDA.....1 LANGO.....2 OTHER_____6 (SPECIFY)	
10C	FOR HOW MUCH OF THE INTERVIEW DID YOU DEPEND ON A THIRD PERSON TO INTERPRET FOR YOU?	NONE OF THE INTERVIEW.....1 A SMALL PORTION.....2 MOST OF THE INTERVIEW.....3 ALL OF THE INTERVIEW.....4	

INTERVIEWER OBSERVATIONS:_____

Demographic and Health Surveys
Macro International Inc.

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