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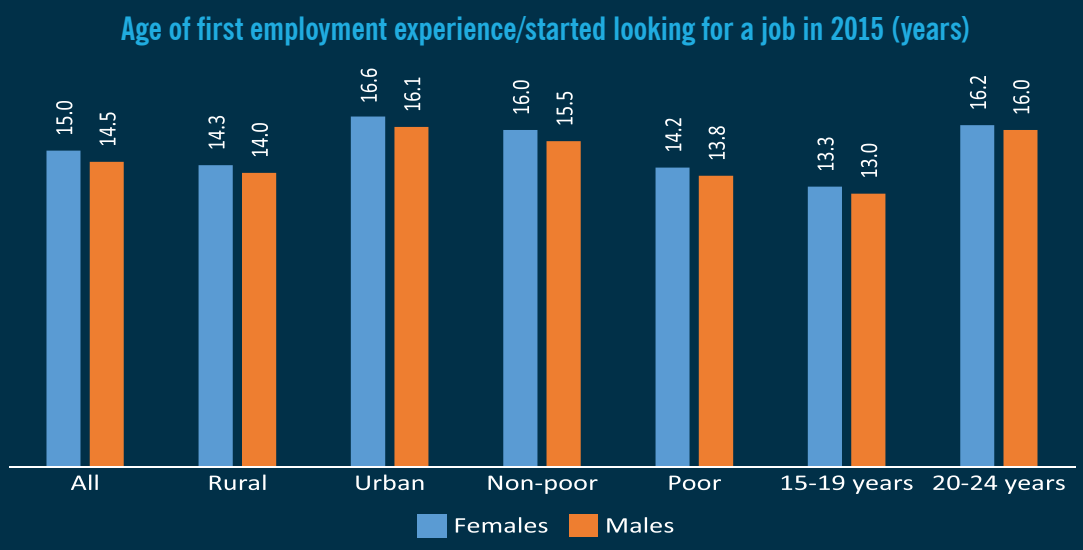
ECONOMIC POLICY RESEARCH CENTRE

*Towards Sustainable Development*

OCCASIONAL PAPER. 44

# EARLY LABOUR MARKET TRANSITIONS OF YOUNG WOMEN IN UGANDA




Source: Authors' computations based on SWT 2015.

June 2018

Gemma Ahaibwe, Sarah Ssewanyana, and Ibrahim Kasirye

ECONOMIC POLICY RESEARCH CENTRE

Occasional Paper No.44

# EARLY LABOUR MARKET TRANSITIONS OF YOUNG WOMEN IN UGANDA

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**June 2018**

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# ABSTRACT

*Poor educational attainment, early marriages, low age at first birth and poor labour market outcomes continue to be of concern for young women in Uganda. Using the School to Work Transition Surveys (SWTS 2013 and 2015) and the Demographic and Health Surveys (2006 and 2011) for Uganda, this paper descriptively explores links between educational attainment, age of marriage and child-birth and labour market outcomes for young people (15-24 years of age). Overall, we find that young women leave school early (one in every two girls drops out before completion of the education cycle), give birth and/or get married before the legal age of 18 years (median age at marriage and first birth is 16.7 and 17.4 respectively), and a good number -18 percent are inactive (neither participating in the labour market nor attending school). Specifically, the results provided evidence on the critical role of education in transiting to stable/satisfactory employment; compared with those who leave school prematurely; young people who enter the labour market with more education are more likely transition to stable employment. Additional evidence shows that women (25-49 years) whose first birth/marriage was before the age of 20 are less likely to be in professional /technical and managerial occupations and more likely to be engaged in agriculture with less (if any) income accruing to them. This partly confirms the hypothesis that early labour market entry limits young people from accumulating the human capital necessary to get good jobs; and often confines them to less productive and vulnerable jobs.*

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# 1. INTRODUCTION

Ugandan women, in contrast with men, continue to face significant challenges in the pursuit of decent, better paying, and productive jobs despite their increased participation in the labour market. The analysis, which is based on data from the 2012/13 Uganda National Household Survey (UNHS), reveals that labour force participation for persons aged between 15 and 24 years stood at 79.2 percent in 2012/13, but reduced to 40.1 percent when subsistence activities were excluded. A distinct gender disparity in labour force participation, which is amplified with the exclusion of subsistence activities, was also evident with respect to this group. Thus, during 2012/13, the overall labour force participation of males aged 15 to 24 years was 81 percent, which reduced to 43.6 percent when the subsistence activities of this group were excluded. The corresponding proportions in labour force participation for females were 77.5 percent and 36.9 percent respectively.

Notable gender differences also existed in employment status indicating that women were less likely to be found having high wage jobs (or running successful businesses), when compared with men, and even when they did they were often paid less. On average, the wages of males in paid employment were twice as high as those received by their female counterparts (Uganda Bureau of Statistics [UBoS], 2014).

Gender inequalities in the labour market may arise from deep-rooted social norms that limit women's choices and access to economic opportunities, and which in effect prevent women from enhancing their economic wellbeing (Kabeer, 2012). Improving access to education and adult literacy programmes are some of the key strategies that could increase women's economic empowerment in Africa (Ibid; Wekwete, 2012; UNDP, 2015). In addition, knowledge of the key associations and factors which put women at a disadvantage in the labour market can help in designing appropriate policies to change the status quo.

A testable assumption to pursue as the basis for improving women's circumstances in the labour market, for instance, is that the labour market and childbearing experiences of young women are critical in shaping their subsequent labour market experiences and economic empowerment. The lives of many women are, to a great extent, determined at an early age since many young women in Africa drop out of school too early and enter the labour market when they are not prepared. These circumstances can have a strong negative impact on the future labour market experience and earning potential of women and may even increase their vulnerability to poverty in the long run (Gracia and Fares, 2008).

The main aim of this paper is to provide a general picture of the early labour market experiences of the youth aged 15-24 years and the related changes affecting their lives. The population of Uganda increased from 24.2 million persons in 2002 to 34.6 million in 2014. According to UBoS (2016), the share of those aged 15-24 years in the total population increased from 20 percent in 2002 to 20.6 percent in 2014. Out of this group, 53 percent were females and nearly 6 percent had no formal education. In addition, three-quarters of the youth in this category were residing in rural areas.

Given the dearth of evidence on Uganda, this paper takes a descriptive approach to investigate how early labour market entrants (women in particular) perform in the labour market; how their prospects of transitioning to better jobs evolve with time; and how the labour market outcomes of this group compare with the outcomes of their counterparts with more education and who also enter the labour market at a later stage. The paper identifies the trends and other attributes of young women, which could help to explain the factors that shape their subsequent life experiences and economic empowerment. These details are juxtaposed against similar information for young men to assess the differences.

In terms of structure, Section 2 of this paper presents a discussion of related literature. Section 3 covers a critical review of the policy, legal, and regulatory frameworks and programmes and the extent to which they support smooth labour market transitions for younger women. Section 4 presents the sources of data used in the analysis followed by a discussion of the empirical results in Section 5. The conclusions are highlighted in Section 6.

# 2. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Two main strands of literature are relevant for this study; one covers school-to-work transitions (SWTs) and the other deals with female labour supply and fertility. It should be noted upfront that there is limited empirical literature on these issues as they pertain to sub-Saharan Africa because unlike the developed world, most developing countries have no compulsory school leaving age or good panel data to undertake good research on SWTs.

## 2.1 School-to-work Transitions

Young people transition to the labour market through different paths. Some individuals join the workforce directly, without the benefit of going through the formal education system. Alternatively, there are those who pass through the formal education system after which they make their entry into the labour market. In the latter case, some individuals join the labour market upon graduation, while others exit early to join the labour market without completing their education.

The analysis based on data from SWT 2013 reveals that about 47.1 percent of young Ugandans between the ages of 15 and 29 years dropped out of school, the majority (53.3 percent) of whom did not complete basic primary level education (Byamugisha *et al*., 2014). The school drop-out rates exhibit gender disparities, such that about 57 percent of young women left school before graduation or never attended school, compared with 45 percent of young men. The reasons for dropping out of school were attributed to individual, household, and community characteristics with some of these factors having different effects for boys and girls. For example, descriptive evidence from major surveys in Uganda (UNHS, Uganda National Panel Survey, SWTs) have identified economic challenges as the leading cause of school dropout among the young people, with pregnancy coming second as the most cited cause of high dropout rates among the female youth.

Econometric results from a study by Okumu *et al.* (2008) on the socio economic determinants of primary school dropout in Uganda suggest that the probability of a child dropping out of primary school reduces as one moves from rural to urban areas. Additionally, the study found that the odds of a pupil dropping out of primary school increase with distance to school. Household characteristics also seemed to influence school dropout rates such that high academic attainment of parents (both mother and father) significantly reduced chances of primary school dropout of both girls and boys in rural and urban areas. The study attributed this finding to the fact that educated parents were more aware of the possible returns on their children's education compared with uneducated parents.

Household size and age of household head were the other significant variables explaining the school dropout rates in the study. In comparison with children living in small households, children from larger households were less likely to drop out of school in a finding that was attributed to substitution for child labour. The odds ratio for age of household head was generally negative suggesting that as the age of the household head increased, the probability of a child dropping out of school reduced. Contrary to the general belief that female-headed households were more likely to experience school dropout, in this case the gender of the household head was insignificant (Ibid).

A high school dropout rate among young people predisposes them to early entry into the labour market. Yet, as noted by Garcia and Fares (2008), early labour market entry limits young people's capacity to accumulate the human capital necessary to secure good jobs. According to Byamugisha *et al.* (2014), a sizeable proportion of the 15–19 year-olds (60.1 percent) in Uganda were firmly in the labour market, in a state of complete transition, or still in transition when they should have been in school under normal circumstances. This finding is further accentuated by the prevalence of child labour, whose incidence in 2013 was 16 percent of those aged 5-17 years (UBoS, 2014). It has been indicated that today's child labourers represent the weakest part of tomorrow's adult labour force (Garcia and Fares, 2008).

## 2.2 What determines successful school-to-work transition?

Despite the fact that transitions from school to work are non-linear and not clearly defined (consist of spells

of being in and out of employment), evidence from the literature suggests that a set of known socio-economic characteristics can be used to explain differences in transition. We shall interrogate some of these characteristics in the subsequent paragraphs.

*Role of individual characteristics in school-to-work transitions:* Applying the binary logistic regression on the SWTs data for Tanzania and Togo, Elder and Kone (2014) analysed the impact of different individual characteristics of young people in their transition trajectories. They found that, *ceteris paribus*, complete transition was less likely to occur with increase in age for Tanzania, but the reverse was true for countries such as Benin and Liberia. They also found that young men were more likely to complete their transition than young women. Similarly, descriptive results from the 2013 Uganda SWTs showed that men were more likely to transition to stable/satisfactory employment compared with women (Byamugisha *et al.* 2014). Young women are less likely to achieve successful transitions[1] because they are more engrossed in domestic work and consequently have less time to work outside the home. The other factors working against young women include the fact that they are more likely to have children at an early age implying caregiving responsibilities and/or they may have siblings to care for. In addition, young women are less qualified for high paying wage jobs due to low levels of educational attainment as well as social norms that make it difficult for them to access a range of opportunities.

*The role of education in shaping transitions:* Most studies indicate that higher levels of education are associated with successful transitions or better chances of securing stable employment, which confirms the positive effects of accumulated human capital in making the transition to a decent job. For example, Parent's study (2008) in Burkina Faso found that education beyond primary level was a necessary condition for one to work beyond the household. He also found that among those with little or no schooling, the vast majority of men simply made the transition from household worker to head of household while the vast majority of women stayed in domestic work (Parent, 2008). Additionally, Elder and Kone (2014) found that compared with those who had achieved higher levels of schooling, young people who had not attended school or had only completed primary-level education were more likely to fall in the more insecure categories of self or temporary employment. These results are congruent with the 2013 SWTs descriptive results for Uganda, which showed a strong correlation between levels of education and a young person's labour market transition. Thus, the higher the level of educational attainment, the higher the likelihood of a young person completing his or her labour market transition to stable and/or satisfactory employment (Byamugisha *et al.* 2014).

*Role of the social and family background in transitions:* The financial situation of a young person's family seems to have an influence over the individual's entry into the job market and subsequent transitions. Elder and Kone (2014), for instance, found that young persons from more affluent backgrounds had a much higher probability of completing SWTs than those from poorer households. Location effect (area of residence) is yet another factor that has been used to explain disparities in the levels of transition because according to Byamugisha *et al.* (2014) and Elder and Kone (2014), being resident in an urban area is normally associated with better transitions.

## 2.3 Female labour supply and fertility

The annual population growth rate of Uganda is 3 percent (UBoS, 2016), making it one of the countries with high population growth rates in sub-Saharan Africa. The total fertility rate declined from 6.7 in 2006 to 6.2 in 2011, but this figure is still higher than the average of 5.6 for sub-Saharan Africa (Westoff *et al.,* 2013). A high fertility rate could have a bearing on a woman's ability to work because the presence of young children in a household, their number, and age are some of the variables that can be used to explain women's limited engagement in work (especially formal work) in some developing countries. This view is attributed to the fact that women are more often regarded as the primary providers of household care needs, which obviously increase with the presence of children (Longwe *et al.,* 2013). In fact, a study by Longwe *et al.* (2013) does confirm that African women work less than they would

1 http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTGENDER/0,,-contentMDK:21914520~menuPK:336910~pagePK:64020865~piPK:51164185~theSitePK:336868,00.html

wish to do due to care giving responsibilities. According to the study, the presence of more children below six years of age, and more so, if the last two children are closely spaced, is negatively associated with non-farm employment for women.

Similarly, in a modelling study to determine the labour market outcomes in Uganda, Bridges and Lawson (2008) found that for females, both the number and age of children had an effect on the likelihood of their being in wage employment. Specifically, the number of children in the household had an increasingly negative effect on the likelihood of a woman being in wage employment (relative to self-employment). Thus, the probability of wage employment declined from 10 percent to 3 percent for a woman in a household with one child and one in a household with five or more children respectively. In addition, both the number of 0–5 year-olds in the household and the dependency ratio further decreased women's probability of being in wage employment relative to self-employment (Ibid). Conversely, Solomon and Kimmel (2009) found that in Ethiopia female labour supply and fertility did not have an inverse relationship. They attributed their findings to the persistence of traditional extended family structures where a mother was not necessarily forced to leave the workforce because other family members and elder children would be available to help in taking care of an additional child.

*Gaps in existing literature:* By and large, the extent to which early labour experiences affect later labour opportunities for young people (in particular women) has not been rigorously studied in sub-Saharan Africa, and in Uganda particularly. Yet, as pointed out in the review, the way in which SWTs ensue may significantly affect one's future working life with long-term impact on the socio-economic status of an individual. This paper sought to contribute to the existing evidence by empirically examining how early labour market experiences impact future labour market outcomes for young women in Uganda. Likewise, evidence of the effect of fertility on labour market participation by women in developing countries is scanty and inconclusive hence the need for this study to fill this gap.

As explored in the previous sections, issues of gender, education, and fertility are critical in explaining the labour market transitions among young people. In the next section, we explore the existing policies and strategies in Uganda and their potential for addressing the difficult and prolonged labour market transitions among Ugandan youth with particular emphasis on the female youth.

# 3. POLICY, LEGAL AND REGULATORY FRAMEWORKS AND PROGRAMMES

Recognising that men and women experience development in different ways due to their status and positioning in society and the economy, the government of Uganda has implemented a range of policies and programmes to empower women to participate as equal partners in development. The policy and programme interventions are aimed at supporting women's access to productive resources; increasing access to basic education, secondary, and higher education for the girl child; increasing budget allocations to primary health care and reproductive health; and increasing women's access to credit facilities and business training among other benefits. Moreover, the 1995 Constitution of the Republic of Uganda (amended in 2005) provides for equality of men and women and calls for affirmative action where such equality does not exist (see Box 1).

Box 1: **The Constitution and gender**

*Article 33 of the Constitution states that:*
*(2) The State shall provide the facilities and opportunities necessary to enhance the welfare of women to enable them to realize their full potential and advancement,*
*3) The State shall protect women and their rights, taking into account their unique status and natural maternal functions in society,*
*(4) Women shall have the right to equal treatment with men and that rights shall include equal opportunities in political, economic and social activities,*
*(5) . . . women shall have the right to affirmative action for the purpose of redressing the imbalances created by history, tradition and custom.*

Source: 1995 Constitution of the Republic of Uganda

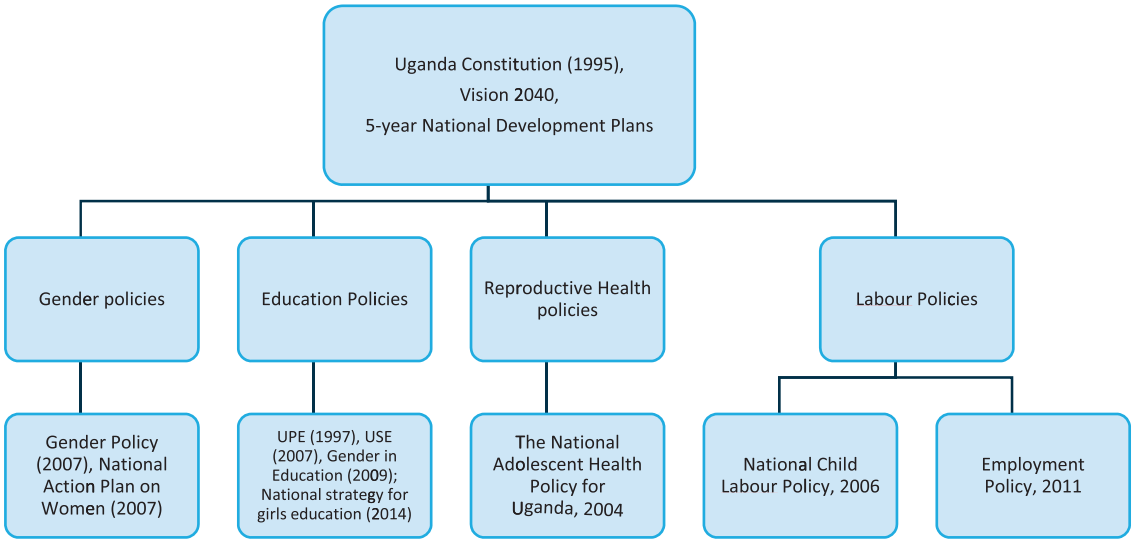
Furthermore, Vision 2040, which is an overarching plan to transform Uganda from a low-income country to upper middle-income status by 2040, recognises that women are lagging behind in the development process due to socio-cultural factors and stresses that for this reason "deliberate effort will be made to enable women to equally participate in education and skills development, business, agriculture and industry as well as their equal political representation at all levels among other development aspects" (GoU 2012, p.97). The government of Uganda hopes to achieve this goal through gender responsive regulatory frameworks, including policies, programmes, and actions.

In congruence, the second National Development Plan (NDP II) for the period 2015/16-2019/20 lays emphasis on the promotion of gender equality and women's empowerment in the development process through mainstreaming gender and rights in policies and sector as well as local government plans (GoU, 2015). According to the plan, some of the actions will include promoting women's economic empowerment through entrepreneurship skills, provision of incentives, and enhancing women's participation in decision making at all levels. Based on the categorisation of the policies as per Figure 1, the next section will examine selected existing policies and how they foster women's empowerment in the labour market.

## 3.1 Gender policies

In order to implement the aforementioned gender-related clauses of the Constitution, the National Gender Policy (NGP) 2007 and the National Action Plan on Women (NAPW) 2007 were also formulated. Uganda adopted the NGP in 1997 and amended the

Figure 1: **Existing policies and programmes to support women's empowerment**




Source: Authors' own classification, 2016.

same in 2007. Broadly, the main objective of the NGP is to mainstream gender concerns in national development processes through guiding the process of resource allocation in all sectors to address gender inequality. The policy aims at ensuring that all policies and programmes, in all areas and at all levels, are consistent with the long-term goal of eliminating gender inequalities (Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development [MoGLSD], 2007).

One of the outcomes of the gender-mainstreaming policy is the increased attention directed towards implementation of programmes that have direct or indirect benefits to both women and men across the different sectors (e.g. health, education, and water among others). The aim of the National Action Plan on Women is to support the implementation of the NGP. The strategic objectives of the NAPW include the elimination of socio-cultural practices that endanger the health of women, sensitisation of communities about the importance of girl child education; and initiation of educational programmes on positive and negative social cultural practices. However, a lot still needs to be done to ensure gender equality across the entire socio-economic spectrum.

### 3.2 Education policies

Over time, the government of Uganda through the Ministry of Education and Sports (MoES) has put in place several policies and strategies for the purpose of improving access to education for all (including boys and girls). The education policies include, among others, the Universal Primary Education (UPE) Policy 1997, Universal Secondary Education (USE) Policy 2007, and the Gender in Education Policy 2009. The UPE policy was introduced to provide free and compulsory primary education for all children in the country thereby counteracting prejudices against sending girls to school. Although the UPE policy has registered significant progress in improving enrolment figures, the education sector is still grappling with the challenges of retention, completion, and provision of quality education. In fact, Uganda was unable to meet MDG Goal 2 (target 2A) of ensuring that by 2015 all children, boys and girls alike, would be able to complete a full course of primary schooling (Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development [MoFPED], 2015). Gender disparities have largely been eliminated at primary level, but they still persist in post-primary education where more boys than girls are likely to transition from primary to higher levels of education. It is for this reason that the USE was introduced in 2007 to ensure access to secondary education for both girls and boys. In order to reduce the disadvantage experienced by females in tertiary education, an affirmative action policy was put in place, which provides for extra 1.5 points for girls to facilitate their admission to public universities as a way of compensating for the disadvantages they experience in the course of education. In addition, the Gender in Education Policy of 2009 was developed to further ensure the elimination of barriers that keep the girl child out of school including the gender inequalities that exist at various levels of education (MoES, 2009).

### 3.3 Labour policies

The two important labour policies in this context are the National Employment Policy (NEP) for Uganda 2011 and the National Child Labour Policy (NCLP) 2006. In cognisance of the underutilised potential of women in the labour market, the aim of the NEP is to generate "productive and decent employment for all women and men in conditions of freedom, equity, security and human dignity" (MoGLSD, 2011, p.23). The NEP is aimed at addressing disparities in access to employment and working conditions thereby promoting equality of opportunity between women and men. In this respect, the NEP acknowledges the challenges faced by females in the labour market by highlighting the following issues: *i*) women constitute the majority of farmers and unpaid workers since they constitute most of the unpaid economy; *ii*) there is a sharp segregation of women into low paying sectors and in all sectors these women are paid less than the wage for males; and *iii*) unequal access to education restricts women to sectors with low productivity and low wages (ibid).

The aim of having the NEP is to address the above challenges through strategies for promoting and creating decent jobs for both men and women. The proposed strategies include implementation of the provisions on education and training in the NGP as well as recruitment and promotion in employment of both women and men in all sectors. The policy

also supports the collection and dissemination of gender-disaggregated data as an important means of monitoring the employment situation, trends, and inequalities and subsequently putting in place appropriate interventions. The MoGLSD takes the lead in the implementation of this policy, which cuts across different sectors.

The NCLP was formulated to guard against child labour, as an indication of the acknowledgement by the government of Uganda that child labour violates the dignity of children and hinders the realisation of development goals. The policy highlights the vulnerability of children engaged in farming, fishing, cattle keeping, quarrying, and domestic work as child labourers. It argues that the likely effect of prematurely engaging children in work as child labourers is likely to have adverse effects on their education. Additionally, the policy acknowledges that both boys and girls are affected by child labour, but girls have special vulnerabilities because cultural attitudes tend to give preference to the education of boys thereby exposing the "out of school" girls to child labour. Moreover, girls are more likely to be victims of early marriage, which subjects them to responsibilities of motherhood and exploitation as clear forms of child labour. The policy, hence, outlines preventive, protective, and rehabilitative interventions to circumvent the problem of child labour in Uganda (MoGLSD, 2006). Similar to the NEP, the MoGLSD takes the lead in the implementation of the national child labour policy.

### 3.4 Reproductive health policies

The National Adolescent Health Policy for Uganda 2004 was aimed at addressing the fact that Uganda's population is generally youthful with the majority of the people being below the age of 30 years. The government found it necessary to put in place a policy for mainstreaming adolescent health concerns in the national development process. The policy acknowledges that decisions made during adolescence are likely to have lasting impact on one's adult life, hence the need to guide adolescents in making sound decisions. In particular, the policy singles out the fact that gender differences which are observed later in life begin from childhood. The policy further notes that compared with boys, young girls are disadvantaged in terms of access to education, economic opportunities, health, personal security, and leisure time. Some of the reproductive health targets highlighted therein include delaying first child births and raising the age at first birth to 18 years for females. The readmission of adolescent mothers back into the education system is another target of the policy.

Despite the existence of the various policies and programmes aimed at empowering women, challenges have persisted. For instance, commendable progress has been made in improving gender equality in education, health, and access to economic opportunities, but observable differences still exist between females and males. One commonality in the various policies analysed is a realisation of the need for research and gender disaggregated data to help track progress and address gaps in the implementation of policy provisions. This study is, therefore, well-placed to identify the extent to which early labour market and fertility experiences for women portend consequences for later outcomes.

## 4. DATA

There is no single data source available, which could cover all the relevant variables addressed by this study. Consequently, the study used data from two nationally representative surveys conducted by UBoS, namely the Uganda SWTs of 2013 and 2015 and the Uganda Demographic and Health Survey (UDHS) datasets of 2006 and 2011. The two data points from each data source provide an opportunity to investigate changes in the variables of interest over time.

The SWTs 2013 and 2015 were conducted using the same survey design and instruments (with some minor modifications). A two-stage stratified sampling design was used in both cases. In the first stage, enumeration areas (EAs) were grouped by rural/urban location, after which samples were drawn using the probability proportional to size. In total 160 EAs were selected from rural areas and 40 EAs from urban areas based on the 2012 Uganda Population and Housing Census mapping frame.

In the second stage of sampling, 15 households per EA were selected using systematic random sampling. The surveys were implemented by UBoS as part of a global effort by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) to investigate school transitions in 28 developing countries. The survey provides data on demographics (age, gender, and marital status), parents' education and occupation, and several labour market indicators (e.g. unemployment, work histories [e.g. first job characteristics], labour force status, earnings, hours worked, the type of work undertaken, and employer characteristics). For the purposes of this paper, the analysis focuses on completed questionnaires and only usual members[2]. Accordingly, this leaves us with 2,332 individuals from 1,504 households in the 2013 survey and 2,046 individuals from 1,298 households in the 2015 survey.

Notwithstanding its richness in labour market information, SWTs does not cover detailed information on fertility decisions. The report draws on the UDHS data for the latter information. The UDHS is implemented by UBoS and provides information on demographic, health, and family planning status. In particular, the UDHS collects information on fertility levels, marriage, sexual activity, breastfeeding practices, and awareness and use of family planning methods. The 2011 UDHS covered 10,086 households and the population and health indicator estimates based on this particular dataset are representative of the national level as well as for urban and rural areas separately. The survey covered all women aged 15-49 years who were either permanent residents of the sampled households or visitors who had slept in the sampled households on the night before the survey. It is worth noting that all UDHS surveys share a similar sampling frame and survey instruments, and hence are comparable across time. The UDHS surveys are particularly informative for this paper in relation to fertility issues (age at first pregnancy, age at first marriage, number of children, etc.).

2 A usual member was defined as a person who had lived in the household for six months or more within the last 12 months leading to the survey. However, a member who had moved to stay in the household permanently was included as a usual member, even though he/she had lived in the household for less than six months. Furthermore, any child (ren) born to a usual member on any date during the last 12 months leading to the survey was also considered as a usual member.

### *Description of variables*

**Age**: Both surveys captured age as a continuous variable in terms of number of years completed. As mentioned earlier, this paper focuses on persons between 15 and 24 years of age. In the analysis, this group is further divided into a teenage group aged between 15 and 19 years and an older persons group aged between 20 and 24 years. The other age-related variables considered include the formal school leaving age as well as the age at which an individual joins the labour market. The survey required the respondent to indicate the date when they completed their formal education/training. The difference between this date and date of birth gave the age at which an individual left school (school leaving age). Additionally, the respondents were required to respond to the question, "when did you start your first employment experience or when did you start looking for a job?" The difference between this date and date of birth was taken as the age of first looking for a job. In both cases, age outliers were controlled.

**Education**: The paper used two education indicators, namely education attendance and educational attainment as at the time of the survey. The data on education attendance captured an individual's schooling status whereas the data on educational attainment captured the highest level of schooling completed. The Uganda school going ages by education cycle are as follows: primary 1 to 7 (age 6–12 years); senior secondary S1–S6 (age 13 – 18 years) and university education 3–5 years (age 19–24 years).

**Marital status:** Respondents were requested to indicate their marital status based on six choices. This paper, however, collapsed the choices into three mutually exclusive categories as follows: single (single/never married), married (engaged to be married, married religiously/culturally/traditionally, or cohabiting), and separated (separated/divorced or widowed).

**Household welfare indicator**: The measurement and monitoring of poverty in Uganda is mainly based on consumption expenditure as a proxy for permanent income (see Deaton, 1997). However, neither the SWTs nor UDHS data contain information on household consumption expenditure. Instead, we adopted the

asset-based wealth indicator derived from the UDHS data by UBoS;[3] and the respondent's perception of his/her household's overall financial situation based on the SWTs data. In the latter case, the respondents were requested to describe their households' overall financial situations. Irrespective of the survey data, this variable was categorised into poor and non-poor. Based on the SWTs data, the poor include those with responses of *fairly poor* and *poor*, whereas the non-poor category includes responses such as *well-off, fairly well-off,* and *average*. On the other hand, all those households with the wealth index of *poorest* and *poorer* were categorised as poor, whereas those with index *middle, richer,* and *richest* were categorised as non-poor.

**Place of residence/location**: This was captured as rural and urban areas. The urban area included urban and peri-urban areas.

**First activity status**: The labour market analysis focused on the nature and characteristics of the first activity status. The respondents were divided into those that were still in their first activity (hereafter referred to as *same activity)* and those who had since changed the first activity to another (hereafter referred to as *changed activity*).

While the focus of the paper is female youth, a comparative analysis with male youth in similar situations is also undertaken through bivariate analysis. In addition, the analyses compare youth by gender from non-poor and poor households and from urban and rural areas. The analysis in the subsequent section does not include the "not stated" category and is at individual level, unless otherwise stated. Throughout the paper, the estimates with coefficient of variations (CVs) higher than 20% are only highlights and are excluded from the discussion of the results. We employ the simple *t*-statistic, where possible, to test the gender gaps and changes over time. We also comment on the associations between key variables where possible. The analysis presented in section 5 is largely based on SWTs datasets. Only section 5.4 on marriage and fertility is based on the UDHS datasets. All estimates are weighted based on the sample weights provided by UBoS for the respective survey.

3 This paper uses the already available asset index computed by UBoS based on the respective UDHS datasets.

# 5. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This section begins by exploring the extent to which females in different age groups were actually attending school, the nature of first jobs for young females, and the fertility experiences of the group. These indicators were analysed in relation to their effect on later labour market outcomes.

## 5.1 Demographic and social characteristics

Considering the entire sample of the youth aged 15-24 years, the proportion of females increased from 50.8 percent in 2013 to 53.1 percent in 2015. Over the same period, the proportion of the youth living in rural areas reduced from 77.6 percent to 73.7 percent; the proportion of those living in poor households reduced from 60.7 percent to 55.6 percent; and the proportion of teenagers reduced from 59.1 percent to 55.4 percent.

The average number of youths per household remained at 1.6 over the two-year period with no significant changes observed between the poor and non-poor households. This result was also true for urban/rural areas. We, however, noted significant differences by age group within and across the two survey points. Thus, the average number of youths per household for the teenage group reduced from 1.6 in 2013 to 1.4 in 2015; whereas for the older youth group the average number increased significantly from 1.5 to 1.7 between the two years. Accordingly, the share of the older youth group increased from 40.9 percent in 2013 to 44.6 percent in 2015. A plausible explanation is that the observed changes were in agreement with the changes in Uganda's population structure. For instance, the share of those aged 20-24 years in the overall population increased from 8.9 percent in 2002 to 9.2 percent in 2014 (UBoS, 2016).

Table 1 presents the distribution of the youth by sex controlled for location, poverty status, and marital status. The table reveals that regardless of gender and survey year, a higher proportion of the youth resided in rural areas, they were likely to be living in poor households, and were younger and more likely to be

single. The likelihood of residing in the rural areas was higher among the males compared with their female counterparts. This observation can be explained partly by the migration patterns as depicted in Figure 2. The main reasons for migration in order of magnitude were marriage followed by "accompanying family", work, and education. While there seemed to have been a decreasing trend in the proportion of the youth residing in rural areas as shown in Table 1, the reduction was greater among females (of 6.8 percentage) compared with males for whom a decline of less than one percent was registered. Disaggregating the youth by age group, the likelihood of residing in rural areas reduced with age such that 78 percent of those in the teenage group were found in the rural areas compared with 69 percent of those in the older group in 2015.

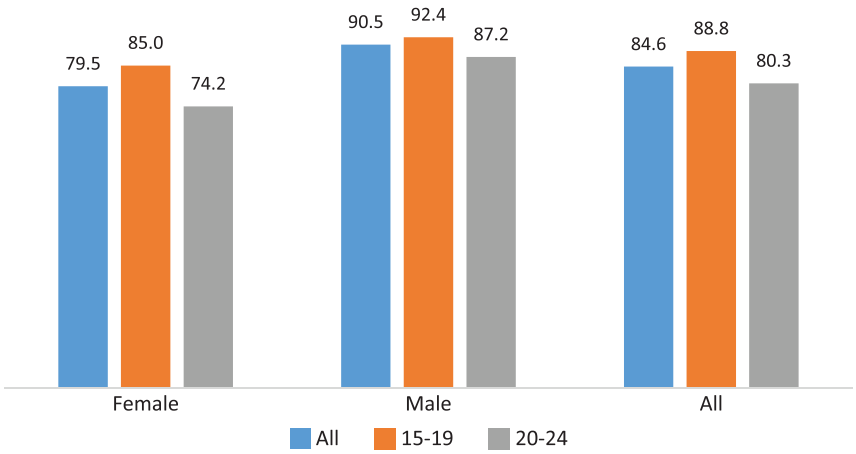
Generally, there was improvement in the standard of living, with the incidence of poverty reducing from 60.7 percent in 2013 to 55.6 percent in 2015. The gender gap, however, was widening with more females increasingly residing in non-poor households between the two years, which could be explained partly by the observed changes among the older youth population. Turning to marital status, while the male youth were more likely to be single relative to their female counterparts, there were no significant changes in this factor over the two-year period. However, significant differences existed by age group, with nine in every ten teenagers being single compared with nearly five in every ten from the older youth category.

Table 1: **Demographic and social characteristics by sex (%)**

| | 2013 | | | 2015 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Females** | **Males** | **All** | **Females** | **Males** | **All** |
| *Place of residence* | | | | | | |
| Rural | 77.2 | 78.0 | 77.6 | 70.4 | 77.4 | 73.7 |
| Urban | 22.8 | 22.0 | 22.4 | 29.6 | 22.6 | 26.3 |
| *Poverty status* | | | | | | |
| Non-poor | 40.7 | 37.9 | 39.3 | 46.2 | 42.5 | 44.4 |
| Poor | 59.3 | 62.1 | 60.7 | 53.8 | 57.5 | 55.6 |
| *Marital status* | | | | | | |
| Never married | 57.3 | 85.0 | 70.9 | 59.0 | 84.8 | 71.1 |
| Married | 38.0 | 13.7 | 26.0 | 38.8 | 14.9 | 27.6 |
| Separated/divorced | 4.7 | 1.3 | 3.0 | 2.1 | 0.3 | 1.3 |
| *Age group:* | | | | | | |
| 15-19 years | 57.0 | 61.3 | 59.1 | 52.1 | 59.1 | 55.4 |
| 20 – 24 years | 43.0 | 38.7 | 40.9 | 47.9 | 40.9 | 44.6 |
| **15 - 19 years** | | | | | | |
| *Place of residence* | | | | | | |
| Rural | 80.3 | 79.5 | 79.9 | 73.5 | 81.4 | 77.5 |
| Urban | 19.7 | 20.5 | 20.1 | 26.5 | 18.6 | 22.5 |
| *Poverty status* | | | | | | |
| Non-poor | 39.6 | 34.4 | 36.9 | 41.9 | 38.0 | 40.0 |
| Poor | 60.4 | 65.6 | 63.1 | 58.1 | 62.0 | 60.0 |
| *Marital status* | | | | | | |
| Never married | 80.0 | 98.0 | 89.3 | 84.2 | 97.7 | 91.0 |
| Married | 19.0 | 1.7 | 10.1 | 15.0 | 2.3 | 8.6 |
| Separated/divorced | 1.1 | 0.3 | 0.7 | 0.8 | 0.0 | 0.4 |
| **20-24 years** | | | | | | |
| *Place of residence* | | | | | | |
| Rural | 73.2 | 75.5 | 74.3 | 66.9 | 71.7 | 69.0 |
| Urban | 26.8 | 24.5 | 25.7 | 33.1 | 28.3 | 31.0 |
| *Poverty status* | | | | | | |
| Non-poor | 42.0 | 43.4 | 42.7 | 50.9 | 48.9 | 50.0 |
| Poor | 58.0 | 56.6 | 57.3 | 49.1 | 51.1 | 50.0 |
| *Marital status* | | | | | | |
| Never married | 28.1 | 64.4 | 44.9 | 31.6 | 66.1 | 46.5 |
| Married | 62.6 | 32.6 | 48.6 | 64.8 | 33.1 | 51.2 |
| Separated/divorced | 9.4 | 3.0 | 6.4 | 3.5 | 0.7 | 2.3 |
| *Total* | *100.0* | *100.0* | *100.0* | *100.0* | *100.0* | *100.0* |

Source: Author's computations based on SWT 2013 and 2015.

Figure 2: **Share of youth that have always lived in the same administrative area by age group in 2015 (%)**




## 5.2 Education

Education provides the knowledge, skills, values, attitudes, and behaviours that are consistent with human rights principles. It is one of the major inputs into human development in terms of building human capabilities (UNDP 2015, p.42).

### 5.2.1 Educational attendance

The education indicators were not impressive despite the implementation of UPE and USE programmes and other reforms to support improved access to education. The results in Table 2 reveal that a higher share of the male youth, compared with the female youth, were attending formal education, but the reverse was observed for early school exit before graduation. Notably, the results revealed significant wastage (or inefficiencies) in Uganda's education system.

Generally, many teenagers (nearly six out of every ten) were attending school, but regardless of gender, the share of the youth attending school declined between the two time periods. This finding corroborates other studies on Uganda (see, for example, UNDP, 2015). The gender gap among those attending school remained constant with some exceptions. Thus, the gap between males and females attending school widened for the youth living in non-poor households from 13.5 percentage points in 2013 to 16.7 percentage points in 2015. In contrast, the gender gap in school attendance reduced for those living in poor households from 15.4 percentage points in 2013 to 12.1 percentage points in 2015 largely because of changes in the teenage group. The decline in the number of those attending school at the time of the survey was higher among males for the youth residing in poor households and those in the teenage group.

Nearly half of the female youth dropped out before completing the education cycle. This is a worrying trend because at this age the youth are expected to still be in school. The incidence of dropping out of school was higher among the female youth, probably due to early marriage as will be discussed later. Notwithstanding this, the share of the female youth leaving without completing the education cycle reduced slightly over the two-year period from 52.7 percent in 2013 to 50.7 percent in 2015. In contrast, the proportion of the male youth who did not complete the education cycle increased from 38.3 percent to 41 percent in the same period. This occurrence, to a great extent, led to an artificial narrowing of the gender gap over time. Nonetheless, the incidence of those who did not complete the education cycle remained higher among the female youth even though there was a decline in the gender gap (with the exception of those living in non-poor households). Lastly, the gender gap in school attendance was apparently wider, but all the same narrowing with time, between the youth in rural and urban areas and those in the poor and non-poor households. It should also be noted that the gender gap reduced with age. An issue of major concern was that more than 70 percent of the female youth left school before graduation and this problem will certainly impact their future economic opportunities.

Table 2: **Educational attendance by sex (%)**

| | 2013 | | | 2015 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Females | Males | All | Females | Males | All |
| *All* | | | | | | |
| No formal education | 3.0 | 2.8 | 2.9 | 6.9 | 3.8 | 5.5 |
| Currently attending school | 38.8 | 53.3 | 46.0 | 35.8 | 49.6 | 42.3 |
| Completed school | 5.5 | 5.6 | 5.5 | 6.6 | 5.6 | 6.1 |
| Left before completion | 52.7 | 38.3 | 45.6 | 50.7 | 41.0 | 46.1 |
| *Urban* | | | | | | |
| No formal education | 1.7 | 1.3 | 1.5 | 1.5 | 0.0 | 0.9 |
| Currently attending school | 39.3 | 52.6 | 45.7 | 36.9 | 49.7 | 42.1 |
| Completed school | 8.4 | 7.6 | 8.0 | 12.3 | 10.4 | 11.6 |
| Left before completion | 50.6 | 38.5 | 44.8 | 49.3 | 39.9 | 45.5 |
| *Rural* | | | | | | |
| No formal education | 3.4 | 3.2 | 3.3 | 9.2 | 4.9 | 7.1 |
| Currently attending school | 38.6 | 53.5 | 46.0 | 35.3 | 49.6 | 42.4 |
| Completed school | 4.6 | 5.0 | 4.8 | 4.2 | 4.2 | 4.2 |
| Left before completion | 53.4 | 38.2 | 45.8 | 51.3 | 41.3 | 46.4 |
| *Non-poor* | | | | | | |
| No formal education | 1.5 | 0.7 | 1.1 | 3.3 | 1.5 | 2.5 |
| Currently attending school | 41.5 | 55.1 | 47.9 | 39.0 | 55.7 | 46.5 |
| Completed school | 8.1 | 8.2 | 8.1 | 9.2 | 7.6 | 8.5 |
| Left before completion | 48.9 | 36.1 | 42.9 | 48.5 | 35.3 | 42.6 |
| *Poor* | | | | | | |
| No formal education | 4.2 | 4.1 | 4.1 | 10.0 | 5.5 | 7.8 |
| Currently attending school | 36.9 | 52.2 | 44.7 | 33.1 | 45.2 | 39.0 |
| Completed school | 3.6 | 4.0 | 3.8 | 4.4 | 4.1 | 4.3 |
| Left before completion | 55.3 | 39.7 | 47.4 | 52.5 | 45.2 | 48.9 |
| *15 - 19 years* | | | | | | |
| No formal education | 2.3 | 2.6 | 2.5 | 7.9 | 4.1 | 6.0 |
| Currently attending school | 59.1 | 69.9 | 64.7 | 57.7 | 65.2 | 61.4 |
| Completed school | 2.1 | 2.0 | 2.0 | 2.7 | 1.2 | 1.9 |
| Left before completion | 36.5 | 25.4 | 30.8 | 31.7 | 29.6 | 30.6 |
| *20-24 years* | | | | | | |
| No formal education | 3.9 | 3.1 | 3.5 | 5.8 | 3.4 | 4.8 |
| Currently attending school | 12.5 | 27.2 | 19.3 | 12.0 | 27.2 | 18.5 |
| Completed school | 9.9 | 11.2 | 10.5 | 10.8 | 12.0 | 11.3 |
| Left before completion | 73.7 | 58.5 | 66.6 | 71.4 | 57.4 | 65.4 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Notes: Highlighted estimates have CV greater than 20%, hence they need to be interpreted with caution.

Source: Author's computations based on SWTs 2013 and 2015.

The high incidence of young people leaving school before graduation, despite government support, requires an examination of the possible reasons for the occurrence. Like other previous studies on Uganda, the cost of education (captured as economic reasons in the questionnaire) was one of the most commonly cited reasons for dropping out of school by both females and males, although more males than females seemed to have been affected by the problem (Table 3). While the gender gap for school dropout rates reduced for those living in urban areas and poor households; it increased for those living in rural areas and non-poor households.

The incidence of those citing economic reasons as the cause of early exit from school was reducing faster among the male youth living in urban areas and poor households, but reducing faster among the female youth living in rural areas and non-poor households.

Pregnancy was the second contributor to the dropout rates among the female youth, which partly explains the high share of young women leaving school prior to graduation. Female youth resident in rural areas were more likely to drop out of school due to pregnancy, whereas those in urban areas were more likely to do so because of economic reasons.

Dropping out of school predisposes the youth to early entry into the labour market. Garcia and Fares (2008) have indicated that early labour market entry limits Africans from accumulating the human capital necessary to get good jobs. How then is the situation in Uganda? An analysis of the average school leaving age highlighted the fact that many youths left school early and subsequently entered the labour market. As shown in Table 4, the average school leaving age nationally reduced marginally from 15.9 years in 2013 to 15.7 years in 2015, but this reduction was not statistically significant. Regardless of social grouping by sex, notable significant changes were observed in the age at which the youth left formal education. The only exception was noted among the youth residing in rural areas for whom the average age of leaving school reduced from 15.7 years in 2013 to 15.3 years in 2015. This drop was driven by the significant drop among the female teenagers. Overall, these results imply that the youth left formal education at an early age. Assuming that other factors remained constant, the youth at this age would have been attending Senior Three, but instead they left school when they were ill-equipped for the labour market.

Table 3: **Reasons for dropping out of school by sex (%)**

| | 2013 | | 2015 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Reasons** | **Females** | **Males** | **Females** | **Males** |
| *All* | | | | |
| Economic reasons | 58.8 | 68.8 | 54.2 | 60.3 |
| Pregnancy | 15.0 | 0.4 | 14.3 | 0.5 |
| Others | 26.2 | 30.8 | 31.6 | 39.3 |
| *Rural* | | | | |
| Economic reasons | 56.7 | 65.3 | 49.9 | 58.8 |
| Pregnancy | 15.1 | 0.3 | 15.5 | 0.6 |
| Others | 28.2 | 34.4 | 34.6 | 40.6 |
| *Urban* | | | | |
| Economic reasons | 66.2 | 81.3 | 64.8 | 65.5 |
| Pregnancy | 14.5 | 1.0 | 11.1 | 0.0 |
| Others | 19.3 | 17.7 | 24.1 | 34.5 |
| *Non-poor* | | | | |
| Economic reasons | 60.6 | 67.1 | 54.2 | 62.6 |
| Pregnancy | 16.2 | 0.6 | 14.6 | 0.0 |
| Others | 23.2 | 32.3 | 31.1 | 37.4 |
| *Poor* | | | | |
| Economic reasons | 57.5 | 69.7 | 53.9 | 59.0 |
| Pregnancy | 14.3 | 0.3 | 14.0 | 0.7 |
| Others | 28.2 | 30.0 | 32.1 | 40.3 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Notes: Highlighted estimates have CV greater than 20%. Hence need to be interpreted with caution.

Source: Authors' computations based on SWT 2013 and 2015.

Table 4: **Average age of leaving formal education by sex (%)**

| | 2013 | | | 2015 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Females | Males | All | Females | Males | All |
| All | 15.7 | 16.1 | 15.9 | 15.6 | 15.8 | 15.7 |
| | | | | | | |
| Rural | 15.7 | 15.9 | 15.8 | 15.3 | 15.7 | 15.4 |
| Urban | 15.8 | 16.6 | 16.1 | 16.3 | 16.0 | 16.2 |
| | | | | | | |
| Non-poor | 16.3 | 16.6 | 16.4 | 15.8 | 16.1 | 15.9 |
| Poor | 15.3 | 15.8 | 15.5 | 15.4 | 15.6 | 15.5 |
| | | | | | | |
| 15-19 | 15.1 | 14.6 | 14.9 | 14.7 | 14.7 | 14.7 |
| 20-24 | 16.1 | 17.0 | 16.5 | *16.0* | *16.4* | 16.2 |

Source: Authors' computations based on SWTs 2013 and 2015.

### 5.2.2 Educational attainment

In this section, we present results of the highest level of education attained by the youth at the time of the survey. As pointed out earlier, education is an important asset for enhancing young people's capabilities and productivity. The discussion will focus on the highest educational achievement for individuals who were out of school and those who were in school at the time of the survey. The results are presented in Table 5. Nearly half of the youth had no education or never completed the primary education cycle. This situation can be attributed to high school dropout rates and early entry into the labour market. It also implies that nearly half of the young people in Uganda lacked the basic skills needed to be competitive in the labour force. The results also showed marked disparities by rural/urban residence.

Within each survey year, regardless of gender, the proportion of the youth with no formal education or with less than primary education achievement was high among those residing in poor households and rural areas. As would be expected, the likelihood of achieving at least some secondary education was high among the youth in non-poor households and urban areas. It was further noted that the proportion of the youth with at least some secondary education among the poor households was almost half that of the youth residing in non-poor households. The gender gap focusing on those individuals with some secondary education was wider among the older youth compared to the teenage youth; and reduced among those living in urban areas (non-poor households) but increased for those residing in rural areas (poor households).

Over time, the proportion of female youth with less than primary education achievement increased from 50.2 percent in 2013 to 53.1 percent in 2015. The corresponding estimates for their male counterparts were 48.9 percent and 50.8 percent respectively. This trend was driven by an increase in the proportions of those living in rural areas and poor households. In other words, the observed reduction in the proportion of the youth living in urban areas and non-poor households was not large enough to overturn the increases in the share with less than primary education noted at national level. The observed reduction in the proportion of the youth with at least secondary education from 36.4 percent in 2013 to 34.1 percent in 2015, was driven largely by changes among the female youth.

Table 5 further reveals that the share of the population with at least some secondary education was rather low for a country that is aspiring to be a middle-income country by 2020. The share of those with at least some secondary education remained at about 37 percent and was dominated by males. There was a strong urban bias, regardless of gender, indicating a more than twofold difference with the rural areas. Similarly, an income bias was evident. Controlling for the "currently in school" status, the results (not presented in the table but available upon request) suggested a life cycle dimension – with those currently in school accounting for a higher share of the youth with at least secondary

Table 5: **Educational attainment by sex (%)**

| | 15-19 years | | | 20-24 years | | | All | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Level** | **Females** | **Males** | **All** | **Females** | **Males** | **All** | **Females** | **Males** |
| **2013** | | | | | | | | |
| *All* | | | | | | | | |
| No school/some primary | 51.5 | 54.3 | 52.9 | 48.6 | 39.6 | 44.5 | 50.2 | 48.9 |
| Completed primary | 13.8 | 11.4 | 12.6 | 16.2 | 16.6 | 16.4 | 14.8 | 13.3 |
| At least some secondary | 34.7 | 34.3 | 34.5 | 35.3 | 43.8 | 39.2 | 35.0 | 37.8 |
| *Urban* | | | | | | | | |
| No school/some primary | 39.0 | 38.7 | 38.8 | 32.8 | 23.1 | 28.7 | 35.9 | 32.3 |
| Completed primary | 11.7 | 11.1 | 11.4 | 9.3 | 19.4 | 13.6 | 10.5 | 14.5 |
| At least some secondary | 49.3 | 50.2 | 49.8 | 57.9 | 57.5 | 57.7 | 53.6 | 53.2 |
| *Rural* | | | | | | | | |
| No school/some primary | 54.6 | 58.2 | 56.4 | 54.2 | 44.6 | 49.7 | 54.5 | 53.3 |
| Completed primary | 14.3 | 11.5 | 12.8 | 18.7 | 15.8 | 17.3 | 16.1 | 13.0 |
| At least some secondary | 31.1 | 30.4 | 30.7 | 27.1 | 39.6 | 33.0 | 29.5 | 33.7 |
| *Non-poor* | | | | | | | | |
| No school/some primary | 33.7 | 49.5 | 41.2 | 39.7 | 34.4 | 37.2 | 36.3 | 43.2 |
| Completed primary | 17.8 | 7.1 | 12.7 | 14.3 | 15.7 | 15.0 | 16.3 | 10.7 |
| At least some secondary | 48.5 | 43.4 | 46.1 | 46.1 | 49.9 | 47.8 | 47.5 | 46.1 |
| *Poor* | | | | | | | | |
| No school/some primary | 63.3 | 56.9 | 59.9 | 54.7 | 43.4 | 49.5 | 59.7 | 52.3 |
| Completed primary | 11.1 | 13.7 | 12.5 | 17.6 | 17.2 | 17.5 | 13.8 | 14.9 |
| At least some secondary | 25.6 | 29.4 | 27.6 | 27.7 | 39.4 | 33.1 | 26.5 | 32.8 |
| **2015** | | | | | | | | |
| *All* | | | | | | | | |
| No school/some primary | 58.8 | 59.6 | 59.2 | 46.8 | 38.1 | 43.1 | 53.1 | 50.8 |
| Completed primary | 8.6 | 7.3 | 7.9 | 24.0 | 18.0 | 21.4 | 16.0 | 11.6 |
| At least some secondary | 32.6 | 33.2 | 32.9 | 29.2 | 43.9 | 35.5 | 31.0 | 37.6 |
| *Urban* | | | | | | | | |
| No school/some primary | 33.4 | 29.5 | 31.8 | 23.1 | 17.2 | 20.8 | 27.9 | 23.2 |
| Completed primary | 10.3 | 9.7 | 10.1 | 26.1 | 21.4 | 24.3 | 18.8 | 15.7 |
| At least some secondary | 56.3 | 60.8 | 58.1 | 50.8 | 61.3 | 54.9 | 53.3 | 61.1 |
| *Rural* | | | | | | | | |
| No school/some primary | 67.9 | 66.5 | 67.2 | 58.5 | 46.3 | 53.1 | 63.7 | 58.8 |
| Completed primary | 8.0 | 6.7 | 7.3 | 22.9 | 16.6 | 20.1 | 14.8 | 10.5 |
| At least some secondary | 24.0 | 26.9 | 25.5 | 18.5 | 37.1 | 26.8 | 21.5 | 30.7 |
| *Non-poor* | | | | | | | | |
| No school/some primary | 44.8 | 38.0 | 41.5 | 31.8 | 28.1 | 30.2 | 37.9 | 33.3 |
| Completed primary | 9.3 | 9.8 | 9.5 | 30.9 | 17.8 | 25.4 | 20.7 | 13.6 |
| At least some secondary | 46.0 | 52.3 | 49.0 | 37.3 | 54.1 | 44.4 | 41.4 | 53.1 |
| *Poor* | | | | | | | | |
| No school/some primary | 68.9 | 72.9 | 71.0 | 62.2 | 47.6 | 55.8 | 66.0 | 63.7 |
| Completed primary | 8.2 | 5.7 | 6.9 | 16.9 | 18.1 | 17.4 | 12.0 | 10.2 |
| At least some secondary | 22.9 | 21.4 | 22.2 | 20.9 | 34.3 | 26.8 | 22.1 | 26.1 |
| *Total* | *100.0* | *100.0* | *100.0* | *100.0* | *100.0* | *100.0* | *100.0* | *100.0* |

Notes: Highlighted estimates have CV greater than 20%. Hence need to be interpreted with caution.

Source: Authors' computations based on SWTs, 2013 and 2015.

education compared with those who had already left school. This would imply that the younger youth are getting more educated compared with the older youth.

## 5.3 Labour market experiences of young women

This section presents data on how early labour market entrants perform in the labour market, how their chances of transition to better jobs advance over time, and how their labour market outcomes compare with those who enter the labour market at a later stage after acquiring more education. As mentioned previously, transition to the labour market may follow any one of two routes: either individuals enter the labour market directly without going through school, or they may join the labour market after completing formal schooling. The analysis presented here is based on this categorisation. The first section presents the key labour market outcome indicators based on the current activity status, while the second section focuses on the characteristics of the first activity/job experiences.

### 5.3.1 Key labour market indicators

Table 6 presents the data on current economic activity by sex and survey year. The student category is further divided into those "still in school but not working" and those "still in school but working" (employed students). In Uganda, like in most African countries, the practice of working while still in school is a common one as illustrated in Table 6. The proportion of employed students decreased from 20.3 percent in 2013 to 14.9 percent in 2015. The decline was, however, greater for females (15.8 percent in 2013 to 9.9 percent in 2015) compared with males (from 24.9 percent in 2013 to 20.7 percent in 2015). Similarly, the likelihood of being

Table 6: **Current economic activity status by sex (%)**

| | 2013 | | | 2015 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Economic activity** | **Females** | **Males** | **All** | **Females** | **Males** | **All** |
| *All* | | | | | | |
| Still In School | 23.0 | 28.3 | 25.6 | 25.9 | 29.0 | 27.4 |
| Still In School but also employed | 15.8 | 24.9 | 20.3 | 9.9 | 20.7 | 14.9 |
| Working | 45.0 | 40.2 | 42.6 | 45.6 | 42.9 | 44.4 |
| Inactive | 16.2 | 6.6 | 11.5 | 18.6 | 7.5 | 13.4 |
| *Urban* | | | | | | |
| Still In School | 26.7 | 27.6 | 27.1 | 28.2 | 31.1 | 29.4 |
| Still In School but also employed | 12.6 | 24.6 | 18.3 | 8.7 | 18.6 | 12.7 |
| Working | 41.9 | 42.0 | 41.9 | 38.7 | 44.2 | 40.9 |
| Inactive | 18.9 | 5.9 | 12.7 | 24.4 | 6.0 | 17.0 |
| *Rural* | | | | | | |
| Still In School | 21.9 | 28.5 | 25.2 | 24.9 | 28.4 | 26.6 |
| Still In School but also employed | 16.8 | 24.9 | 20.8 | 10.4 | 21.2 | 15.7 |
| Working | 45.9 | 39.7 | 42.8 | 48.6 | 42.5 | 45.6 |
| Inactive | 15.4 | 6.8 | 11.2 | 16.1 | 7.9 | 12.1 |
| *Non-poor* | | | | | | |
| Still In School | 24.6 | 28.8 | 26.6 | 27.7 | 34.0 | 30.5 |
| Still In School but also employed | 16.7 | 25.9 | 21.0 | 11.3 | 21.7 | 16.0 |
| Working | 43.7 | 40.6 | 42.2 | 44.5 | 39.7 | 42.4 |
| Inactive | 15.0 | 4.7 | 10.2 | 16.5 | 4.6 | 11.2 |
| *Poor* | | | | | | |
| Still In School | 21.9 | 27.9 | 25.0 | 24.5 | 25.3 | 24.8 |
| Still In School but also employed | 15.2 | 24.3 | 19.8 | 8.6 | 19.9 | 14.1 |
| Working | 45.8 | 40.0 | 42.9 | 46.5 | 45.3 | 45.9 |
| Inactive | 17.1 | 7.8 | 12.4 | 20.4 | 9.6 | 15.1 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Notes: Highlighted estimates have CV greater than 20%. Hence need to be interpreted with caution.

Source: Authors' computations based on SWT 2013 and 2015.

an employed student was higher among the male youth, with the gender gap widening between the two periods covered by the surveys. This occurrence was also true for rural/urban and poor/non-poor groupings among the youth.

The proportion of those "working but not in school" was higher among the female youth except those residing in urban areas. This occurrence holds true for both survey years. Regardless of gender, however, the share of young people working but not in school increased for the youth living in poor households and rural areas between the two years. The share of those working but not in school increased for the male youth living in urban areas but decreased for those living in non-poor households. The reverse was observed for their female counterparts.

Table 6 further reveals a gender dimension in economic inactivity. The likelihood of being economically inactive was higher among females. The share of the female youth who were economically inactive was more than twice that of the male youth with the gender gap widening over time.

Table 7 shows that the share of the economically active (a combination of employed and unemployed) youth declined from 66.7 percent in 2013 to 62.1 percent in 2015. Regardless of social grouping, the male youth were more likely to be economically active compared with their female counterparts. The gender gap increased with time and was greatest among those residing in urban areas. This trend can be explained partly by the significant reduction in the share of economically active female youth over the review period.

Table 8 presents data on the broad sectors of employment for the youth. Agriculture was the largest employer despite being one of the sectors with low productivity. Government efforts to enhance productivity in the agriculture sector as articulated in the national development plan have not yielded the expected results. Table 8 shows that the share of young people working in agriculture reduced (from 64.1 percent in 2013 to 60.6 percent in 2015) whereas the proportion of the youth employed in industry increased (from 8.4 percent to 11.4 percent) between the two periods.

Young women were three times less likely to be found working in industry than their male counterparts, partly because of the former's low levels of educational achievement. Furthermore, the youth still in school were more likely to be found working in the agriculture sector while those who had completed education were more likely to be found working in the services sector. Whereas the share of the youth working in agriculture generally reduced over time, the share of those with the following characteristics exceeded the above national averages: those living in rural areas, those from poor households, and teenagers. The female youth were more likely to engage in agriculture and services compared with the male youth.

The gender gap in employment narrowed for agriculture but widened in the services sector among those living in urban areas and poor households, but the reverse was observed for those living in rural areas and non-poor households. The likelihood of being employed in agriculture reduced with age, but the reverse was observed for the services sector. The increased share

Table 7: **Share of economically active persons by sex (%)**

| | 2013 | | | 2015 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Females | Males | All | Females | Males | All |
| All | 64.6 | 68.8 | 66.7 | 58.4 | 66.5 | 62.2 |
| Urban | 58.3 | 68.4 | 63.2 | 49.5 | 66.0 | 56.0 |
| Rural | 66.4 | 68.9 | 67.6 | 62.1 | 66.6 | 64.3 |
| Non-poor | 63.8 | 69.3 | 66.3 | 57.9 | 64.0 | 60.6 |
| Poor | 65.1 | 68.6 | 66.9 | 58.8 | 68.3 | 63.4 |

Source: Authors' computations based on SWT 2013 and 2015.

Table 8: **Employment by main branches of economic activity by sex (%)**

| | 2013 | | | 2015 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Females | Males | All | Females | Males | All |
| **All** | | | | | | |
| Agriculture | 66.9 | 61.4 | 64.1 | 61.8 | 59.5 | 60.6 |
| Industry | 3.9 | 12.7 | 8.4 | 6.8 | 15.9 | 11.4 |
| Services | 29.2 | 25.9 | 27.5 | 31.4 | 24.6 | 28.0 |
| **Urban** | | | | | | |
| Agriculture | 37.2 | 36.1 | 36.7 | 18.3 | 18.4 | 18.4 |
| Industry | 5.8 | 16.2 | 11.3 | 7.1 | 24.8 | 15.5 |
| Services | 57.0 | 47.7 | 52.1 | 74.6 | 56.8 | 66.2 |
| **Rural** | | | | | | |
| Agriculture | 74.4 | 68.3 | 71.3 | 76.4 | 71.3 | 73.8 |
| Industry | 3.5 | 11.7 | 7.6 | 6.7 | 13.4 | 10.1 |
| Services | 22.2 | 19.9 | 21.0 | 16.8 | 15.4 | 16.1 |
| **Non-poor** | | | | | | |
| Agriculture | 55.0 | 54.4 | 54.7 | 50.9 | 48.9 | 49.9 |
| Industry | 2.6 | 14.2 | 8.4 | 3.1 | 13.9 | 8.2 |
| Services | 42.4 | 31.4 | 36.9 | 46.0 | 37.2 | 41.9 |
| **Poor** | | | | | | |
| Agriculture | 75.2 | 65.7 | 70.3 | 71.1 | 66.9 | 68.9 |
| Industry | 4.9 | 11.8 | 8.5 | 10.2 | 17.3 | 13.9 |
| Services | 19.9 | 22.5 | 21.3 | 18.8 | 15.8 | 17.2 |
| **15-19 years** | | | | | | |
| Agriculture | 74.3 | 70.8 | 72.4 | 66.4 | 66.8 | 66.6 |
| Industry | 2.9 | 11.2 | 7.3 | 8.0 | 13.0 | 10.7 |
| Services | 22.8 | 18.1 | 20.3 | 25.6 | 20.3 | 22.7 |
| **20-24 years** | | | | | | |
| Agriculture | 59.4 | 50.3 | 54.9 | 58.4 | 52.4 | 55.6 |
| Industry | 5.0 | 14.5 | 9.6 | 6.0 | 18.8 | 12.0 |
| Services | 35.7 | 35.3 | 35.5 | 35.6 | 28.8 | 32.4 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Notes: Highlighted estimates have CV greater than 20%, hence they need to be interpreted with caution.

Source: Author's computations based on SWT, 2013 and 2015.

of the youth employed in the services sector, however, needs to be interpreted with caution. The activities undertaken by the youth in this sector are still of low productivity. Generally, long-term engagement in low productivity sectors coupled with low educational attainment have the potential of hindering the future prospects of the youth.

Table 9 presents data on the distribution of the youth by current occupation. More than half of those in employment were engaged in the skilled agricultural, fisheries, and forestry sectors (mainly subsistence) followed by the service industry. A higher share of the female youth, compared with the male youth, was engaged in these sectors. On the other hand, males dominated the crafts and elementary occupations – which are mainly manual in nature. In other words, the female youth were more likely to be employed as service and agricultural workers; whereas the male youth were more likely to take up the elementary occupations or find employment as craftsmen. Furthermore, the youth in urban areas were more likely to be employed as service workers rather than agricultural workers; while the reverse was true for those living in rural areas.

Table 9: **Occupation by sex (%)**

| | 2013 | | | 2015 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Females | Males | All | Females | Males | All |
| **All** | | | | | | |
| Service workers | 23.0 | 12.7 | 17.8 | 23.6 | 10.9 | 17.2 |
| Skilled agricultural, forestry and fish | 60.7 | 50.2 | 55.3 | 56.1 | 51.0 | 53.6 |
| Craft and related workers | 4.0 | 11.2 | 7.6 | 3.4 | 12.1 | 7.8 |
| Elementary occupations | 8.5 | 18.8 | 13.7 | 12.1 | 15.5 | 13.8 |
| Others | 3.9 | 7.1 | 5.5 | 4.7 | 10.5 | 7.6 |
| **Urban** | | | | | | |
| Service workers | 43.6 | 19.8 | 31.1 | 55.6 | 24.1 | 40.8 |
| Skilled agricultural, forestry and fish | 34.7 | 31.3 | 32.9 | 18.3 | 13.7 | 16.1 |
| Craft and related workers | 8.5 | 20.1 | 14.6 | 4.3 | 18.1 | 10.8 |
| Elementary occupations | 7.8 | 17.6 | 13.0 | 13.5 | 22.3 | 17.7 |
| Others | 5.4 | 11.1 | 8.4 | 8.3 | 21.8 | 14.6 |
| **Rural** | | | | | | |
| Service workers | 17.8 | 10.7 | 14.2 | 12.8 | 7.1 | 9.9 |
| Skilled agricultural, forestry and fish | 67.3 | 55.5 | 61.3 | 68.9 | 61.7 | 65.2 |
| Craft and related workers | 2.8 | 8.7 | 5.8 | 3.1 | 10.3 | 6.8 |
| Elementary occupations | 8.6 | 19.1 | 14.0 | 11.6 | 13.6 | 12.6 |
| Others | 3.5 | 6.0 | 4.8 | 3.5 | 7.3 | 5.4 |
| **Non-poor** | | | | | | |
| Service workers | 30.4 | 17.0 | 23.8 | 35.5 | 17.6 | 27.0 |
| Skilled agricultural, forestry and fish | 52.9 | 46.4 | 49.7 | 49.5 | 45.3 | 47.5 |
| Craft and related workers | 4.1 | 11.5 | 7.8 | 1.1 | 9.3 | 5.0 |
| Elementary occupations | 5.8 | 15.6 | 10.7 | 7.5 | 10.6 | 9.0 |
| Others | 6.8 | 9.4 | 8.1 | 6.4 | 17.3 | 11.6 |
| **Poor** | | | | | | |
| Service workers | 17.7 | 10.0 | 13.7 | 13.4 | 6.3 | 9.7 |
| Skilled agricultural, forestry and fish | 66.2 | 52.6 | 59.1 | 61.8 | 55.0 | 58.2 |
| Craft and related workers | 3.9 | 10.9 | 7.6 | 5.4 | 14.0 | 10.0 |
| Elementary occupations | 10.3 | 20.8 | 15.8 | 16.0 | 19.0 | 17.6 |
| Others | 1.9 | 5.7 | 3.9 | 3.3 | 5.7 | 4.6 |
| **15-19 years** | | | | | | |
| Service workers | 20.2 | 9.9 | 14.8 | 19.9 | 10.3 | 14.6 |
| Skilled agricultural, forestry and fish | 66.8 | 58.5 | 62.4 | 59.9 | 56.8 | 58.2 |
| Craft and related workers | 2.2 | 9.3 | 6.0 | 3.0 | 9.8 | 6.7 |
| Elementary occupations | 8.9 | 19.4 | 14.4 | 14.5 | 18.4 | 16.6 |
| Others | 1.9 | 3.0 | 2.5 | 2.7 | 4.8 | 3.8 |
| **20-24 years** | | | | | | |
| Service workers | 25.9 | 16.0 | 21.1 | 26.3 | 11.5 | 19.4 |
| Skilled agricultural, forestry and fish | 54.5 | 40.4 | 47.6 | 53.4 | 45.3 | 49.6 |
| Craft and related workers | 5.7 | 13.4 | 9.5 | 3.7 | 14.3 | 8.7 |
| Elementary occupations | 8.1 | 18.1 | 13.0 | 10.3 | 12.8 | 11.5 |
| Others | 5.8 | 12.0 | 8.8 | 6.2 | 16.1 | 10.8 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Notes: Highlighted estimates have CV greater than 20%. Hence need to be interpreted with caution.

Source: Author's computations based on SWT, 2013 and 2015.

The likelihood of being employed in the service industry was found to increase with age. In comparison, over time, the gender gaps widened in the services sector with the exception of the teenage group and the youth living in rural areas and poor households. In contrast, the gender gap reduced for the youth engaged in agricultural work with the exception of those living in urban areas. Similar trends were observed for those in elementary occupations due to the increasing share of female youth engaged in such activities.

The unemployment (relaxed) rate increased over time from 17.3 percent in 2013 to 24.5 percent in 2015 for the female youth and from 8.9 percent to 16.4 percent for the male youth during the same period. Whereas the overall gender gap for this category remained almost unchanged at the national level, there were notable changes at the disaggregated level. The gender gap among the unemployed youth residing in urban areas was almost three times that of their counterparts in rural areas; the gap was wider for those in poor households and also among the older youth. Unemployment was largely an urban phenomenon regardless of gender. The only exception was, however, observed for the male youth in 2013 where the proportion of unemployed male youth in urban centres was 7.0 percent against 9.4 percent in the rural areas. We further noted that unemployment rates were much higher for teenagers than for the older youth. Although the data is not presented in Table 10, the unemployment rate increased with educational attainment in 2015 for both sexes.

### 5.3.2 Nature of first activity/job

An examination of the nature of the first activity after school is a useful indicator in the analysis of SWTs. The SWTs retrospectively constructed work histories for young people from the first activity to the current activity. Figure 3 reveals that the youth enter the labour market at an early age, when they should actually be attending school. The likelihood of entering the labour market earlier was higher for the female youth than the male youth, an observation that could be linked to the differences in educational attainment levels discussed earlier. Regardless of gender, however, the youth residing in urban areas and living in non-poor households seemed to enter the labour market late. There was also a distinctive pattern by age, with the older youth having entered the market three years later than the teenagers. This issue raises policy concerns.

As discussed in section 4, the study reconstructed the first activity/job experiences of the youth. The proportion of those who maintained the same first activity increased for the female youth from 56.1 percent in 2013 to 70.7 percent in 2015 and for the male youth from 69.5 percent to 73.1 percent respectively. A similar trend was observed at disaggregated level.

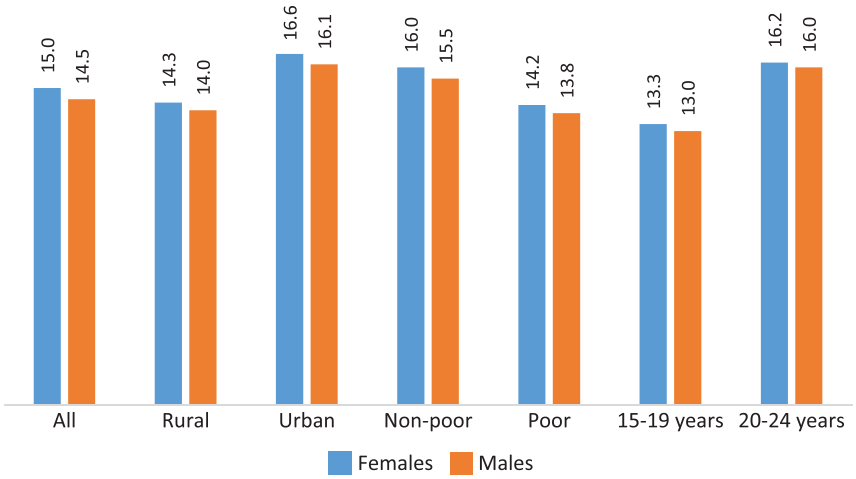
The paper also investigated whether the labour indicators were different between those who maintained the same first activity and those who changed activity. A disaggregated analysis revealed obvious differences that seemed to be concealed at national level. Table 11 shows that in 2013, for nearly half of the young

Table 10: **Unemployment rate by sex (%)**

| | 2013 | | | 2015 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Females** | **Males** | **All** | **Females** | **Males** | **All** |
| All | 17.3 | 8.9 | 13.2 | 24.5 | 16.4 | 20.6 |
| | | | | | | |
| Rural | 15.4 | 9.4 | 12.5 | 21.0 | 15.9 | 18.4 |
| Urban | 24.0 | 7.0 | 15.8 | 33.3 | 18.3 | 27.0 |
| | | | | | | |
| Non-poor | 14.5 | 5.6 | 10.3 | 23.5 | 15.8 | 20.0 |
| Poor | 19.2 | 10.8 | 15.0 | 25.4 | 16.9 | 21.2 |
| | | | | | | |
| 15-19 | 16.6 | 8.0 | 12.3 | 28.0 | 19.9 | 23.8 |
| 20-24 | 18.0 | 9.8 | 14.2 | 21.8 | 12.7 | 17.8 |

Source: Author's computations based on SWT 2013 and 2015.

Figure 3: **Age of first employment experience/started looking for a job in 2015 (years)**




Source: Authors' computations based on SWT 2015.

Table 11: **First activity by sex in 2015 (%)**

| | All | | | Same | | | Change | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Activity** | **F** | **M** | **All** | **F** | **M** | **All** | **F** | **M** | **All** |
| **2013** | | | | | | | | | |
| Work for wage/salary with an employer | 12.6 | 21.0 | 16.6 | 8.9 | 21.3 | 15.5 | 17.3 | 20.2 | 18.4 |
| Self employed | 33.6 | 36.2 | 34.8 | 43.2 | 38.3 | 40.6 | 21.3 | 31.5 | 25.2 |
| Work as unpaid family member (for gain) | 21.7 | 26.7 | 24.1 | 26.9 | 30.4 | 28.7 | 15.0 | 18.4 | 16.3 |
| Engaged on an apprenticeship/internship | 2.1 | 1.6 | 1.8 | 0.2 | 1.0 | 0.6 | 4.5 | 2.8 | 3.8 |
| Available and actively looking for work | 2.1 | 3.4 | 2.7 | 0.5 | 1.7 | 1.1 | 4.3 | 7.4 | 5.5 |
| Full-time education or training | 0.8 | 0.6 | 0.7 | 0.3 | 0.2 | 0.3 | 1.5 | 1.5 | 1.5 |
| Engaged in home duties | 25.0 | 9.3 | 17.5 | 18.7 | 5.9 | 12.0 | 33.0 | 17.0 | 26.8 |
| Did not work or seek work for other rea | 2.1 | 1.2 | 1.7 | 1.3 | 1.2 | 1.3 | 3.2 | 1.3 | 2.5 |
| **2015** | | | | | | | | | |
| Work for wage/salary with an employer | 20.3 | 28.4 | 24.2 | 16.1 | 26.0 | 20.9 | 30.4 | 35.1 | 32.6 |
| Self employed | 19.1 | 18.5 | 18.8 | 23.2 | 20.2 | 21.7 | 9.1 | 13.8 | 11.3 |
| Work as unpaid family member (for gain) | 45.4 | 42.2 | 43.8 | 49.0 | 47.2 | 48.1 | 36.7 | 28.5 | 32.9 |
| Engaged on an apprenticeship/internship | 1.0 | 0.5 | 0.8 | 0.4 | 0.0 | 0.2 | 2.4 | 1.8 | 2.1 |
| Available and actively looking for work | 6.1 | 6.5 | 6.3 | 2.8 | 3.2 | 3.0 | 14.2 | 15.4 | 14.8 |
| Full-time education or training | 1.9 | 2.5 | 2.2 | 2.3 | 2.6 | 2.5 | 0.8 | 2.1 | 1.4 |
| Engaged in home duties | 6.0 | 1.4 | 3.8 | 6.2 | 0.9 | 3.6 | 5.6 | 2.7 | 4.3 |
| Did not work or seek work for other rea | 0.3 | 0.1 | 0.2 | | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.9 | 0.5 | 0.7 |
| **Total** | **100.0** | **100.0** | **100.0** | **100.0** | **100.0** | **100.0** | **100.0** | **100.0** | **100.0** |

Notes: Highlighted estimates have CV greater than 20%. Hence need to be interpreted with caution; the improvement in the screening questions in 2015 survey could probably explain the reduction in those individuals engaged in home duties (including child care).

Source: Authors' computations based on SWTs 2013 and 2015.

people, the first labour market activity they engaged in was working as an unpaid family member (work for family gain), while 21 percent were self-employed, and 28.2 percent were working for wage/salary. There were also clear gender differences in terms of the economic activities undertaken by the youth. For example, the female youth were significantly less likely to be in wage employment (24.4 percent) as their first economic activity compared with the male youth (32.1 percent), yet wage or salaried employment is associated with higher wages, job security, and social protection among other entitlements. Similarly, the share of female youth engaged as unpaid workers was higher than that of the male youth.

Table 11 also presents a breakdown of the activity status separately for those who had maintained the same first activity as at the survey time and those whose first activity status changed. The gender distribution patterns remained almost unchanged. It is evident, however, that those who changed their first activity status were more likely to be engaged in work for wage/salary while those who maintained the same activity were more likely to be unpaid family workers or self- employed. The gender gap for those working for a wage was wider for those who remained in the same activity than their counterparts who had changed activity. The gap narrowed for those in self-employment as well as those working as unpaid family workers.

Table 12 (Panel A) presents results of the analysis of characteristics of the first activity for the youth who had changed their first activity. The proportion of those with written employment agreements increased from 6.8 percent in 2013 to 8.3 percent in 2015. This change was driven largely by an increase of this occurrence among the male youth because a reduction was noted among the female youth instead. In addition,

Table 12: **Nature of first activity for those that changed first activity in 2015 (%)**

| | 2013 | | | 2015 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Characteristic** | **Females** | **Males** | **All** | **Females** | **Males** | **All** |
| **Panel A: for wage/salary** | | | | | | |
| *Currently employment basis:* | | | | | | |
| A written agreement | 7.8 | 6.0 | 6.8 | 6.6 | 9.6 | 8.3 |
| An oral agreement | 92.2 | 94.0 | 93.2 | 93.4 | 90.4 | 91.7 |
| *Type of contract* | | | | | | |
| Unlimited duration | 77.6 | 67.2 | 71.4 | 69.7 | 60.0 | 64.3 |
| Limited duration | 22.4 | 32.8 | 28.6 | 30.3 | 40.0 | 35.7 |
| **Panel B: includes all** | | | | | | |
| *Extent of satisfaction with the job*[1] | | | | | | |
| Very satisfied | 29.6 | 26.4 | 27.9 | 29.3 | 25.1 | 27.2 |
| Somewhat satisfied | 32.0 | 31.3 | 31.6 | 41.0 | 40.4 | 40.7 |
| Somewhat unsatisfied | 24.4 | 26.4 | 25.4 | 21.0 | 21.1 | 21.1 |
| Very unsatisfied | 14.1 | 15.9 | 15.0 | 8.7 | 13.4 | 11.0 |
| **Panel C: Only changed activity** | | | | | | |
| *Reasons for stopping that job*[2] | | | | | | |
| Better job | 38.8 | 63.1 | 49.5 | 41.2 | 43.6 | 42.3 |
| Education/health related | 5.3 | 8.0 | 6.5 | 22.1 | 19.4 | 20.9 |
| Social | 21.2 | 3.2 | 13.3 | 13.5 | 3.7 | 9.0 |
| Job ended | 8.1 | 9.2 | 8.6 | 3.2 | 16.3 | 9.3 |
| Others | 26.6 | 16.5 | 22.1 | 20.0 | 17.0 | 18.6 |
| **Total** | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Notes: Highlighted estimates have CV greater than 20% and hence they need to be interpreted with caution.

[1]. Estimates combine those who maintained and changed first activity; [2]. Estimates for only those who changed first activity; and the first two panels refer to only those who were in wage/salary employment (for both changed and retained the first activity).
Source: Authors' computations based on SWTs, 2013 and 2015.

written employment agreements are more likely to last for unlimited duration, in which case a higher proportion of those with unlimited agreements were likely to be females. Panel B reveals that the likelihood of satisfaction with the first employment activity was higher among the female youth. It is worth noting that the share of the youth citing first job dissatisfaction reduced with time from 40.4 percent in 2013 to 32.1 percent in 2015. The male youth had a higher likelihood of leaving the first activity to look for a better job (30.5 percent) than the female youth (19.9 percent) as depicted in Table 12 (Panel C).

An examination of how the economic activities of the youth varied over time from first activity to current activity indicated that both the male and female youth whose first activity was self-employment were more likely to remain self-employed. In 2015, for example, 86.7 percent of the young men and 90 percent of the young women who were in self-employment upon entry into the labour market were still self-employed at the time of the survey (Appendix 1). This finding is not surprising because although most of the youth desire to work as salaried employees in the public and private sectors, these sectors are only able to absorb a limited number of young labour market entrants. As a result, most young people tend to get stuck in low productivity self-employment, especially in the informal sector. These findings support the view that first labour experiences shape the future or subsequent experiences of the youth.

Regarding the factors that influence the successful transition to more desired employment, we found that education beyond secondary school was a necessary condition. Thus, whereas the more educated young people were more likely to be unemployed at first entry into the job market, they had higher chances of being in wage/salaried jobs when they finally secured jobs. For both males and females, those with at least some secondary education were more likely to be in wage employment at first entry into the labour market (see Table 13). These results agree with Parent's (2008) study from Burkina Faso, which found a strong correlation between the levels of education and a young person's labour market transition. The study found that education beyond primary level was/is a necessary condition for work beyond the household. According to the study, the vast majority of men, among those with little or no schooling, simply make the transition from household worker to head of household while the vast majority of women in the same category remain in domestic work. In addition, both men and women with incomplete secondary education achieve a much greater variety of work outcomes (Parent, 2008).

Table 14 presents data on stages of labour market transition by sex. Nearly 44 percent of the youth had made the transition to stable and/or satisfactory employment, more than 30 percent were still in transition, and nearly 20 percent had not begun the transition. The transition patterns were almost similar by location and poverty status, but quite distinct by age group. For the youth who had made the transition to better employment circumstances, a widening gender gap in favour of males was evident for all age groups and also those from urban areas and also poor households. The gender gap, however, seemed to

Table 13: **First activity by sex by education attainment in 2015 (%)**

| | Less than primary | | | Completed primary | | | At least some secondary education | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | F | M | All | F | M | All | F | M | All |
| Work for wage | 12.7 | 23.3 | 17.6 | 20.2 | 29.9 | 24.2 | 37.9 | 35.7 | 36.7 |
| Self-employed | 20.5 | 20.5 | 20.5 | 25.9 | 24.0 | 25.1 | 10.3 | 12.9 | 11.7 |
| Work as unpaid family member | 56.8 | 49.1 | 53.2 | 36.2 | 31.0 | 34.0 | 26.4 | 36.4 | 32.0 |
| Engaged in an apprenticeship/ internship | 0.2 | 0.0 | 0.1 | 2.2 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 1.8 | 0.4 | 1.0 |
| Available and actively looking for work | 2.9 | 3.7 | 3.3 | 7.7 | 9.9 | 8.6 | 12.2 | 9.2 | 10.5 |
| Full-time education or training | 1.0 | 1.3 | 1.1 | 0.0 | 0.9 | 0.4 | 5.5 | 5.0 | 5.2 |
| Engaged in home duties | 5.9 | 1.9 | 4.1 | 7.2 | 1.8 | 5.0 | 5.3 | 0.4 | 2.5 |
| Did not work or seek work | 0.0 | 0.3 | 0.1 | 0.7 | 0.0 | 0.4 | 0.6 | 0.0 | 0.2 |

decrease for the youth living in urban areas and non-poor households. The gender gap for the youth still in transition reduced for all ages, categories of poverty status, and those living in rural areas. The share of male youth who had made the transition to better employment prospects increased among the older youth, those living in urban areas, and those living in poor households. The reverse was observed for the female youth with these characteristics.

The pattern within the gender groups for the young people who had made the transition to better employment status showed a greater increase among males for the older youth and those living in non-poor households. We further noted an increase in the proportions of those who had made the transition to better employment status among the female youth in urban areas, but the reverse occurred among the male youth. Similarly, there was an increase in the share of young people who had made changes in the first employment status among the male youth in the teenage group, those living in rural areas, and those from poor households while the reverse occurred for the female youth.

Table 14 further reveals that there were differences based on the dynamics of first employment activity. In this instance, six out of every ten young people that had maintained the same first activity made the transition to stable employment. Gender differences

Table 14: **Stage of transition by sex (%)**

| Stage | 2013 | | | 2015 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Females | Males | All | Females | Males | All |
| All | | | | | | |
| Transitioned | 42.2 | 46.4 | 44.3 | 41.1 | 46.5 | 43.6 |
| In transition | 37.9 | 26.8 | 32.4 | 38.4 | 31.3 | 35.0 |
| Not started | 19.8 | 26.8 | 23.3 | 20.5 | 22.3 | 21.3 |
| **Urban** | | | | | | |
| Transitioned | 43.5 | 46.1 | 44.8 | 40.9 | 53.6 | 46.0 |
| In transition | 35.0 | 26.6 | 30.9 | 38.9 | 24.2 | 33.0 |
| Not started | 21.5 | 27.3 | 24.3 | 20.2 | 22.3 | 21.0 |
| **Rural** | | | | | | |
| Transitioned | 41.9 | 46.5 | 44.2 | 41.2 | 44.4 | 42.8 |
| In transition | 38.8 | 26.8 | 32.8 | 38.1 | 33.3 | 35.8 |
| Not started | 19.3 | 26.7 | 23.0 | 20.7 | 22.3 | 21.5 |
| **Non-poor** | | | | | | |
| Transitioned | 47.9 | 53.1 | 50.3 | 46.1 | 49.5 | 47.6 |
| In transition | 29.0 | 18.5 | 24.1 | 33.4 | 24.6 | 29.4 |
| Not started | 23.1 | 28.4 | 25.6 | 20.5 | 26.0 | 23.0 |
| **Poor** | | | | | | |
| Transitioned | 38.2 | 42.5 | 40.4 | 36.7 | 44.3 | 40.4 |
| In transition | 44.3 | 31.7 | 37.9 | 42.7 | 36.2 | 39.6 |
| Not started | 17.6 | 25.8 | 21.7 | 20.6 | 19.5 | 20.1 |
| **15-19 years** | | | | | | |
| Transitioned | 36.1 | 39.1 | 37.6 | 32.9 | 37.5 | 35.2 |
| In transition | 34.8 | 25.4 | 30.0 | 33.0 | 30.7 | 31.8 |
| Not started | 29.1 | 35.6 | 32.4 | 34.1 | 31.9 | 33.0 |
| **20-24 years** | | | | | | |
| Transitioned | 50.2 | 58.0 | 53.8 | 50.0 | 59.4 | 54.1 |
| In transition | 41.9 | 28.9 | 35.9 | 44.2 | 32.2 | 39.0 |
| Not started | 7.9 | 13.1 | 10.3 | 5.8 | 8.4 | 6.9 |

Same activity

| Stage | 2013 | | | 2015 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Females | Males | All | Females | Males | All |
| Transitioned | 54.1 | 59.3 | 56.8 | 61.2 | 60.4 | 60.8 |
| In transition | 45.7 | 40.2 | 42.8 | 35.6 | 36.1 | 35.8 |
| Not started | 0.2 | 0.5 | 0.4 | 3.2 | 3.5 | 3.4 |
| Changed activity | | | | | | |
| Transitioned | 56.1 | 77.4 | 64.3 | 55.5 | 75.8 | 64.8 |
| In transition | 43.2 | 22.6 | 35.3 | 38.6 | 18.2 | 29.3 |
| Not started | 0.7 | 0.0 | 0.4 | 5.9 | 6.0 | 5.9 |
| | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Source: Authors' computations based on SWTs 2013 and 2015.

were negligible on this aspect. Nearly 64.8 percent of the youth that had changed their first activity made the transition to stable employment with a significant gender gap (75.8 percent for male youth against 55 percent for female youth) being evident.

## 5.4 Marriage and fertility

Early marriage and pregnancy are major obstacles that prevent women from realising their full academic and economic potential because decisions about marriage and fertility can affect current education, decisions about work, and future opportunities. As noted earlier, pregnancy was second to economic factors as a common reason for girls dropping out of school. Early marriage and childbearing experiences are likely to have an inverse relationship with labour supply since these factors imply responsibilities in caregiving. Indeed, as discussed in the previous section, the female youth (compared with male youth) were more likely to be out of the labour force (inactive) and to be "engaged in home duties including child care" as their first activity after school. Thus, against this background, we used a descriptive analysis to determine how age at first birth and age at first marriage varied by age group.

Looking at the manner in which age at first marriage varies with educational attainment, the UDHS 2011 survey results indicate that young women with no education were more likely to get married at an earlier age (16 years) compared with those who had gone beyond secondary school (20 years). The data did not reveal any discernible differences between 2006 and 2011 (Table 15). The average age at first birth increased with level of educational attainment. In addition, there was a negative correlation between education and the number of children that young women gave birth to such that, on average, those with no education had 1.9 children compared with 0.3 children for those with post-secondary school level of education. The trend analysis shows that generally marriage and reproductive decisions amongst young women did not change much between 2006 and 2011 (Table 15).

Place of residence appears to have a relationship with fertility and marriage decisions. Thus, in comparison with urban residents, rural dwellers had the tendency to get married at a slightly younger age, give birth earlier, and have more children. There was also a relationship between wealth and marriage/fertility decisions such that women from poor households showed a tendency of getting married and/or giving birth earlier than their counterparts from non-poor households.

In addition to the analysis based on UDHS, the SWTs gathered information on the age at first marriage (see Appendix 2). As would be expected, the female youth were more likely to get married at earlier age than their male counterparts. The comparisons over time seemed to indicate an increasing delay in age at first marriage for the female youth from 17.7 years in 2013 to 18.1 years in 2015. Disparities were also evident on age at first marriage based on location, poverty status, and level of educational attainment.

Table 15: **Average age at first marriage, average age at first birth, and number of children for women aged 15-24 years**

| | Average age at first marriage | | | Average age at first birth | | | Average number of children | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 15-19 | 20-24 | 15-24 | 15-19 | 20-24 | 15-24 | 15-19 | 20-24 | 15-24 |
| **2006** | | | | | | | | | |
| Poor | 16.0 | 16.6 | 16.4 | 16.6 | 17.5 | 17.3 | 0.3 | 2.0 | 1.2 |
| Non poor | 16.3 | 17.3 | 17.1 | 16.7 | 17.7 | 17.5 | 0.2 | 1.5 | 0.8 |
| | | | | | | | | | |
| Rural | 16.1 | 16.9 | 16.7 | 16.6 | 17.5 | 17.3 | 0.2 | 1.9 | 1.0 |
| Urban | 16.6 | 17.6 | 17.4 | 17.0 | 18.0 | 17.8 | 0.2 | 1.1 | 0.6 |
| | | | | | | | | | |
| No education | 15.9 | 16.1 | 16.0 | 16.5 | 17.0 | 17.0 | 0.5 | 2.3 | 1.9 |
| Primary | 16.0 | 16.7 | 16.5 | 16.6 | 17.4 | 17.2 | 0.3 | 2.0 | 1.0 |
| Secondary | 17.1 | 18.4 | 18.1 | 16.8 | 18.7 | 18.3 | 0.1 | 1.0 | 0.5 |
| Higher | 16.0 | 20.1 | 20.0 | 16.5 | 20.2 | 20.0 | 0.1 | 0.4 | 0.3 |
| | | | | | | | | | |
| *Total* | *16.2* | *17.0* | *16.7* | *16.6* | *17.6* | *17.4* | *0.2* | *1.7* | *0.9* |
| **2011** | | | | | | | | | |
| Poor | 16.1 | 16.7 | 16.5 | 16.4 | 17.3 | 17.1 | 0.3 | 2.1 | 1.12 |
| Non poor | 16.2 | 17.7 | 17.4 | 16.4 | 18.0 | 17.6 | 0.2 | 1.4 | 0.70 |
| | | | | | | | | | |
| Rural | 16.2 | 17.1 | 16.8 | 16.5 | 17.6 | 17.3 | 0.2 | 1.8 | 0.89 |
| Urban | 16.2 | 18.1 | 17.7 | 15.8 | 18.2 | 17.7 | 0.2 | 1.1 | 0.66 |
| | | | | | | | | | |
| No education | 16.1 | 16.2 | 16.2 | 15.8 | 16.9 | 16.7 | 0.4 | 2.1 | 1.36 |
| Primary | 16.2 | 16.7 | 16.5 | 16.4 | 17.3 | 17.1 | 0.3 | 2.0 | 0.96 |
| Secondary | 16.2 | 18.7 | 18.3 | 16.5 | 18.5 | 18.2 | 0.1 | 1.2 | 0.63 |
| Higher | 16.2 | 19.6 | 19.4 | 17.4 | 20.2 | 20.1 | 0.0 | 0.3 | 0.24 |
| | | | | | | | | | |
| *Total* | *16.1* | *17.3* | *17.0* | *16.4* | *17.7* | *17.4* | *0.2* | *1.6* | *0.84* |

Source: Author's calculations based on UDHS, 2006 and 2011.

## 5.5 Correlation between education, early marriage /fertility experiences and labour market outcomes

Issues of early marriages, early births, school dropout and labour market outcomes are closely interlinked. As earlier discussed, teenage pregnancies and early marriages explain a rather high percentage of female school dropout rates. Young people who leave the education system without completing at least secondary school are less likely to transition to stable employment or satisfactory self or temporary employment (see Table 16). For example six in every ten young people who did not go beyond primary school are still in transition – implying that they are yet to find stable or satisfactory employment.

Table 16: **Labour market transitions by level of education**

| | Transited to stable employment | Transited to satisfactory self or temporary employment | In transition |
|---|---|---|---|
| None or lower than primary | 10.2 | 29.9 | 59.9 |
| Primary | 10.3 | 26.8 | 62.9 |
| Secondary | 20.8 | 22.5 | 56.7 |
| Vocational | 35.5 | 17.1 | 47.4 |
| Tertiary | 37.3 | 15.3 | 47.4 |
| **Total** | **10.9** | **21.5** | **67.7** |

Source: SWTS survey report 2015

Table 17: **Association between age at first birth /marriage and current occupation**

| | Age at first birth birth < 20 years | Age at first birth > 19 years | Age at marriage < 20 years | Age at marriage > 19 years |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Not working | 17.1 | 14.8 | 16.8 | 15.0 |
| Professional/technical/managerial | 1.9 | 11.6 | 1.7 | 13.6 |
| Clerical | 0.1 | 0.6 | 0.0 | 0.8 |
| Agricultural - self employed | 53.0 | 45.7 | 54.8 | 40.4 |
| Agricultural - employee | 5.4 | 5.2 | 4.8 | 6.7 |
| Sales and services | 22.5 | 22.1 | 22.0 | 23.5 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Source: Authors' calculations based on UDHS 2011

To further unpack the effects of early births and marriage on subsequent labour market outcomes, we used a sample of women who are currently aged 25 to 49 years and subdivided them into those who gave birth and/or married before the age of 20 and those who gave birth/ married after the age of 20 and linked it to their current occupations. Compared to those who married or gave birth after 20 years, women who gave birth or married at a young age are less likely to be professional/technical and managerial positions. Moreover, a higher proportion is self-employed in the agricultural sector (e.g. 54.8 percent against 40.4 percent for those who married later). Yet employment earnings from agriculture remain meager, in fact, according to the 2012/13 UNHS findings, 30 percent of those employed in agriculture are considered as working poor compared with 16.5 percent and 8.4 percent for the industry and services sectors.

# 6. CONCLUSION

Using data from SWTs, this paper has demonstrated that one-fifth of the population of Uganda falls between 15 and 24 years of age, and that more than half of those in this group are teenagers. Young people in this age group are expected to be attending school. These youth are also more likely to be residents of rural areas, with the majority having left formal education before reaching graduation level. A disaggregated analysis of data from 2015 shows a life cycle dimension in education, with the likelihood that young people will still be attending school reducing with age. External distractors such as marriage, child labour, and economic factors creep in and interfere with school attendance as one grows older. This trend calls for deliberate efforts to ensure that the youth who are still in school remain to complete the education cycle to enable their full participation in Uganda's economic growth.

Notable gender differences also exist in relation with

first labour experiences across location, life cycle, and poverty status characteristics. The female youth, who are lagging behind their male counterparts in terms of educational achievement, are more likely to be involved in subsistence activities coupled with a lower likelihood of changing their first labour activity or job experience. The age of first marriage, which also has a significant gender dimension, has increased over time and in some instances it is above the statutory minimum age of marriage (of 18 years). As would perhaps be expected, however, females marry at an earlier age than their male counterparts. Among the female youth, there is a distinctive pattern whereby those in the rural areas marry earlier than their counterparts from the urban setting.

Gender inequalities, some of which appear to have increased over time, still persist despite the existence of policies and programmes to address them. If the current patterns and trends of gender inequalities continue, Uganda is unlikely to achieve sustainable development goal five on gender equality. This situation calls for an evaluation of the effectiveness of the existing policies, inherent gaps, extent of implementation, and occurrence of unintended outcomes. It is true that a higher percentage of the female youth drop out of school compared with their male counterparts. At the same time, however, one of the unintended policy outcomes highlighted in this paper is the increasing school drop-out rate among the male youth against a declining trend in school drop-out rates among the female youth. This outcome implies that policies which are targeted at improving the welfare of the girl child should not disadvantage the boy child.

## Appendix 1: **Transition from first to current activity by sex in 2015, %**

| First\current | Work for wage | Self-employed | Work as unpaid family member | Engaged in an apprenticeship/ internship | Available and actively looking for work | Full-time education or training | Engaged in home duties | Did not work or seek work | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Work for wage | 73.5 | 8.3 | 2.2 | 0.3 | 4.1 | 5.4 | 3.9 | 2.3 | 100.0 |
| Self-employed | 3.8 | 88.4 | 2.0 | 0.0 | 0.4 | 2.8 | 1.6 | 1.1 | 100.0 |
| Work as unpaid family member | 3.8 | 11.0 | 79.7 | 0.0 | 0.4 | 3.5 | 0.8 | 0.8 | 100.0 |
| Engaged in an apprenticeship/ internship | 24.9 | 37.7 | 16.9 | 20.4 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 |
| Available and actively looking for work | 30.2 | 19.7 | 10.7 | 0.0 | 36.8 | 0.0 | 2.7 | 0.0 | 100.0 |
| Full-time education or training | 0.0 | 0.0 | 3.0 | 0.0 | 9.0 | 88.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 |
| Engaged in home duties | 8.5 | 7.0 | 9.0 | 0.0 | 1.8 | 0.0 | 73.7 | 0.0 | 100.0 |
| Did not work or seek work | 67.5 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 32.5 | 0.0 | 100.0 |
| *Total* | *22.9* | *24.8* | *37.0* | *0.2* | *3.9* | *5.4* | *4.7* | *1.1* | *100.0* |
| **Females** | | | | | | | | | |
| Work for wage | 65.9 | 6.8 | 2.3 | 0.8 | 4.8 | 5.4 | 9.0 | 5.1 | 100.0 |
| Self-employed | 1.0 | 90.0 | 3.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.5 | 2.4 | 2.1 | 100.0 |
| Work as unpaid family member | 4.1 | 12.3 | 76.8 | 0.0 | 0.4 | 4.0 | 1.5 | 0.9 | 100.0 |
| Engaged in an apprenticeship/ internship | 14.9 | 30.4 | 24.8 | 29.9 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 |
| Available and actively looking for work | 24.8 | 20.9 | 12.6 | 0.0 | 36.4 | 0.0 | 5.3 | 0.0 | 100.0 |
| Full-time education or training | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 13.1 | 86.9 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 |
| Engaged in home duties | 5.1 | 6.2 | 10.8 | 0.0 | 2.1 | 0.0 | 75.9 | 0.0 | 100.0 |
| Did not work or seek work | 51.9 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 48.1 | 0.0 | 100.0 |
| *Total* | *17.8* | *25.4* | *37.4* | *0.5* | *3.9* | *4.9* | *8.3* | *1.8* | *100.0* |
| **Males** | | | | | | | | | |
| Work for wage | 79.4 | 9.4 | 2.2 | 0.0 | 3.6 | 5.4 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 |
| Self-employed | 6.8 | 86.7 | 0.9 | 0.0 | 0.8 | 4.1 | 0.8 | 0.0 | 100.0 |
| Work as unpaid family member | 3.5 | 9.4 | 83.1 | 0.0 | 0.4 | 2.9 | 0.0 | 0.7 | 100.0 |
| Engaged in an apprenticeship/ internship | 46.5 | 53.5 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 |
| Available and actively looking for work | 35.8 | 18.4 | 8.7 | 0.0 | 37.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 |
| Full-time education or training | 0.0 | 0.0 | 5.5 | 0.0 | 5.6 | 88.9 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 |
| Engaged in home duties | 26.5 | 11.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 62.5 | 0.0 | 100.0 |
| Did not work or seek work | 100.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 |
| *Total* | *28.3* | *24.1* | *36.5* | *0.0* | *3.9* | *5.9* | *1.0* | *0.3* | *100.0* |

Source: Authors' computations based on SWTs 2013 and 2015.

## Appendix 2: **Age at first marriage, years**

| | 2013 | | 2015 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Females | Males | Females | Males |
| All | 17.7 | 19.6 | 18.1 | 19.7 |
| | | | | |
| Rural | 17.6 | 19.4 | 17.9 | 19.7 |
| Urban | 18.1 | 20.5 | 18.6 | 20.1 |
| | | | | |
| Non-poor | 17.9 | 19.5 | 18.4 | 19.5 |
| Poor | 17.6 | 19.6 | 17.8 | 20.0 |
| | | | | |
| 15-19 | 16.7 | 16.3 | 16.5 | 17.3 |
| 20-24 | 18.0 | 19.8 | 18.4 | 20.0 |
| | | | | |
| No schooling/some primary | 17.2 | 19.1 | 17.5 | 19.5 |
| Completed primary | 17.9 | 20.4 | 18.4 | 19.6 |
| At least some secondary | 18.6 | 19.9 | 19.5 | 20.9 |
| | | | | |
| Same activity | 17.8 | 19.8 | 18.6 | 20.3 |
| Changed activity | 17.6 | 19.3 | 17.9 | 19.5 |

Source: Authors' computations based on SWTs 2013 and 2015.

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