



WOMEN IN UGANDA'S ELECTORAL PROCESSES

Mapping Positive Trends and Persistent Deficits in 2016 General
Elections



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List of Acronyms

AA:	Affirmative Action
ACFODE:	Action for Development
CEON-U:	Citizens Election Observers Network-Uganda
CEWIGO:	Center for Women in Governance
DGF:	Democratic Governance Facility
FDC:	Forum for Democratic Change
FOWODE:	Forum for Women in Democracy
NGO:	Non Government Organisation
NRM:	National Resistance Movement
SPSS:	Statistical Package for the Social Science
UWONET:	Uganda Women's Network
WDG:	Women's Democracy Group
WDN-U:	Women's Democracy Network-Uganda Chapter

Executive Summary

Executive Summary

This report provides findings of the study conducted, under the ambit of the Women's Democracy Group (WDG) on the positioning of women in the electoral process, from December 2015–February, 2016 and proposes recommendations for addressing critical challenges affecting women's engagement. WDG is a coalition of five women civil society organizations–Action for Development (ACFODE), Center for Women in Governance (CEWIGO), Forum for Women in Democracy (FOWODE), Uganda Women's Network (UWONET) and Women's Democracy Network-Uganda Chapter (WDN-U). WDG IS Co-ordinated by Uganda Women's Network.

The study sought to map out the position of women in the electoral structures and processes; assess key factors that influence the participation of women as voters, candidates, election managers and political party actors in electoral processes and identify roles of key actors towards gender inclusive electoral processes. It assessed and established positive trends that women have registered overtime and noted persistent challenges towards their electoral engagement and possible strategies for enhancing women's participation in the entire electoral process (before, during and after general elections). The findings of this study are to create public awareness on existing gender inequalities in electoral structures and processes; and thereby help design programmes and advocacy strategies towards strengthening women's electoral engagement in Uganda.

The study covered six districts representing the major regions of Uganda: East (Mbale), North (Gulu and Yumbe), Central (Kampala and Masaka) and South–West (Kanungu). The districts were selected considering socio–cultural, political and economic differences. The selection was purposive, aimed at capturing diversity on the basis of history of women's political participation, level of vibrancy of political party activities, implementation of gender sensitive programmes on politics and governance, and the level of political activism in general.

A blended methodological approach comprising of semi–structured questionnaires, focus group discussions, document review, personal and in–depth interviews was utilised during the assessment. Data was analyzed as follows: thematic analysis was used for the qualitative component and Statistical Package for the Social Science (SPSS) guided the analysis of quantitative data.

Key findings:

The following are the key findings on positive trends, gains and deficits in regard to women's participation in the 2016 electoral processes:

Positive trends

- i. **Women's increased interest and participation in the elections as candidates, voters, election managers and mobilisers:** Qualitative findings reveal that more women are becoming more interested in the electoral process as voters, candidates, election officials and political party agents and mobilisers compared to the past elections. In the 2016 election campaigns, more women attended campaign rallies in comparison to the previous elections. They were enthusiastic about campaign promises of the different candidates. According to the findings the key drivers to increased women's interest in the electoral processes are: sensitization by Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), acquisition of leadership skills, support from family and community members, improvements in education, and relative political party vibrancy.
- ii. **Improving community attitude towards women's political participation:** Qualitative and quantitative findings demonstrate a positive trend regarding community attitudes towards women's active engagement in the electoral processes at different levels, including higher political representation. Women were perceived to be more trustworthy and caring for their communities and country than men. There were several voices supportive of this such as *"if you want the truth involve women; Women are good leaders, good managers and they are trustworthy although they have their weaknesses, but those who are in political positions do deliver"*. However this change is still on a low note due to the continued perception of the electoral processes as a principally male space.
- iii. **Prospects for women's organizing at local level:** There is an emerging reality that women's groups are becoming an important factor in the electoral contest. Candidates attested to the fact that women's groups were a key facet in their campaign journey. "You have to reach out to women's groups if you have to win the vote of women" was the testimony of majority of candidates. However, there is a danger that these groups could be used as funnels to tap petty election crumbs while women are made to lose the bigger picture of engaging in the broader electoral contest in terms of demanding for accountability as citizens.
- iv. **Political party support:** There were indications of relative party support for women. For example FDC covered nomination fees for new MPs in the race. The practice of collective campaigning especially by FDC in some districts was a good indicator. However women as a collective are still outsiders in the political parties.
- v. **The disaggregation of some EC data by sex is commendable:** The data especially of nominated candidates was clearly disaggregated by sex. It is easy to know where women are and points to areas of entry. This should be scaled up to embrace all EC data.

Persistent gaps/red flagged areas for women's participation in the electoral process

- i. **The politics of the open seat:** The open seat—the directly elected political position—has now been named in no uncertain terms—“ekifo kyabasajja” (men’s seat). Though this reality has been so, since the introduction of the women’s reserved seat, it has now acquired a status of a semi-official position because the EC is silent on the issue and has not attempted to come out explicitly to sensitize voters and outlaw ghettoization as electoral discrimination. Women who stand on the open seat are seen as intruders and are often asked to justify the ‘intrusion’. Women contestants stated that even their fellow women were questioning why they had to vie for men’s seats.
- ii. **Red Flag on political parties and women’s fear of opposition:** Women are collective clients in the political parties. *The party manifestos of the two main political parties in the electoral context constructed women as those who belong to special projects and in need of training and capacity building.* The political parties have constitutions that require specific minimum numbers of women representation. The Forum for Democratic Change (FDC) has 40% and while National Resistance Movement NRM 30%, which have remained mere figures. As the ruling party, NRM for example would have created opportunity to demonstrate the contagion effect but this seems to be far off. Of the 83 women who stood on the open seat for the party, 48 eventually came as independent candidates, meaning the parties had only a narrow place for women. On the part of the Opposition, the challenge is they just do not get enough women to offer themselves for leadership positions. As it were, there is tremendous fear—fear of the opposition for the majority of women due to the violent nature of politics—especially the intolerance and harassment of opposition on the part of government that has trickled down to the community.
- iii. **The Paradox:** women making inroads but at the same time drifting from real power as a collective force: Where are all the women who have made a mark in the past? This is a fundamental question that was posed. During the first televised presidential debate held on January 15, 2016, Maureen Kyalya the only female presidential candidate among the eight made one point, among others, that she was not a politician and was not supposed to be the one to stand at the presidential podium. That it was only because the capable women had cowed out under the burden of fear and intimidation! This fear does not relate to the presidential race only but rather runs through the entire political leadership spectrum which also results into high attrition rates for women who are able to “speak to power”. Hence the political system has a python effect. It seems to allow for space for women while at the same time reducing their political potency or ejecting them altogether.

- iv. **The ugly reality of sexual pacification:** sexual pacification has become a silent cancer in the election in Uganda as well as in the general terrain of politics. It was reported that sexual exploitation is fast becoming normalized as part of the electoral experience, where supporters, agents, campaign managers all seek to sexually exploit women candidates. Accordingly, even in cases of sexual assault it is hard for women to report such cases for fear of losing support of the very men who had approved them and are soliciting support for them, be it financial or actual votes.
- v. **Recreating male hegemony – women seeking approval on which woman to Vote:** Another emerging phenomenon is the increasing tendency for women to seek male approval of which woman to vote, even on reserved seats. The phenomenon of powerful male politicians–(king maker, muzeeyi (old man), powerful businessmen) endorsing who should stand as a woman MP is fast becoming the norm thereby accentuating patronage and male privilege—all these have long term impact on women’s political legitimacy.
- vi. **The deficits of commercialisation of elections:** Voter bribery has become another normalized practice. Voters and candidates know this pact and the sheer expense puts off many capable women. Beyond voter bribery, there is utter wastage in the mode of campaign. The need for music, full color posters and the “individual touch” (voters want to see and touch the candidate) all make the current campaign an expensive venture. Who demands for these and what function do they serve? As people dance away the Kadodi (Circumcision dance of the Bagisu tribe in Eastern Uganda) and feel happy at that moment, do they realize that this is money not well spent and that much more importantly, they are systematically being diverted from the issues that would impact on their livelihood and citizenship? In this equation, the women’s rights question seems to be drifting further away from the public agenda. Also, when majority women candidates are not able to cope with this wastage they instead become constructed as those who are not able.
- vii. **The stifling legacy of individual merit:** Uganda formally changed from individual merit to multiparty competition but the elections are largely structured on the latter. It is post movement as opposed to multiparty elections. The campaigns are still largely conducted on individual merit. Beyond individual programmes there is hardly any identifiable party programme hence therefore the opposition political parties capitalizes on the failures of the ruling party while the NRM castigates opposition political parties. It is a “Water Lilly” nature of campaign—neither here nor there. Hence for women this is how the gender ideologies come into play. For example the questions that women have to answer are: Where is your husband? Where are you born?—all far from policy and governance issues.

- viii. Electoral violence:** the threat of the do or die politics as a deterrent for substantive engagement: General electoral violence in many areas was noted as a key factor in deterring meaningful participation. Cases of violence were reported against women contestants by their male opponents. There were attempts by some male contestants to deter their female opponents from campaigning using physical assault. Cases of witch hunting were common in Masaka and Kanungu districts where women complained that their male counter parts were determined to even bring their lives to an end so that they may not out-compete them. The threat of violence pushed key women's organizations to literary plead for peace, which some observers saw as a diversion from broad demand for free and fair elections.
- ix. Invisibility of women's interests:** While issues of gender equality and women's empowerment were highly visible in the previous elections (2001, 2006 and 2011 elections), the current election has acutely put the interests of women to the backyard. Of the five issues highlighted in the Women's manifesto (2016–2021), only health received some minimum attention. There was loud silence on the other issues: Land and property rights; economic empowerment; education; and decision making. Some candidates chose to remain silent on unique interests of women for fear of losing votes. This is a roll back which needs to be consciously addressed.

Chapters



1.0

1.0 Introduction

With support from the DGF, this study was flagged by the Women Democracy Group (WDG) under the leadership and coordination of Uganda Women's Network. The Women Democracy Group is a coalition of five women civil society organizations—ACFODE, CEWIGO, FOWODE, UWONET and WDN-U. WDG monitored the 2011 or 2016 elections in Uganda from a gender perspective which resulted into identification of electoral reforms within political parties and general elections that need to be addressed in order to promote gender equality in the 2016 election and beyond.

The study aimed at understanding women's participation in electoral processes and its implications for electoral democracy. This was done by assessing the positioning of women in the entire electoral spectrum (before, during and after general elections), in order to identify critical points of inclusion and exclusion so as to contribute towards future strategic engagement in strengthening women's political engagement in electoral processes. An examination of electoral processes as gendered political processes (documentation of women's experiences in various electoral positions—as candidates, voters, mobilisers, observers and agents) creates an opportunity to go beyond merely noting women's numerical increase or decrease to interrogating ways in which gender is played out in the entire electoral process. The key question is: where are the women in the whole election process? What are their experiences as individuals and as a collective constituency?

The study examined the position of women in the electoral structures and processes in Uganda; social perceptions and their influence on women's participation as voters, candidates, election officials, political party actors; existing challenges and positive trends

to women's engagement in the electoral processes; and proposes strategies for enhancing women's participation.

The report has seven sections: Introduction; Study Approach; The legal and policy environment; Country context on women and political participation; Positive Trends; Persistent Deficits; Conclusions and Recommendations.

1.1. Lifting the Bar on gender Inclusive elections: Towards Gender Parity

For the last two decades, the rallying target has been to achieve a minimum of 30 percent of women at all levels. Underpinned by a theoretical position known as “critical mass”, the logic is that in any setting, when a minority assumes a presence of one-third or more, it develops the capacity to influence the workings of that setting so as to take care of the various needs and interests. When translated in political terms, the critical mass logic has indeed delivered numbers but in a minimalist manner. Progressively, emphasis has been on numbers and the minimum has been often turned into maximum where women tend to be limited to reserved seats—what feminists have termed as the political ghetto (Tamale, 1999, Ahikire, 2007). Hence, the critical mass perspective has signaled minimalist perspectives where women are made to be as clients in the political system as opposed to participants and citizens.

Part of the bold change that the Executive Director of UN Women calls for is raising the bar to parity focusing not on the minimum, but rather on the ideal that is the justice question. In the case of elections, gender parity as a philosophy for norm setting should inform the struggle for equality of participation across the spectrum to include all points of actions at community, party and government levels. The very starting point is to institutionalise gender inclusive elections as one of the points of political participation. From the perspective of women as a group that has been historically excluded in structural terms, gender inclusive elections refers to a context in which women have a right to be legitimate participants in the entire process whether as voters, aspirants/candidates or as actors in election management and party activists. Gender parity is a 50/50 philosophy both in quantitative and qualitative terms (Fraser 2003). According to Fraser the notion of parity of participation signifies a norm that requires social arrangements that permit all (adult) members of society to interact with one another as peers (1998:5). Hence, the rules and practices must ensure that women and men have equitable opportunity in the entire electoral process i.e. the pre-election, during election and post-election periods. At the general level, inclusiveness points to the need to address the inhibitors in the electoral system, and the entire spectrum of electoral practices, to facilitate women's bold electoral participation. The women's movement as the principal actor will need to accentuate its efforts by institutionalizing a continuous and highly participative process of bench marking thereby creating the capacity to make the actors accountable—not as a privilege but rather as a right.

We need not
incremental change,
but bold change...
(Phumzile Mlambo-
Ngcuka, Executive
Director UN
Women



2.0

2.0 Study Approach

The study covered six districts of Yumbe (West Nile), Gulu (Northern Uganda), Mbale (Eastern Uganda), Masaka (Central Region), Kanungu (Western Uganda) and Kampala (Metropolitan). The districts were purposively selected to capture differing socio-cultural, political and economic contexts and diversities. The selection aimed at capturing diversity in history of women's political participation, level of vibrancy of political party activities, implementation of gender sensitive programmes on politics and governance, and the level of political activism in general. Areas with demonstrable women top political leaders in elective positions such as Kanungu and Masaka districts were also considered.

In terms of content scope, the study focused on women's engagement in electoral structures and processes at the level of presidential elections, parliamentary elections, and Local Councils (LC V, LC I, III and Municipal councils). It covered the period before, during and after 2016 general elections and was able to map out the gendered dynamics of engagement in the electoral processes as well as the outcomes of the elections. The study followed a two phased field work covering a period of three (3) months from December, 2015 to February, 2016. Phase 1 activities targeted the onset of the campaign period while phase two covered the last leg of the campaign trail and the actual election exercise. The focus of the two phases was to map out the positioning of women in the electoral structures and processes; assess key factors that influenced their participation as voters, candidates, election managers and political party actors: the campaign promises by individual candidates and what they meant for women, the language used and women's attendance of rallies among others.

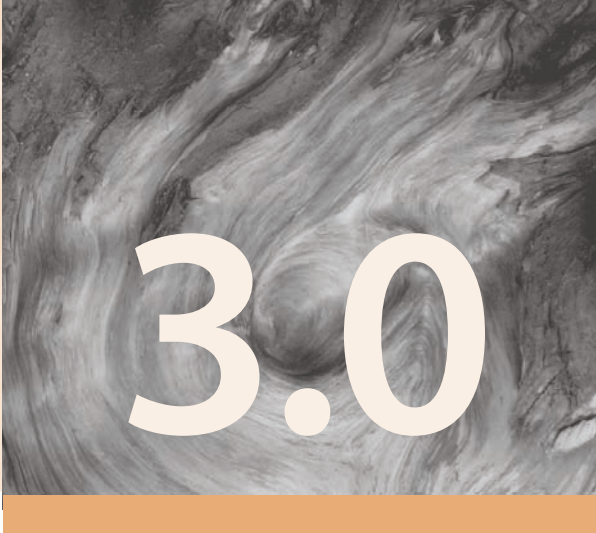
2.1. The Process

A combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches was used. These included;

- a. **Document review:** This focused on analyzing the existing legal and policy framework on gender and electoral processes as well as the progress of women in politics including positioning, trends and challenges in Uganda from 2001 to 2016.
- b. **Focus Group Discussions (FGDs):** Two FGDs (women only and mixed sex groups) were conducted in each district—one in a rural and another in an urban sub-county comprising of 8–10 members. A total of 12 FGDs were conducted.
- c. **Key Informant interviews (KIIs):** These were held with key actors in electoral processes such as political party leaders, election officials, government and civil society actors.
- d. **In-depth Interviews:** These targeted selected women voters, candidates, agents, mobilisers, observers of various political parties to capture their experiences about women's electoral and political engagement.
- e. **Survey:** A short survey was conducted to capture the extent of women's positive trends and persistent deficits in the electoral processes. A total of 255 questionnaires were administered.
- f. **Data Analysis:** Quantitative data was analyzed using SPSS while thematic analysis was used to analyse qualitative data collected through focus group discussions (FGDs), personal interviews and key informant interviews (KIIs).

Table 1: Sampled districts and Sub counties

District	Sub-county	
	Urban	Rural
Kampala	Kawempe & Central Division	N/A
Gulu	Gulu Municipality Pece division	Awach Sub County
Kanungu	Kihihi Town Council	Kirima Sub County
Masaka	Masaka Municipality	Buwunga Sub County
Mbale	Mbale Municipality	Nakaloke Sub County
Yumbe	Yumbe Town Council	Lodonga Sub County



3.0

3.0 The Legal and Policy Environment

Globally and regionally, it has been reaffirmed that full participation of women and men in the electoral processes is not only essential for sustainable development but also signifies a country's commitment to promoting gender equality and protection of human rights. Uganda has subscribed to the several international instruments that seek to enjoin member states to guarantee women's rights and equal participation in the political and decision making spaces. These include the following:

International and regional instruments

- The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) Article 21(1) which stipulates that "Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country directly or through freely chosen representation"
- The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) adopted in 1979 by the United Nations provides the basis for realizing equality between women and men through ensuring women's equal access to, and equal opportunities in, political and public life, including the right to vote and to stand for public office;
- The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (1995), which outlined 12 strategic objectives and critical areas of action including "Women in power and Decision Making".

- The 1985 Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies and the Platform for Action (1993): Affirms that “Women’s Rights are Human Rights” (United Nations Security Council Resolution (UN SCR) 1325 (2000) and 1889 (2009) – provide for women’s active participation in leadership positions geared at preventing conflicts and guarantee the protection of women and girls’ rights.
- The 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda with 17 SDGs whose goal five is to achieve gender equality and empowerment of women and girls. Women’s full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision making is one of the key areas for action and tracking.
- The African Union’s (AU) Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa 2000.
- African Charter on Elections, Democracy and Governance: provides for 50/50 representation for men and women in parliament.
- The Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in 2004

The current overarching consensus and global framework for action on women’s rights strongly emphasises the significance of political will by governments to implement the regional and global gender obligations they have subscribed to. This stems from the realization that governments have broader legitimacy and other critical resources to support change in society. Governments in general have the command to generate political power, to effect change that would otherwise be extremely difficult to realize. At the national level, the overarching legal frame is the Constitution. The Constitution recognises women’s rights including their right to political participation.

The Constitution of the Republic of Uganda

National framework for the protection of human rights including women’s rights

Prohibits discrimination against women and promotes women’s rights as equal partners with men in national development.

The National objective VI of the Uganda Constitution mandates the state to ensure gender balance and fair representation of marginalized groups on all constitutional and other bodies.

Article 33(5) provides for Affirmative Action in favour of marginalized groups on the basis of gender, age, disability, or any other reason created by history, tradition, or custom, for the purpose of redressing imbalances that exist against them.

Article 78 (1) (b) provides for the election of one woman representative for every district.

Article 180(2) (b) provides for one third of the membership of each local government to be reserved for women.

Article 63 (3) provides for equality of the vote – the number of inhabitants in each constituency to be as equal as possible to the population quota.

Equality of the vote – the number of inhabitants in each constituency to be as equal as possible to the population quota.

Article 59(2) states that: It is the duty of every citizen of Uganda of eighteen years of age or above to register as a voter for public elections and referenda. However, it is the duty of every citizen to register as a voter and to exercise their right to vote.

Uganda's commitment to global and national human rights frameworks sets a strong institutional foundation upon which women's political engagement, particularly their participation in electoral processes ought to take place. It is important to examine the extent to which the actual electoral process utilizes the existing framework that provide for equal participation of men and women in the process.

4.0

4.0 Contextualizing Women's Participation in the Electoral Processes

Observations and debates across the African continent have highlighted the fact that women have gained key milestones in the right to vote, and measureable success on the right to be voted for public office. With regard to women in parliament, Sub Saharan Africa today stands at 23.1% slightly above the global average of 22.7%¹. This presence has been gained through actions variably including; electoral reforms, legislated, and voluntary quotas as well as mobilization by the women's movement and other civil society actors. As periodic elections across the continent become more of the norm, this increases the opportunity to engage and institutionalize women's right to be voted as public actors.

Uganda has made relative strides in relation to women's active involvement in electoral processes. This has been attributed to several processes, including the government policy (enshrined in Article 32 of the Constitution) that instituted affirmative action for women at all levels of the political structure. The affirmative action policy provides for a minimum 30% inclusion of women in Local Councils (as councilors) and a mandatory woman MP seat for each district (The Uganda Constitution, 1995). This has brought more women into mainstream politics and key government positions.

¹ Inter-Parliamentary Union: <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm> accessed on March 15.

A trend analysis from 1986 to date is shown in table 2 below:

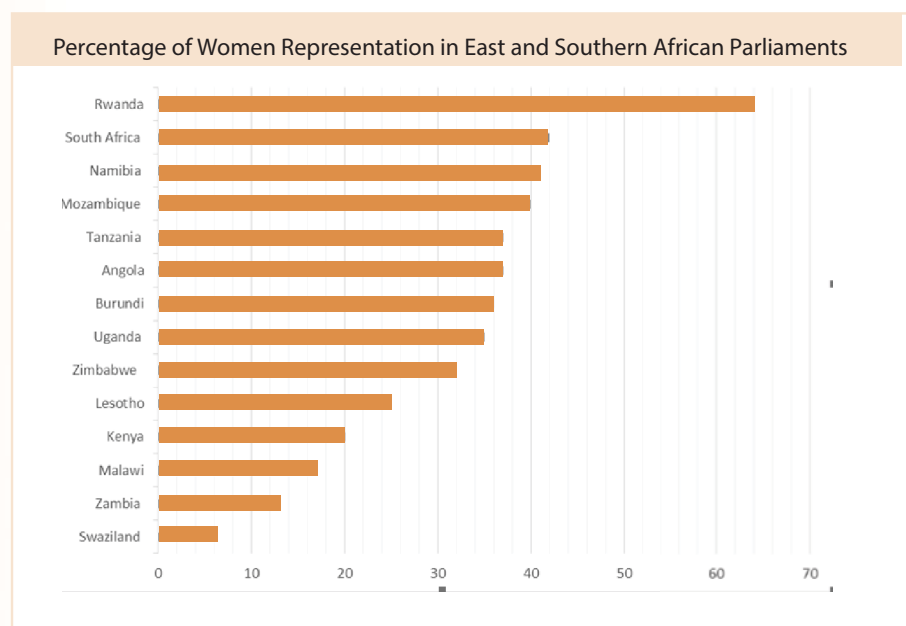
Table 2: Women in Uganda's Legislature (1989–2016)

Year	Districts	Assembly	AA	Open seat	Others ²	Total Women	Total Men	Total MPs	% Women	% Men
1989	39	NRC	39	2	9	50	230	280	18	82
1994	39	CA	39	8	3	50	236	286	17	83
1996	39	Parliament	39	8	4	51	225	276	19	81
2001	56	Parliament	56	3	6	75	230	304	24	76
2006	79	Parliament	79	14	1	100	219	319	31	69
2011	112	Parliament	112	11	8	131	244	375	35	65
2016	112	Parliament	112	18	9	139	289	428	33	67

Source²

A comparative analysis of women in parliament across the African Countries indicates Uganda belongs to the 'above average' category (see figures 1 & 2).

Figure 1: Women in Parliament: Eastern and Southern Africa

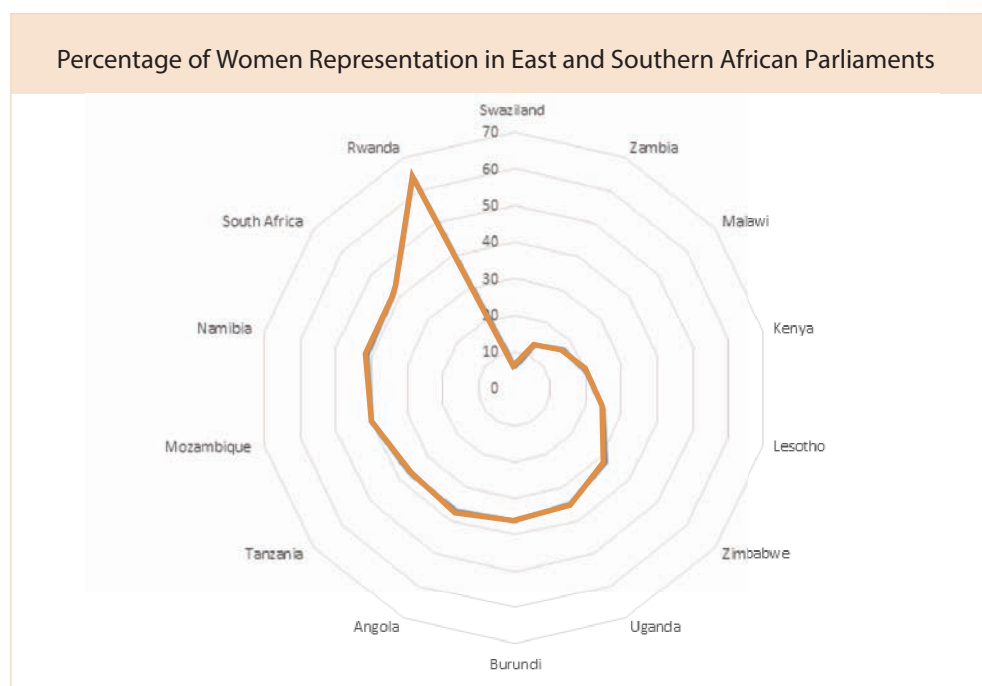


Source: Inter-Parliamentary Union: <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm> accessed on March 15, 2016

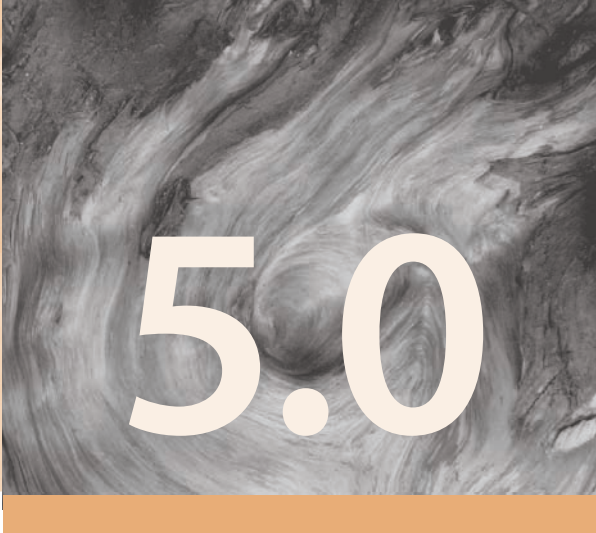
2 Source: Madanda A. 2016 Inclusion and Exclusion in 2016 general Elections: the case of Gender Equality, Forthcoming in J. Oloka Onyango & J. Ahikire (eds.) Controlling Consent: Uganda's 2016 Elections.

Presented in form of a radar clearly shows the countries in the same range mapped from zero as the central point. (See radar below). The Mapping indicates Rwanda and South Africa as high flyers. Visually the location of Uganda is clearly in the middle ground with six countries behind it but with more than seven (7) countries ahead of it (if we add the Seychelles which stands at 43.8%). On the world scale Uganda currently stands at the 32nd position having been pushed from the 29th position, from 35% to 33 % as a result of the 2016 elections. Having been at 22 in the last 2 years it means Uganda has stagnated and other countries have pushed it down the ladder. Still the 32 out of 185 on the world scale is no mean achievement.

Figure 2: The radar of women's representation: Uganda in eastern and southern Africa



In spite of the progress, challenges remain. Notably women largely continue to reside in the margins of decision making processes and tend to confront some specific hurdles thus making the election ground unlevelled for women and men. For women, there are critical social, cultural, economic and political factors that impact on their election journey in a unique manner hence creating persistent deficits. This study seeks to interrogate these deficits and how key stakeholders can address them in the short and long term. The trend on women's participation in politics has mainly focused on women as candidates (Ahikire, 2007, 2011; 2014; UWONET, 2011; Isis-WICCE, 2014) with limited coverage of women in other electoral capacities such as electoral managers, voters and agents. This study attempted to go beyond women candidature to include other areas of participation.



5.0

5.0 Mapping Positive Trends: Women's Gains in the Electoral Process

This section presents the status of women in the 2016 electoral process in terms of visibility regarding the various electoral positions, the enabling factors, gains and general positive aspects before and during the process; the key findings that emerged from the study including the increased interest among women to engage in the electoral process; the improved community attitude towards women's engagement in the process; women's organizing at the local level; disaggregation of some electoral data by sex, and relative political party support for women candidates.

5.1. Women's Increased Interest and Participation in Elections

Findings revealed that more women in Uganda have become interested in the electoral process as voters, candidates, election officials, political party agents and mobilisers elections. Below are some voices on women's increased interest in electoral processes:

Category	Responses
Women as candidates	"There are many women contesting, e.g. there are about four women contesting for the position for district woman M.P. Many women are standing as women councilors for LCIII and IV mainly. However we have not yet seen any woman standing for the direct seat," Mixed FGD participant, Pece Sub County, Gulu District. "There are more women coming up to vie for political leadership unlike in the past two elections. I think it is because of the sensitization especially by women's organisations. Although we should appreciate the fact that in the past, it was difficult to get women to fill even the reserved seats but now, some position some have two or even five contestants. In Bukoto East alone, the area MP is a woman and we have women on the LC V councilor direct seat," Female Councilor, Buwunga Sub-County, Bukoto East Constituency, Masaka.
Women as voters	"Women turn up to vote in large numbers as compared to men. Most women have registered, they have national Identity Cards. But when it comes to men, we have many "Norbert Maos" (Hon. Nobert Mao was not nominated for the position of MP for Gulu Municipality in 2016 elections because he did not register during the national identification process) in Kanungu (men who do not have IDs) (Male leader, Kanungu District). "Women have come up in big numbers compared to the past. And it's because women's organisations such as WDN-U has been sensitizing people about their rights, roles and responsibilities and why women should stand in electoral positions," Female, candidate for woman councilor Lodunga / Drajini sub counties, Yumbe District. "This time, many women are getting involved in election processes. They have come to understand the relevance of their vote. Women who are participating in the current political processes are many in number compared to the past years. They attend campaign rallies in big numbers than men, meaning they want to listen to what the contestants are saying and make an informed choice on whom to vote for," Male FGD participant, Kanungu District. "It's mostly women attending these meeting; you find them in big numbers. Actually men are not bothered, what they know is to run after candidates for their money. But in terms of attending meetings, getting to know what one is saying, it is women," Female, LCV aspiring Councilor, Kuru Sub County Yumbe District.

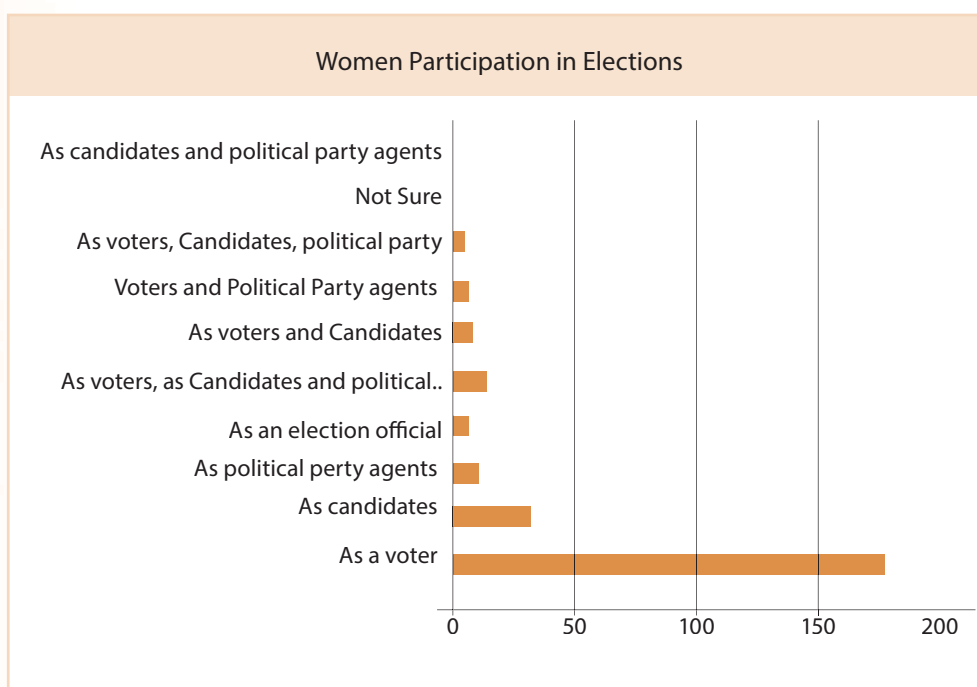
Category	Responses
Women as agents and mobilisers	"I think women are participating more as agents. Most candidates are using them simply because most of votes also come from women," Mixed FGD participant, Pece Sub County, Gulu District.

Source: Fieldwork December 2015 and January 2016

The 2016 election campaigns saw many women attend campaign rallies as well as positioning themselves for some of the electoral positions including the presidency. Women voters were enthusiastic about campaign messages and candidates' promises to the electorate which informed their voting decisions. Respondents noted how women's active involvement began with the pre-national election exercises—the national Identity card registration and party primary elections that would later continue through the national elections.

Locating women in the recently concluded electoral trajectory, respondents across the districts visited agreed that women are now more visible, first as voters and secondly as candidates. Of the 255 respondents asked to locate women in the current electoral process, 70.4% (34.8% men and 35.6% women) identified women as very active as voters followed by 12.8% (6% men and 6.8% women) that identified women as candidates among other categories as figure 3 demonstrates.

Figure 3: The Positioning of Women in the Electoral Process



Source: Fieldwork data, 2015

Through a series of in-depth interviews, personal interviews and focus group discussions, women expressed their interests as voters through diverse optimistic ways, most of which rotated around the desire for improved service delivery and security and peace. Female voters expected candidates to tackle challenges in the delivery of social services as follows:

Hopes and Expectations of women voters

Education: quality services and facilities and some form of support towards the cost of children's school requirements.

Access to safe drinking water: access to safe drinking water within a short walking distance to their homes.

Access to electricity: some especially in urban settings felt the aspirants should work on expanding access to affordable electricity.

Reducing taxes on consumer products: female participants felt that the cost of most consumer products such as sugar, soap; paraffin was very high and expected the candidates to lobby for tax reductions on these products.

Health Access: medical supplies in hospitals and quality services especially maternal health services.

Financial support: facilitating women groups with interest free loans to boost their groups' capacity to lend to members for business ventures.

Peace and security: female voters would like candidates to promote peace and security for their personal lives and the country as a whole.

Keeping in touch with the electorate: candidates to keep in touch with the electorate for feedback on what transpires in parliament, sharing local problems and finding solutions as well as facilitating exchange visits to other districts.

Source: Fieldwork, December 2015 and January 2016

As candidates, women were not only vying for affirmative action positions but also contested the open seats locally known as direct seats which have otherwise been made a preserve of men. Table 3 outlines some of the women that contested on the open seats in the Districts of study.

Table 3: Examples of Women contestants on open seats in the districts of the study

Name	Contested position	District	Constituency	Status
Kyalya Maureen	President	N/A	National	Lost
Florence Namayanja	MP	Masaka	Bukoto East	Won
Joyce Matuka Kidulu	Mayor	Mbale	Municipality	Lost

Name	Contested position	District	Constituency	Status
Jackline Kyatuheire	MP	Kanungu	Kinkizi West	Lost
Josephine Kasya	LCV Chairperson	Kanungu	District	Won
Joyce Sebugwawo	Mayor	Kampala	Lubaga Division	Won
Betty Olive Kamya	MP	Kampala	Lubaga North	Lost
Janet Avako	MP	Yumbe	Aringa South	Lost

Source: Fieldwork, 2015, 2016

Although a number of those who stood on open seats lost, there is a shifting discourse from, not only, looking at 'how many' women were contesting for direct seats to explore the potential of women demystifying direct seats as 'male seats'. It was interesting to see how women's attempt to stand on open seats show-cased a wide range of powerful strategic engagements that women candidates engaged in order to navigate around patriarchal political structures and electoral processes. This optimistic strategy is demonstrated by Kyatuheire, the 2016 contestant for Kinkizi West who had this to say:

"There are many people who were opposed to my candidature in what they called a seat for men. Even my coordinators were opposed to this idea. They would ask me—but surely why are you going for that seat?" but for me I know that whether I win or lose, in future there will be no questions of this nature. People in Kanungu will not ask any other woman who follows me, why they are standing on a "man's" seat. The only way to demystify the myth of women's seats vis-à-vis men's seats is to have as many women stand on competitive seats whether they lose or win."

Kyatuhaire perceived her contest as a victory whether she won or lost the election. According to her, the very fact of contesting a seat that has overtime been 're-named' a man's seat, is one of the strategic moves that have a potential to change the deep-seated thinking on men's vis-à-vis women's seats. It is an action that points to the need to reclaim women's political legitimacy and challenge the male centered myth on who qualifies for which political position and men's sense of entitlement. To Kyatuheire, the only way to demystify the myth of women's seats vis-à-vis men's seats is to have as many women stand on competitive seats whether they lose or win. At the moment it has been used as an instrument to entrench male hegemony and politics of patriarchy, something that has to be resisted.

In Masaka, the idea of challenging the myth of men's seat has been tested by a number of women contestants. Respondents in Masaka quickly point to Florence Namayanja (MP Bukoto East constituency in the 9th and 10th Parliaments) as an example of women daring to tread in deeper waters. At a local council level, in Buwunga Sub-county, Masaka, Beatrice Mpanga also recounts how daring to stand (but lost) as LCIII chairperson in 2001 cleared the patriarchal obstacles when she contested and won as a directly elected councilor of Buwunga Sub-county in 2011.

"In 2001, I contested as LCIII chairperson, Buwunga sub-county. I contested with two men but I lost the election. I had realised that while women were being represented through one third quota, women's issues were not being discussed in council. I thought that if I was voted as LCIII chairperson, I would directly focus on issues of women. People de-campaigned me saying, "Omukyala tayinza kukulembera Ggomborora yaffe"— meaning a woman cannot lead our Sub County. In 2011, when I contested for councilor, people already knew me. People said that if she could stand for LCIII, what about the council position. They trusted me. I actually do not fear standing with men anymore. People consistently ask me, why do you stand on the men's seats? I tell them that there is nothing like a man's seat."

The contest at LCIII chairperson level had a lot to do with Mpanga's winning the council slot in 2011. She had stood, traversed the entire sub-county and was already known as that woman who stands on men's seats³. When she contested for a slightly lower position, it was no longer a strange idea amongst the voters. In 2016, she stood unopposed in the NRM primaries for the directly elected councilor for Buwunga sub-county to Masaka District council.

As women's visibility in competitive politics increases, they are beginning to contest the 'unopposed syndrome' that often dominated previous elections. This is especially so with affirmative action seats and Local Councilor positions at the Parish and Sub-county levels. A male participant (KII, Kawempe division, Kampala) noted that:

"Previously, it was difficult to get women to fill even the Affirmative Action seats but now, some positions have two or even five contestants. The fact that there are more women contesting against each other clearly shows a big improvement as far as women's emancipations is concerned."

Increased competitiveness amongst women on affirmative actions seats as well as open seats points to women's active engagement as a citizenry. Qualitative findings depicted a similar trend supportive of women's active engagement as candidates, voters, agents and

3 A woman who seeks to stand on a direct seat is seen more from the perspective of disrespecting men, provoking men since she has her already reserved share of political leadership. As Beatrice Mpanga would later indicate, she is commonly referred to as "oyo, omukyala eyeliipa ku basajja" – Oh, you mean that woman who stands on men's seats?!

mobilisers. The increased women's interest in the electoral processes has been attributed to support from family and community members, improvements in education, sensitization by NGOs including acquisition of leadership skills and political party support, family/husband support, economic empowerment, role model effect, education, the political environment supportive of women, community willingness to support able female candidates. In relation to these aspects, a male leader (LCIII chairperson, Buwunga Sub County, Masaka District) commented that:

"The message of gender equality is reaching in districts and it is being understood. Women are seeing other fellow women contesting and being appointed ministers and in other big posts."

5.2 Improving community attitude towards women's political participation

Findings demonstrate a positive trend in terms of community attitudes towards women's active engagement in the electoral processes at different levels, including higher political representation. The changing trend was attributed to women's good leadership qualities such as being trustworthy and caring in their communities. Below are some of the voices on this gradually changing reality:

"Women are good leaders, good managers and they are trustworthy although they have their weaknesses, but those who are in political positions do deliver," FGD, Mbale District.

"Having seen other women who have caused change, such as the two executive directors, the one for Uganda Revenue Authority (URA) and the Kampala Capital City Authority Executive Director they have caused change," Male EC official, Kawempe.

"Women are mothers so they can sympathize with communities, so there, they can go to a woman and having seen the performance of the mayor which is at the divisional level next to LCV in Lubaga here, they are saying that 'yes a lady can ably lead Kampala'. We have seen one in the city hall. We have seen the performance of this lady who has been a Mayor," Male EC official, Kawempe.

"We hear Kamuli is also moving, having a woman as the district chairperson. So they are saying they can vote the LCV chairperson," Female KII, LC3 Councilor, Kawempe, Kampala.

"For the presidential candidates, we have one woman, Kyalya, but people are not talking about her may be because of her personality. You hear men and women saying, 'If Kadaga was among the candidates, we would have voted her.' Others asked, 'Why can't Kadaga become the next president of this country?'"

Quantitative data presents striking revelations on whether community members were ready to vote for women if they contested for positions of President, Member of Parliament, Local Council V Chairperson and Local Council III Chair person. These are positions within which

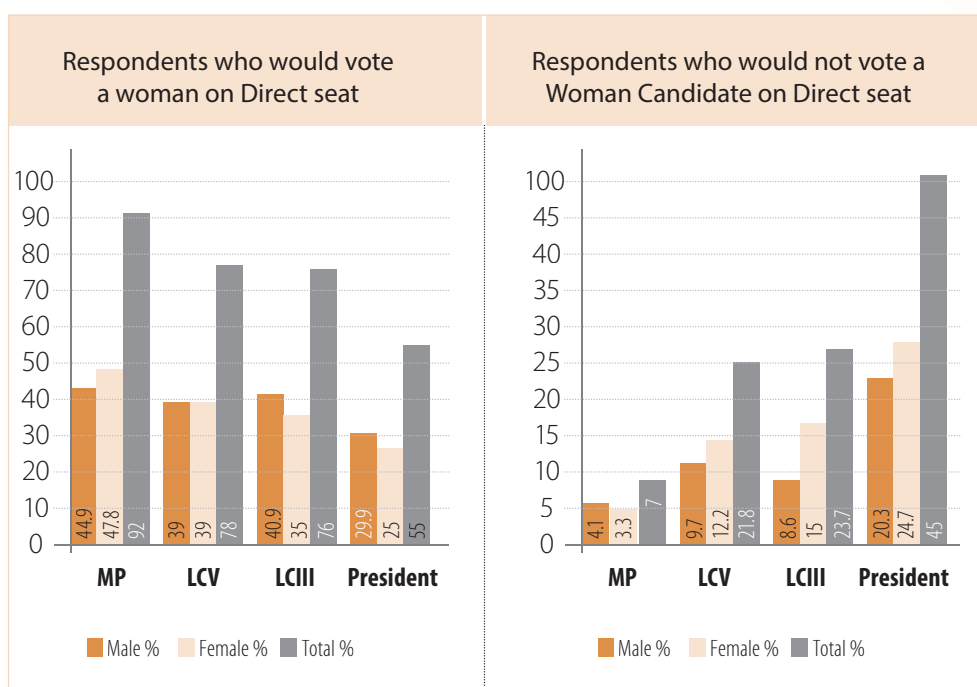
there have been historically fewer numbers of women. Table 4 indicates the willingness of participants to vote female candidates in key positions.

Table 4: Selected responses to voting women on Open Seats

Position	Yes I would vote a woman						No I would not		
	Male (No)	%	Female (No)	%	Total (NO)	%	Male (%)	Female (%)	Total (%)
PRESIDENT	75	29.9	63	25	138	55	20.3	24.7	45
MP	110	44.9	117	47.8	227	92	4.1	3.3	7
LC V	93	39	93	39	186	78	9.7	12.2	21.8
LCIII	95	40.9	82	35	177	76	8.6	15	23.7

Source: Fieldwork data

Figure 4: Willingness to vote women on direct seats



Majority participants felt they had no problem entrusting capable and willing women with key political positions including the presidency of the country (55.0%); Members of Parliament (93%); LCV Chairpersons (78%) and LCIII Chairpersons (76%). Surprisingly, more men (29.9%) than women (25%) were more willing to vote a capable female presidential

candidate. In terms of ranking, respondents felt it was better for women to contest as Members of Parliament, followed by LC V chairpersons, LCIII Chairperson and lastly as President.

Reasons for and against voting a Female President

Reasons for voting a female president

- The belief that women are good leaders. The need for gender balance.
- As long as they have a good manifesto.
- The thinking that every Uganda has a political right to stand.

Reasons against voting a female president

- Perceiving women as incompetent leaders.
- Lack of demonstrable women leaders as role models to demonstrate women's leadership in certain positions.
- Women as inferior and unable to hold high and sensitive positions.

Source: Fieldwork, December 2015

A higher number of respondents would be willing to vote a woman as an MP and not as an LC III/V chairperson. This is no mistaken response but rather a possible portrayal of positions within which power and influence is concentrated. The Affirmative Action policy in Uganda has created a pool of women MPs who have demonstrated the ability to deliver whether as directly elected MPs or women MPs. As such, the position of the Member of Parliament has consequently been stripped of patriarchal connotations as a preserve for men. While many people have never seen a woman president, they have seen a woman MP and therefore would find no challenge voting a woman in such a position. This thread of finding resonates with what some of the female respondents echoed:

"The mere contesting for a seat that has overtime been 're-named' a man's seat, is one of the strategic moves that have a potential to change the deep-seated thinking on men's vis-à-vis women's seats," Female Contestant – direct Member of Parliament position.

"A mere attempt by a woman on the seat [whether they win or lose] is enough to demonstrate that women can. This finding points to a possibility of promoting women on direct seats at LCIII council and chairpersons to create a multiplier effect on the higher positions," Female Contestant, directly elected Sub-County Councilor.

"It can be possible for people to vote a woman as a president. Women are more trustworthy than men. Voting a woman as an MP, is okay with people. They can easily vote for her. Even on the LCV as the chairperson, people can vote a woman to lead them. Even if a woman contests for the LC1 position,

we don't have any problem with it, we can go ahead and vote her. This time, women are determined to serve tirelessly and are good at lobbying," Female FGD, Bukoto East, Masaka.

Such views create some level of optimism. Way back in 2014, the media attempted to signal this readiness for a female president. The media emitted messages and narratives around the possibility of a female president. Although Uganda had had a female contestants in the 2006 and 2011 presidential elections, there was never a similar public discussion on the possibility of a woman president.

The Public Discussion on the possibility of a female President

- Mulondo, Moses. *Rebecca Kadaga wanted for president*—Survey, The New Vision, 3rd June, 2012
- Bisiika, Asuman. 2013. *Kadaga for president? Yes, but not in 2016 please*, Daily monitor
- Mugerwa, Yasiin. *Will Kadaga listen to the 'people's call' and run for presidency?* Daily Monitor, Monday, January 6th 2014
- Kakaire, Sulaiman. *2016 watch: Group collects signatures for Kadaga to run for president*, The Observer, Sunday, 12th January 2014
- Arinaitwe, Solomon & Mwanguhya Mpagi. *Kadaga is Museveni's strongest opponent*, Daily Monitor, Thursday, May 22nd 2014.

In July 2015, the New Vision Newspaper under the 'Elections Watch' run an article entitled: Voters want Kadaga for first woman president (New Vision July 29, 2015). Is Uganda ready for a woman president? Was the question that was posed in an opinion poll covering 6, 626 households countrywide. Accordingly, 34% polled for Kadaga and some of the reasons were that she had shown potential as Speaker of parliament, is capable, courageous, hardworking and outspoken. Other attributes were integrity and passion for human rights. Also her biggest supporters came from voters with some university education while her least backing came from those with no formal education. Other women named included: Kataha Janet Museveni, Betty Kamywa, Jennifer Musisi, Betty Namboozee, Winnie Byanyima, Salamu Musumba, Miria Matembe and Alice Alaso, among others. The question in and as of itself is rooted within exclusionary politics, where men are the default occupiers of the presidency—the highest post in the land. Since the constitution accords equal rights to women and men, such a question should not even be entertained. However given the historical exclusion of women from leadership, the fact that such a question is posed signals a relative dent in the political psyche—towards the world of the possible. The thread that seems to run through the list named in the poll, is visibility and bluntness on the part of some of the women who happen to have occupied spaces opened up by the

politics of mobilization and recognition, whether through election or appointment. Hence recognition has enabled women to demonstrate the ability to govern.

The emerging attitude provides women a ray of hope to engage in competitive politics at all political levels. On the whole, the changing community attitudes towards women's participation in politics at different levels was attributed to a number of factors such as role model effect, sensitization by NGOs, improving girl child education and the slowly rising community's conviction that women are good leaders and less corrupt. These emerging attitudes have to be nurtured in order to translate into improved electoral fortunes for women across the political spectrum, especially on highly competitive and open seats.

5.3 Prospects for women organizing at the local level

There is an emerging reality that women's groups are becoming important aspects in the electoral contest. Candidates know that they have to include women's groups in their campaign trajectory. One male respondent put it succinctly thus:

"When I was looking for signatures to contest as LCIII, most of the people I found in homes were women. Most of my signatures were from women voters. Women are in homes, they are easily mobilised to vote. Majority of the men are not in homes, they go to work. If you are looking for a winning strategy in elections, you have to target women. We usually meet women in community groups. They are usually in groups of 70s and 80s. They are easily mobilised under their groups," Male, LCIII Chairperson, Buwunga sub-county, Masaka.

This trend can increase women's agency and collective action at the local level, if well nurtured. The pitfall that ought to be avoided here is that these groups could turn out to be used as funnels to tap petty election crumbs while women are made to lose the bigger picture of engaging in the broader electoral contest in terms of demanding accountability as citizens.

5.4 Political party support

There were indications of party support for women. The FDC covered nomination fees for its new candidates contesting for MP. The practice of collective campaigning especially by FDC in some districts was a good indicator where female candidates that lacked enough financial facilitation teamed up with their colleagues who had the resources to conduct joint rallies.

Participants felt the NRM party (for obvious reasons) offered more financial and other forms of campaign facilitation (mobilization, printing posters, joint rallies/campaign, and training).

Voices on political parties and their support to female candidates are presented below:

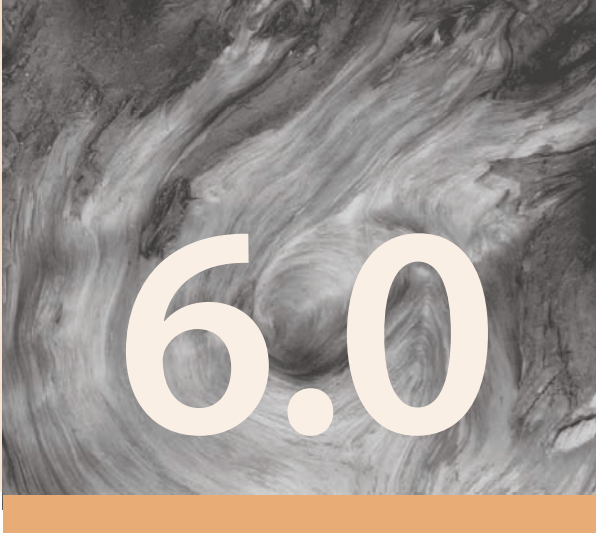
"FDC campaigns are good for their candidates. They move as a team and speak the same language. Their campaign schedule is joint from LC to MP," Female Election Assistant, Gulu.

"NRM has supported women. Perhaps it is because it is in power. I have not seen any other political party, which has come on ground to support women activities," Female election observer, Yumbe Town Council.

"I can say NRM has given more support to women than our party, because it is a ruling party, and it has extensive machinery to facilitate women. Now for ours we are looking for money even from the locals, and we also do fundraising," Male, Secretary for youth Odruvu Sub County, FDC, Yumbe district.

5.5 The disaggregation of-EC data by sex is commendable

Data for nominated candidates was clearly disaggregated by sex and so, it was easy to know how women were positioning themselves for various posts. The data indicated wide gender gaps with women dominating the lower political echelons especially those of affirmative action while the direct seats remained male dominated as shall be demonstrated in the section on deficits. Overall, women accounted for 5.9% as contestants while male were 94.1% for presidential, MP and District Chairperson positions (see Tables 8 and 9. The sex disaggregation was useful in providing a nation-wide status on where the women did and did not contest and therefore a clear way of showing the persistent gender gaps.



6.0

6.0 Persistent Deficits and Women's Losses

Despite the positive trends, findings further reveal that Uganda's celebrated entry gains are at the verge of reversal. Women are gaining interest in the electoral process as candidates, agents, mobilisers and voters but this is within a context of re-defined complexities of gender inequalities in the electoral process that threaten to reverse these gains. Notable persistent challenges include electoral violence with attendant narratives constructed around militarism, sexualisation and commercialisation of politics, intimidation of female candidates, vote rigging, and recreation of patriarchy that works to limit women even on the Affirmative Action seats, among others. Statistical and qualitative findings clearly demonstrate that the current election process does not provide a conducive platform for women to effectively participate in various capacities. There are critical deficits and red flagged areas as discussed in the sections that follow.

6.1 Election Violence: The threat of the “do or die” politics

The run up to the 2016 general elections took place against the backdrop of reported violence against various categories of people including women. During the campaigns, opinion polls indicated that 74% were worried about political stability as a result of violence. Pre-election violence for the 2016 manifested in several areas notably Ntungamo, Jinja and Gulu and many others that were not reported. Women under the Uganda Women's Network-UWONET umbrella condemned violence, including police brutality, and to specifically register the fact that women bear the brunt of these brutal actions. The do or die politics makes women to weigh options, and the weighing scale does not always favour active political engagement, particularly on opposition. While political violence

“Being a female candidate has got its unique experiences; the opportunity in there is that a woman becomes bold enough to address the concerns affecting their community. The platform granted to her by the electoral processes exhibits how firm and willing she is towards serving her people but there is a difference between in the experiences of female candidates on direct and affirmative action seat. A woman on the affirmative seats are comfortable but those on direct, people abuse them “My daughter, is contesting on the direct seat,” LC5 Councilor) and she is always asked “why do you want to compete with men” (LC5 woman Councilor, Pece division, Gulu.

and conflict destroy both men’s and women’s lives, it is apparent that women are often the more vulnerable group. Women usually bear a heavy burden during and after political violence to support their families when the men are injured, imprisoned or even killed. According to the UWONET Executive Director Rita H. Aciro such experiences endanger women’s health and wellbeing and scare them to engage in future political processes. There were many cases where the Uganda police used tear gas against the opposition supporters who were accused of planning to cause chaos before, during and after elections. Several media reports indicated cases where violence was meted out especially against women from the political opposition. Key among them was Fatuma Zainabu Naigaga, the FDC Secretary for Environment who was reportedly stripped naked on the Masaka–Mbarara highway as reported in The Daily Monitor 12th Oct. 2015.

Women campaign agents were subjected to difficult conditions such as assaults, vulgar language and intimidation. Some female contestants explained that when a woman is progressing in a political career, she is usually heavily criticized or bullied and labeled as a failure in marriage because there is a belief that successful women politicians neglect their husbands and Family. Those who were affected by these injustices lack access to justice. Women agents and supporters of candidates indicated, insults and assaults against women were not taken seriously and this had the effect of scaring many women from contesting.

The threat of violence was partly the logic around the Women’s Situation Room initiative that was established in Uganda before, during and after the 2016 elections. Established by the Angie Brooks International Centre (ABIC) during the 2011 Liberian Elections, in 2012 the Women’s Situation Room (WSR) was endorsed as a Best Practice by the African Union’s Gender is My Agenda Campaign and President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf as the Champion of the Room. The WSR mechanism has since been replicated in elections in African countries such as Senegal (2012), Sierra Leone (2012), Kenya (2013), and

Nigeria (2015) (Women's Situation Room-Uganda, 2016). The implementation of the initiative is said to have contributed to forestalling some of Uganda's electoral violence during the 2016 elections. While the logic of the WSR is noble, some observers believe that once women are turned into pleaders for peace they symbolically or otherwise become clients and not principal actors in the election.

6.2 Recreation of male dominance and Affirmative Action as a ghetto

Women remain underrepresented in top open seats such as: Presidency, Member of Parliament, District Chairperson and Mayorship positions in municipalities as well as top political party leadership. The AA seat is seen as the ceiling for women. Overall, women accounted for 5.9% as contestants for open seats at presidential MP and District Chairperson levels (see table 3).

Table 5: 2016: Contestants for Open Seats by Sex

Post	No. of candidates	No. females	No. males	% age of female in the race	% age of male in the race
President	8	1	7	12.5	87.5
Open MP seat	1314	90	1,224	6.8	93.2
District/City chairperson	376	9	367	2.4	97.6
Total	1698	100	1598	5.9	94.1

Source⁴: Electoral Commission records

Whereas there were only 100 women contesting on these several open seats– president, MP and LCV chairperson, there were 405 women contesting on the woman district seat alone (see table 6).

Table 6: Candidates in Woman MP Race by party

Party	No	%
Independent	200	49.4
NRM	110	27.2
FDC	58	14.3

4 Source: EC: List of Nominated candidates 2016, <http://www.ec.or.ug> accessed on January 21, 2016

Party	No	%
DP	18	4.4
UPC	11	2.7
CP	2	0.5
UFA	1	0.2
JEEMA	1	0.2
PPP	1	0.2
Others	3	0.7
Total	405	100

In the districts of study, the picture of reserved seats as a ghetto for women is very clear. Out of the 36 candidates, i.e. 19 % of the race at the three levels, 21 contested the woman MP seat (see table 4). Kampala had 7 women contestants out of 65 and they all lost, while Masaka and Kanungu succeeded for direct MP and LV chairperson respectively.

Table 7: MP contestants in Selected Districts by Sex

District		Positions	No. of candidates	Sex		%	
				F	M	F	M
Kampala		DE/ MPs	65	7	58	10.8	89.2
		W/MP	6	6	N/A		
		LC5	3	0	3	0.0	100%
Masaka		DE/ MPs	15	2	13	13.3	86.7
		W/MP	3	3	N/A		
		LC5	3	0	3	0.0	100
Mbale		DE/ MPs	20	2	18	10	90
		W/MP	3	3	N/A		
		LC5	2	0	2	0.0	100
Gulu		DE/ MPs	22	0	22	0.0	100
		W/MP	3	3	N/A		
		LC5	3	0	3	0.0	100
Kanungu		DE/ MPs	10	1	9	10	90.0
		W/MP	4	4	N/A		
		LC5	3	1	2	33.3	66.7

District		Positions	No. of candidates	Sex		%	
				F	M	F	M
Yumbe		DE/ MPs	13	1	12	8.0	92.0
		W/MP	2	2	N/A		
		LC5	4	1	3	25	75
Total			184	36	148	19	81

Source: Electoral Commission records 2016

What is the question at stake? The open seats especially at MP level have now been named in no uncertain terms– “*ekifo kyabasajja*” (men’s seat). The open MP seat what is should precisely be–open. Instead the seat is now open only to men and closed to women. In all the districts of study, the open seat was symbolically closed and women who contest it are construed as intruders. The women who contested the open seat had testimonies of on grave intimidation and harassment to the effect that they were greedy and encroaching on men’s seats. Even women are noted as culprits in the ring fencing of the open seat.

“When one woman comes up and contests on this directly elected seat then the others try to demoralize her saying, “we have our seats as women”, why do you want to go on the other side of men’s seat. People don’t know that those direct seats are for both men and women,” A female KII, LC3 Woman Councilor, Kawempe, Kampala.

Findings from the six districts depict the spread of false propaganda by male contestants and supporters about the affirmative action policy. The message relayed to the electorate is that women have their own reserved seats. The propaganda is aimed at discouraging female candidates from contesting direct positions and thereby reducing on the competition limiting it to a male contest. Such propaganda coupled with limited effort to correct it on the part of the Electoral Commission, edges out women substantially. Participants mentioned how such propaganda is often accompanied by voter bribes, intrigue, violence and intimidation that further discourage women from contesting.

Respondents attributed the propaganda about men and women’s seats to men’s greed to edge out women. In Kanungu district for example, the ideas of men’s seats and women’s seats manifested in the 2011 elections when a woman declared her interest in standing as MP Kinkizi West. It was reported the then incumbent MP Amama Mbabazi made it a point to spread the propaganda that women had their own seats and since people in Kanungu for a long time believed him, they indeed saw the particular woman contestant as an intruder. The belief has stayed on and in 2016, the woman contestant lost the election bid once again.

Although this reality of ‘ghettoization’ for ever since the institution of affirmative action (Tamale, 1999, Ahikire 2007, Kwesiga et al. 2003), it has now acquired a status of a semi–official position. A candidate standing on an open seat was aired on radio pleading

to President Museveni—as “Muzeeyi (old man) they are blaming me for intruding on the men’s seat”. Appealing to Muzeeyi (old man) seems to have produced dividends for this particular woman, but many who stood on the direct seat were swayed by the way side. The nomination indicates that there were only 90 women out of the 1,306 candidates standing on the open seat, making 6% of the electoral contest at this level, 58% of which are running as independents. This also talks about the largely impervious nature of the political parties as the analysis will indicate in the sections that follow. The situation at the level of LCV chairperson is much worse with 7 women out of 380 candidates making a panny 1% of the contest.

Women organisations under the WDG co-ordinated by UWONET umbrella sought to address this question of ghettoization. In their proposals for constitutional amendment, the women’s coalition, among other things, called for change of the electoral system from the current majoritarian Fast past the Post – to proportional representation and called for parity in representation to one man one woman per district, which would ideally remove the ‘specialness’ from women MPs. The women’s proposals read in part:

“Amend Article 32 of the constitution by providing for gender parity for women and men in elective politics. Make the constituency for men and women a district so that each district is represented in Parliament by one woman and one man in line with the Article 29 (3) of the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance⁵. This proposal translates into 224 MPs directly elected MPs and 5 representatives of People with Disabilities, making a total of 229 MPs⁶.”

This proposal would have in effect resulted into gender parity at parliament level. However the proposals suffered the fate of many other proposals by civil society and other actors who sought to seize the opportunity for constitutional amendments to push for social inclusion. All the proposals never saw the light of day.

6.3 Women seeking male approval even on reserved seats

There is an emerging phenomenon of powerful men as king makers, determining the choice of women leaders even on reserved seats. The phenomenon of powerful male politicians ‘muzeeyi’ (old man—a popular title for President) and powerful politicians and businessmen endorsing who should stand as a woman MP is fast becoming the norm thereby accentuating patronage and male privilege.

In most districts, men especially elders and clan leaders still see themselves as mandated to approve the candidates that represent the women in their respective districts using the

5 Article 29 (3) of the Charter states that: State Parties shall take all possible measures to encourage the full and active participation of women in the electoral process and ensure gender parity in representation at all levels, including legislatures.

6 WDG (2015) Memorandum to the Legal and Parliamentary Affairs Committee of parliament of Uganda: Proposals for Constitutional Amendment from a gender and Women’s perspective, May 28

yard stick of “good women”, who are married, good wives, respecting their husbands and known by their respective communities. In Yumbe District, a female candidate is expected to have been born in the area if she is to be sanctioned by the traditional gate keepers. All these socially sanctioned qualities of a good female political candidate are set by the males although women tend to toe the line and seem to support them too. Although these standards were said to apply to men and women, they were mostly observed for women. For example, a man is not often required to parade his wife on the campaign trail so as to convince voters, yet women are usually required to present their husbands if they are to win votes.

6.4 Red flag on political parties

The political parties have constitutions that require specific minimums of women. In the FDC, it is 40% while the NRM has 30% but this has largely remained on paper. Findings from the study districts indicated that political parties are structured in a way that makes it difficult to have open and democratic internal debates; confront the rules and practices that exclude women from accessing leadership positions. The political party leadership structures of all parties where they exist are male dominated (see table 5).

Table 8: Political party leadership in Selected Districts by Sex

District	Position	Political Party		
		NRM	FDC	UPC
Mbale	Chairperson	M	F	M
	Vice chairperson	n/a	M	N/A
	Secretary	M	M	M
	Mobiliser/Publicity	M	M	N/A
	Finance & Admin	M	N/A	N/A
	Treasurer	M	N/A	N/A
	Women leader	F	F	F
	Youth Leader	M	M	M
Kampala	Chairperson	M	M	
	Vice chairperson	M		M
	Secretary	M		
	Mobiliser/Publicity	M		
	Finance & Admin	N/A		
	Treasurer	N/A		
	Women leader	F	F	F
	Youth Leader	M		

District	Position	Political Party		
		NRM	FDC	UPC
Kanungu	Chairperson	M	M	N/A
	Vice chairperson	F	F	N/A
	Secretary	M	M	N/A
	Mobiliser/Publicity	M	M	
	Finance & Admin	N/A	N/A	N/A
	Treasurer	F	F	
	Women leader	F	F	N/A
	Youth Leader	M	M	N/A
Masaka	Chairperson	M	M	N/A
	Vice chairperson	F	F	N/A
	Secretary	M	M	N/A
	Mobiliser/Publicity	M	M	N/A
	Finance & Admin	N/A	N/A	N/A
	Treasurer	F	F	
	Women leader	F	F	N/A
	Youth Leader	M	M	N/A
	Vice chairperson	M	M	N/A
	Secretary	F	F	N/A
	Mobiliser/Publicity	M	M	N/A
	Finance & Admin	M	M	N/A
	Treasurer	F	F	N/A
	Women leader	N/A	N/A	N/A
	Youth Leader	F	F	N/A
		M/F	M/F	

District	Position	Political Party		
		NRM	FDC	UPC
Yumbe	Chairperson	M	M	N/A
	Vice chairperson	M	M	N/A
	Secretary	M	M	N/A
	Mobiliser/Publicity	M	M	N/A
	Finance & Admin	N/A	N/A	N/A
	Treasurer	N/A	N/A	N/A
	Women leader	F	F	F
	Youth Leader	M	M	N/A

Source: Fieldwork December 2015

Party leadership at district level is clearly male dominated. FDC in Mbale was the only case with a female chairperson at this level. The situation at the national level is similar though in 2016, there was an improvement where the Secretary General as well as treasurer for the NRM are female (see table 9).

Table 9: Leadership of the Major Political Parties

Positions		NRM	FDC	DP	UPC
Chairperson		M	M	M	M
1st National Vice Chairperson		M			
2nd National Vice Chairperson		F			
	North	M	M		
	East	M	F		
	Central	M	M		
	West	M	M		
	Karamoja	M			
Regional V/P	Kampala	M		M	
General Secretary		F	M	M	M
Treasurer		F	M	M	M
Youth Leader		M	M	M	F
Women Leader		F	F	F	F

Source: Fieldwork December 2015

Besides internal leadership, the 2016 elections also indicated the reluctance of parties to field women on open seats. The major contestants, NRM and FDC did not reach even 10% of their fielded candidates. In the case of NRM there were reports that many of the would-be aspiring women were dropped in the primaries. In 2006 the percentage of women on the open seat for NRM and FDC were 5.6 % and 3.6% respectively (Ahikire and Madanda, 2009). This means that 10 years later there is a marginal increase to 8.9 on the part of the NRM and a decline to 2.5% on the part of FDC. In most political parties women were restricted to participate in the ‘women’s wing’. As society can often be very hostile to female candidates, political parties consider female candidates to be an electoral burden or a liability. Because of the shallow support given to issues of gender equality, many voters, including women are not convinced of the need to support or elect women in positions of power (UWONET, 2011).

Table 10: Women in the MP open seat race by Party

Party	No. of candidates	No. females	Males	Party % (F)	National % (F)
NRM	290	26	264	8.9	2
FDC	199	5	194	2.5	0.4
DP	84	7	77	8.3	0.5
UFA	6	3	3	50	0.2
Independents	705	45	660	6.3	3.4
UPC	23	0	23	0	0
JEEMA	8	0	8	0	0
PPP	5	0	5	0	0
Others	12	0	12	0	0
Total	1332	86	1246		6.5

Source: Electoral Commission records

Reports at the local level indicated that primary elections for selecting NRM flag bearers were considered to be marred largely by gross irregularities, intrigue, and violence clandestine and blackmail practices. Candidates who lost in the party primaries—both men and women expressed their dissatisfaction with their party democracy. But women seemed to say that the NRM primary exercise was principally a male game. Below is a case of a female contestant who lost in the NRM primaries and later stood as an independent and labeled herself as people’s flag bearer.

Case: My party pushed me out but before I could throw in the towel my people called me to challenge the results

“My people were beaten, my agents were chased away from the polling station, there were pre-ticked ballots papers, my agents were harassed and all these made results unsatisfactory and when my colleague was declared the flag bearer my supporters called me and suggested that I should become the people’s flag bearer and let be as party flag bearer. However, I remain NRM because I was NRM since I was a child to-date. When I go to parliament I will have a memorandum of understanding with the NRM to continue representing the interests of NRM. Even now, I campaign for Museveni. He even sent people to spy on me whether I am still in my party and he confirmed that I still belong to the party.”

Drawing on the case above, it appeared that rather than creating an enabling environment, political parties seem to be doing the contrary. The case clearly demonstrated that whereas the political party system was envisaged to open multiple doors which women, as other citizens could use as vehicles for political recruitment and nurture, the field currently remains directly tightly closed and women have to re-strategize, reorganize to enter the field. The disabling political environment has a “push” as opposed to a “pull” effect especially when it comes to politically strong and autonomous women.

In the end, women tend to be largely constructed as collective clients in the political parties. The numbers show that majority of women as candidates belong to the NRM and yet the NRM as a relatively dominant party has not seen women’s increased leverage. As a dominant party, NRM would have created an opportunity to demonstrate the contagion effect but unfortunately this seems to be far off. The exclusion is not seen as a deviation from the constitution. There are no apologies for the exclusion. For example when asked why the executive at the district branch was all male an officer at the NRM Mbale District office had a clear answer which was: *“this is a democracy, the women stood and were all defeated. After all women also voted and did not vote fellow women”*.

Globally women have tended to make gains through pushing dominant/ruling parties or what has been termed as the ‘contagion effect’—where if the dominant party is pushed to be socially inclusive, other parties are often compelled to follow. Examples can be drawn from the experience of the African National Congress (ANC), South Africa and to some extent Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM), Tanzania.

Some parties claim that they just do not get enough women to offer themselves for leadership positions. A critical analysis of this question reveals the reluctance of parties to apply affirmative action to ensure women’s inclusion in party politics. There is tremendous fear—fear of the opposition for the majority of women due to the violent nature of politics—especially the harassment opposition party supporters on the part of government.

6.5 The stifling Legacy of individual Merit

Whereas Uganda moved into a multiparty dispensation in 2005, a decade later, the campaigns are largely still run on the basis of individual merit. Beyond the individual articulations there is hardly any identifiable party programme, hence the opposition political parties capitalize on the failures of the ruling party while the NRM castigates opposition political parties. It a “Water Lilly” nature of campaign—neither here nor there for women, this is how the gender ideologies come into play, where is your husband, where are you born? During a campaign rally—voters were asked to support a candidate on the basis that she was born in the area and was married in the same area as a big plus—*atambulira mu zero grazing!* (*She practices zero grazing!*) The other aspect of individual merit manifested in the campaigns is that most candidates especially on the open seats have abandoned the culture of rallies. They have adopted a house to house approach where they “personally relate to their voters.” Accordingly this approach is cheaper and more efficient. In the case of women. However, with the district larger than the open seat constituency this approach is expensive near to possible. Rallies have a function in the electoral process, they provide citizens with the opportunity to evaluate candidates’ ideologies as well as (ideally) influence the determination of what should matter in an election. The house to house approach in turn deepens the patronage politics. In this case, women will not have the opportunity to articulate an independent equality agenda.

Where are all the powerful women? The study noted a high attrition rate for women MPs (see table 11).

Table 11: Attrition Rates for Women MPs (2011–2016)

Election Year	No. of Women in the Previous (9th) Parliament	No. of Women who Retained the seats	No. of Women who lost	Percentage Loss of Women
2011	133	103	30	22.5
2016	133	58	75	56.4

Source: Lists of Members of Parliament (8th, 9th and 10th) from the Parliamentary Library

The table above shows that the percentage loss was higher in 2016 compared to 2011. The are facts on the ground that women are fought by their male colleagues in the constituencies.

One female contestant had this to say:

“I was told that if a woman performs and outshines fellow MPs in the district, they can plan to fail and bring her down, especially if they are not

performing. I had wanted to start a girls' school in 2005 but I feared because such a big initiative could be used against me. I had to wait and go through the election. I started the school in 2007," female contestant on open seat.

Women are hence caught up in a paradox. If they outperform their male colleagues, they are fought and if they underperform, voters will shun them. During the study the question that kept coming up was- where are the strong women who have in the past become visible on the political scene? Maureen Kyalya, the one woman in the race for presidency out of eight candidates had a view on this particular issue. During the first televised presidential debate held on January 15, 2016, Maureen Kyalya made one point, among many others. She, at the very opening of her remarks, said she was not a politician and was not supposed to be the one to stand at the podium of the highest position in the land. According to Kyalya, it was only because the capable women had cowed out under the burden of fear and intimidation.

Many listeners and observers may not have paid attention to some of the points that Kyalya made as they tended to be drowned under the speculation that she was on a NRM mole as well as her rather ethnic based agenda of liberating the Busoga region. Kyalya's alarm bell on the politics of patronage and the impact on women passed unnoticed. The kind of politics seems to be open and closed at the same time and very specifically inimical to strong and autonomous women. It is very clear that this impact does not only relate to the presidential race only but also runs through the entire political leadership spectrum which also results into high attrition rates for women who are able to "speak to power". The 2016 contest has clearly demonstrated this fact in the way outspoken women be it on the open or reserved seats lost their bid.

6.6 Women's leagues as spaces for organizing or disorganizing?

Women's leagues are supposed to be out specific women structures meant to integrate women in different party activities. Generally, these were found to exist in almost all the districts, known to few women (who actively engaged in politics) but were less known or beneficial to majority women. Several voices indicated that the women leagues work to benefit the elite and powerful women as leaders and members of the leagues. While the leagues are meant to organize the women as long as the political parties' live, it was found that these leagues seem to surface only during the election process and go silent in the post-election period.

The roles of women's leagues were identified as;

- To sell the party to all the women from the grassroots to the top.
- To promote women's involvement in politics generally
- Recruit women into the political parties

- To enable women identify their specific problems and look for the solutions together as women
- Mobilizing the women and popularizes the importance of having women in political process. While this is a good structure, they are not very vibrant.

Given the mandate and scope of the women's leagues if followed they would be the best spaces to drive the women's agenda throughout all the party structures. However, women's leagues in various political parties have continued to incur the greatest cost of neglect. As many have been treated as squatters in their own parties'. Female candidates in particular felt leagues had little input to their struggles towards political engagements. League leaders were accused of being self-seekers than empowering instruments for majority women. Women league committees run across all leadership levels-LC1 to LC5. A female candidate (Councilor LC5) mentioned that, *"The leagues are for who is who-vocal, educated, high class who care about themselves alone and not developmental."* The Leagues are meant to mobilise women to engage in party activities, mobilising funds for projects that can support women and creating awareness on development programmes in the country.

Participants acknowledged that parties like FDC lacked the financial resources to coordinate the women's league. The FDC party League carries an extra role of visiting members in police cells that are arrested by the police. They also contribute money to bail out arrested members and distributing mother kits to expectant mothers in hospitals. It was noted that Women Leagues tend to get involved in politics around general election time and after elections, they become inactive.

Women's leagues were also seen to be bedeviled by Male interference. In some cases the appointed chairperson's of the women's leagues are sisters or wives of the "big men" who do not have interests of women at heart. One respondent put it succinctly:

"These "big people" are the ones to appoint women's league chairpersons instead of letting to women elect their leaders who are able to advocate for their issues. They appoint their wives who are not interested in women's issues. Men interfere with women's issues that even during the election of women league leadership, men tend to dictate who should be elected. So you find sisters/wives of the big men being leaders. In most cases, they pick weak leaders who are not close to the community and hence are not able to mobilise women."

In Mbale, an incumbent female LC5 Councilor and contestant narrated how women's leagues operate

"One day a leader for an NRM district women's league called upon us as women to meet, listed our names and promised to present our issues to State

House. However, she never turned up to give feedback to the group. More often our leaders go to State House supposedly to state women issues but once they are there, they just take tea and get transport refund and that's all."

Another woman, a female councilor in Gulu had this to say:

"I am not satisfied with the way the women's leagues operate. The women leagues are in most cases represented by the chairperson and the secretary, the chairperson and the secretary speak for the rest of the members who may not be aware that someone is talking for them because they never get feedback. Members of the women's league are supposed to speak for themselves, which is not the case," female LCV councilor, Gulu Municipality.

In the view of the councilor, there was need for sensitizing women about the importance of all women's leagues at all levels at how the leagues should operate. However the issue may not be so much about sensitizing women but rather of interrogating and transforming the position of women's leagues and the purpose they serve in the political parties.

6.7 The ugly reality of sexual pacification

Sexual pacification of women is a silent cancer in Uganda's elections. There were reports that this problem was at the peak during general campaigns and primaries. Accordingly, a key informant in Mbale had this to say, *"The local party chairperson can tell a woman: 'nze nyinga okutegeera eby'obufuzi' (meaning- I have all the requisite knowledge of politics so you give in and I will make you go through".* In Masaka such sexual demands seem to be nurtured in popular culture- Symbolically referred to as "VAT - Valued added tax" For some men that sexually exploited women politicians, demanding for sex is a way of taxing the females on the value (campaign posters, transport, promises to take you to the party chairperson, etc.) they (men) add unto them. This vice is belittling/degrading women. Below is a quotation that further explains this:

"When young women come into politics, the men con them and in the long run they are distracted. It's even worse when we get disagreements in the council, the men accuse them of being fornicators. Remember they had set up these young girls, at times some of us don't even know, what they do next is to count for her the line of men she has slept with, and you know, for them, they don't care, if they have a wife at home even if he moves from one woman to the other, it's okay for a man. But look at this single, little young woman, she is being used. The young woman will become embarrassed and in the end she will hardly make any sensible arguments in the council meeting so they are weakened. At the end of it all you remain few functional women, so you have to lobby men and since they are the majority, they

decide on what pleases them. That tactic is often used to weaken women,”
Female Councilor, Kawempe, Kampala.

Similar sentiments were captured from other regions as presented in the case below

Case: Sexual pacification: the story of Kane (not real name)

“Holding other factors constant, women campaign managers would be most appropriate. But they are inefficient when it comes to campaign timing. The role of campaign managers is to follow up different constituencies and this is normally done at night. Now, moving with these managers at night, it becomes a challenge especially if you are not married as is my case, when you are fundraising and you solicit man from a man, he does not want to give you the money there and then, he prefers to call you and when he calls it is not about the progress of the campaigns. The subject is totally different. He can call you to meet at a hotel. He promises you ten million shillings and gives you half of the pledge. He goes ahead to caress your breast. Will I go ahead and make an alarm? If I report, it is I the woman contestant who will be affected. If the man is a campaign manager, the mere fact that I made him my agent means that he is considered to have a support and a considerable following. If I blow the lid off it might cause a negative impact among his friends who will also withdraw their support and even begin calling me a prostitute. Most women choose to be silent. Many a woman have been raped in this manner.”

Sexual pacification of women is without doubt a silent cancer in our election. It is cancerous simply because the sexual encounter appears consensual – as if the two adults have indeed consented. Yet the reality is that this is a power play in which men have used their social power to structure the electoral contest on male terms.

Sexualisation of politics follows female contestants wherever they move and they are targeted by sponsors, campaign managers to mention but a few. Sexualisation of politics goes beyond individual women’s ‘sins’. In addition to blaming women for supposedly sleeping with men, they are also blamed for their spouses’ promiscuity as represented by the voice below

“...if your husband is an adulterer then you the wife (in politics) is the problem, may be you’re not fulfilling your wifely duties. The perception is she is out campaigning leaving the man to be sexually starved. But when a woman ‘misbehaves’ her husband is never blamed, she pays for her misbehavior,”
Female Councilor, Kawempe, Kampala.

6.8 The deficits of increased commercialization

Ugandan politics and election process in particular is increasingly becoming expensive. In a country where men remain perceived chief providers for women and their families, are given more access to and control over resources both in the private sphere and within the public sphere, commercialization of politics pushes women out of politics. Majority of women in Uganda do not own land but only possess user rights on land which is a major factor of production. This limits women's control over what is produced for personal consumption or to be sold as means of generating income. Women's unequal access to resources and opportunities as men make engaging in politics or running for public office or organizing an effective campaign problematic.

Qualitative findings revealed that there were many women who were interested in contesting for various electoral positions in 2016 but were put off by the sheer cost. Commercialization of politics is also manifested in the voters–candidates relationships. Most candidates expressed frustration with the way voters expect them to spend at each and every encounter. Accordingly, people were interested in money more than anything else, and that is what the candidates are giving them. *“They know your price... lukumi lukumi (lukumi stands for 1000shs). that is the level they have put us”,* Said one FDC Campaign agent (Nakaloke, Mbale). Other related voices are as follows:

Voices on Commercialisation

“A candidate who talk nonsense but has money as little as 40,000/= for a group will get the votes which clearly shows that voters are not interested in capable leaders, who will lobby and represent their views, but those who will give them short term benefits, something that when divided one gets 1000shs or 500shs,” Female Councilor, Kawempe, Kampala.

“Women still have a fear of contesting with men. One of the issues is the envelope. At the moment, elections equal money. Women are able but to come and contest with men who have money is a challenge. If I sell a cow, she won't sell her husband's cow. When I sell land, she won't sell her husband's land,” Participant, Mbale District.

“People now mind much about money because they know that if you win, you will not come back,” Female Councilor, Pece Gulu.

“It is very expensive to organize a rally because all the people who will come to your rally will need cash. This is so especially in this area of the city. If you are to analyze it is only MPs who hold rallies. But in Kawempe, there are no rallies. I have seen tracks with disco men and women dancing on at the top of these tracks while they shout: “vote this person” meanwhile you've not heard their manifestos,” Female youth, Kawempe Division, Kampala.

“Why should I reject the money yet even after voting these people into power they never remember us. I would rather eat this 2000 shillings and wait for the next five years than losing both,” female youth, Masaka.

Below: Female voters excitedly line up for money after attending a rally



“voters” line up to receive “water” in form of Shs1000

Still on the issue of money in elections, the commercialisation has conscripted the populace in very unnecessary wants as opposed to needs. While the fact of voter bribery has now become part of the electoral culture, there are other demands. There is utter wastage in the mode of campaign. The need for music, full color posters and the “individual touch” (voters want to see and touch the candidate) all make the campaign an expensive venture. The music (kadodi) with powerful speakers is now a basic requirement, which then calls for hire of a dedicated pickup, service men, and generator, campaign agents and transport. As we followed one of the candidates in Mbale on a day trail, we could not resist wondering about who benefits from this enterprise. Who demands for these and what function do they serve in the political system? This is part of the stifling effects of individual merit; the electoral contest is less about policy options and direction of the nation and more about the individual. In this situation innovations have to be made on whatever can draw voters to the individual, money being one of them.

Money has another dimension. Once the election campaign is crowded with all these quite unnecessary burdens such as music, posters and the need for the door to door touch, women then become constructed as those who are not able. This construction serves as a patriarchal dividend, thus making men the principal occupiers of the electoral contest.

6.9 Dancing away rights?

The music (kadodi—a local dance) with powerful speakers is now a basic requirement. The 2016 elections was particularly entertaining because all candidates presidential or otherwise seem to be engaged in some dancing competition. This music that must accompany the candidate at all times calls for hire of a dedicated pickup, service men, and generator, campaign agents and transport an average of 400,000 a day. As the research team followed one of the candidates on a day trail, we could not resist wondering about who benefits from this enterprise. Who demands for these and what function did they serve in the political system?



Above: *Dance apparatus*



In Pictures: *Dance and Merry: what next?*

As people dance away the Kadodi (Bagisu circumcision dance) and feel happy at that moment, do they realize that this is money not well spent and that much more importantly, they are systematically being diverted from the issues that would impact on their livelihood and citizenship?

Furthermore most dancers and entertainers comprise of youth and women who spend a lot of time with little or no pay. In this equation, the women's rights question seems to be drifting further away from the public agenda.

6.10 The invisibility/ loud silence on women's interests

While issues of gender equality and women's empowerment were highly visible in the previous elections (2001, 2006 and 2011 elections), the current election has acutely put the interests of women to the backyard. Women, and consequently their gender concerns, were perceived to be out of the mainstream development and political discourse throughout the campaign process. Moreover, the political dividend from advancing women's concerns appeared to be slowly getting eroded, as envisaged by the avoidance of gender by most aspirants, the rally organisers including women, and women's CSOs. It shows that a lot more needs to be done in a more concerted and consistent manner to keep gender as a priority in Ugandan society. A female participant (Gulu District) noted that, *"Candidates do not address women's issues. There are too many promises and pledges that don't meet the people's needs. Education, health and social problems are ignored and replaced with big and irrelevant pledges- which pledges they well know that they will not fulfill."*

The candidates, including women seem to have largely ignored the women's manifesto. There is other push and pull factors that tend to drift the electoral context from women's interests. The question is: who is to put women's interests onto the election agenda? The issues of women have left the centre stage-It is now about youth issues and money. The candidates seem to be focusing on giving money and making flowery promises to the youth. A related view was expressed as below:

"They are changing goal posts each and every day. Once they see someone talking about an issue and his getting votes than other one jumps to that and also starts telling people about the solutions of that problem .and after two days you will hear, her talk of other issues which were not originally in her manifesto. They are not consisted in their presentation," Aspiring LC3 female Councilor, Kawempe Division Urban Council, Kampala District.

Consider the following:

Government unveils Shs53b Uganda Women Entrepreneurship Programme (UWEP) (Daily Monitor February 15 2016)

Accordingly, the fund was aimed at increasing women's competitive edge in the business sector...The funds to be rolled out in the financial years 2016/2017 would be accessed through the women's groups ranging from 10–15 members. Accordingly UWEP was yet another landmark initiative in implementation of the NRM manifesto.

Minister defends government on 53bn women's cash (Daily Monitor December 31, 2015)

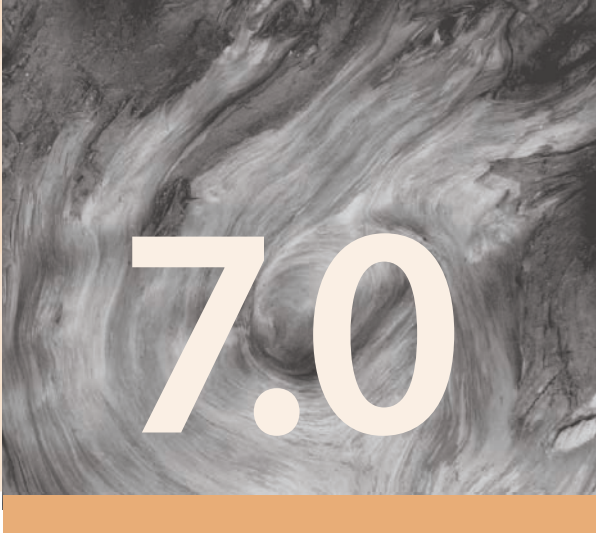
State minister for Gender, Labour and Social Development claimed government released the money in the said period to empower women. She said the money was not an inducement to make the populace vote for the NRM and had nothing to do with boosting campaigns for the ruling NRM. Accordingly, the youth and PWDs have been having special programmes like Youth Livelihood programme and the Disability Grant but women had been left out and yet they are equally poor. The fund of 53bn was to cover 19 districts with an estimated 7000 beneficiaries.

A promise of a women's fund could be celebrated as a positive gesture on the part of government. The general public concern was directed at the timing of such a fund, to the effect that it was tantamount to voter bribery. However a broader political question can be raised in terms of the location of women in the electoral conversation as subjects of "a side dance". The election manifestos of NRM and FDC as the main political parties exemplify this point. Together with youth, women are located in special projects and are subjects of training and empowerment. That specialness seems to undermine conversations on substantive citizenship as these interests do not get to be articulated within mainstream electoral and/or development conversation. Special projects accentuate the status of 'the other'. For women, the locus of special projects severely constrains the rather more long term conversation on challenging the patriarchal policy and development models. For instance, discussions of social citizenship in terms of property/land rights, equal status in marriage as redistributive agendas tend to be silenced. The alternative manifestos against the women's manifesto, the youth manifesto and the citizens' manifesto tend to remain as mere documents and have been largely invisible in the electoral processes.

Women's organizing that principally worked to increase strength and resilience has now been appropriated to become a mandatory condition for women to be helped. The clear message is: "form groups and you will receive assistance". Mandatory and conditional grouping creates a burden of participation. It diverts energies from meaningful political engagement.

The 2016 elections have vividly brought out the invisibility of women and their interests. The 314 page steady progress manifesto of the NRM as a dominant party has just a small section entitled (Section 1.5 of the NRM manifesto 2016–21, entitled youth and women (note the reversed order) outlines thus:

The same section highlights the creation of a women’s fund, which was combined with the issue of Social Assistance Grant for the Elderly (SAGE), in the same paragraph. Whereas the youth have been reduced to the single function of economic existence, as beneficiaries of financial handouts and gifting to the youth has become part of the political culture and a visible battle over which politicians play their game, women on their part, are at the risk of deletion– towards a total eclipse.



7.0

7.0 Conclusion and Recommendations

Conclusion

The question of gender inclusive elections brings to the fore the structural imbalances in the political system. There is growing recognition that the structural imbalances require continuous, enduring and long term perspectives. Women as voters, candidates and election managers need to be tracked continuously to inform strategic actions. The key issues arising from the study point to a mix of both improvements and backlash in terms of women's engagement in the electoral process. The improvements demonstrate the slight improvement in community attitude towards women's engagement in the electoral processes which has partly worked to support women as legitimate political players and the increased numbers of women participating in various roles. Nevertheless, women's engagement in the electoral process remains largely encumbered. Despite the improvements, the 2016 electoral process a backlash depicted through massive electoral violence, exaggerated use of money for votes, persistent sexualisation of politics, male dominance of the electoral positions and influence which impede the advancement of women in the political arena.

Recommendations

There is need to address the persistent gender deficits in the electoral process so as to increase women's electoral leverage and sustain the emerging gains. The study recommends a concerted effort by different stakeholders to apply different strategic actions and interventions so as to further expand women's horizon in Uganda's electoral processes.

The point of emphasis in making recommendations is that the women's movement is the central actor and must use these to demand accountability from other actors such as political parties, the Electoral Commission, the Executive and Parliament. For ease of reference, the recommendations are presented in the action matrix (table 12).

Table 12: Action Matrix: Actions to achieve Meaningful Participation of Women in Elections

#	Key actors	Strategic Actions	Specific Interventions	Targets	Timeframe
1.	Electoral Commission (EC)	Design a Gender Strategy	Conduct wide consultations with key stakeholders in electoral processes to map out the status of women's participation in elections as managers, voters and candidates Identify strategic actions for engendering Electoral process Train and build capacities of election managers on approaches to integrate gender in electoral processes	National Strategy for gender inclusive Elections	One YR
		Civic Education to ensure sustainable civic engagement beyond election season.	Design a Gender aware Civic Education Programme and Sensitize the public on rationale for women-specific political representation.		

#	Key actors	Strategic Actions	Specific Interventions	Targets	Timeframe
			- Carry out regular civic education to raise women's awareness and ambition to engage in electoral processes and political leadership - Promote women's rights as citizens, voters and candidates. Women need to know that their participation in political leadership is by a right rather than a privilege. - Partner with civil society organisations to develop gender sensitive campaign materials. - Integrate civic and rights education programmes in education system		
		Develop a mechanism for monitoring Political party responsiveness to gender equality	Track political party activities with regard to promoting gender equity (in manifestos, party leadership, sponsoring women candidates for political leadership)		

#	Key actors	Strategic Actions	Specific Interventions	Targets	Timeframe
			• Enforce the regulations pertaining the involvement of women in electoral processes (provide specific quotas for women's participations as electoral managers and candidates) • Indicate the inclusion of gender as one of the mandatory requirements for political party registration and qualification to participate in elections. • Develop a gender sensitive binding code of conduct governing legally recognized political parties, government and other political actors prior, during and after elections on the involvement of women in electoral processes. The code of conduct should commit political parties to involve women as actors at all levels of leadership.		

#	Key actors	Strategic Actions	Specific Interventions	Targets	Timeframe
2.	Political Parties	Integrate gender in political party rules, structures & practices	- Align political party laws to the national laws (constitution) and regional and international laws, protocols that state parties have assented to, pertaining to women's political participation. - Develop party gender policies - Review and incorporate gender aware provisions into party constitutions (e.g. ensuring specific quotas for women in party leadership, approval of female candidates as official political flag-bearers in national elections) - Fund Women Leagues as recruiting avenues for political leadership		
		Mobilise resources for gender responsive electoral processes	Identify, mentor and support women into political leadership e.g. finance radio programmes, posters & mobilization for their campaigns.		

#	Key actors	Strategic Actions	Specific Interventions	Targets	Timeframe
3.	Parliament	Reform electoral laws to operationalize the constitutional Directive on gender balance (Enact and amend laws)	• Provide for gender parity (50:50) political representation in the national constitution. • Reform the electoral system towards Proportional Representation (PR) from the current FPTP • Enact a law that requires the appointing authority to ensure equal representation of men & women in EC		
		Provide a conceptual clarity on the labeling, mandate, and modalities of electing women on the Affirmative Action seats.	• Regularly review and update provisions on women specific political representation to ensure that there is no perpetuation of inequality on the basis of sex.		
4.	The Women's movement & other civil society including Academia	Strategic location of the gender agenda in electoral processes	• Engage in electoral process as a continuum (election cycle), not an event • Promote and demand for gender aware civic education (e.g. developing gender sensitive campaign messages)		

#	Key actors	Strategic Actions	Specific Interventions	Targets	Timeframe
			• Conduct regular studies to produce concrete evidence on the performance of EC and political parties and design accountability fora to provide feedback • Identify key training areas for female candidates. • Hold EC and political parties accountable on the implementation of their gender strategy • Collectively structure, implement and monitor a common women's agenda for gender inclusive elections • Invest in quality: Identify, nurture and support women to stand for political positions		
		Influencing practical change in communities towards voting women candidates	• Social Movement building through nurturing local mobilization capacities • Innovate on incentives to constituencies that vote women on direct seats		

#	Key actors	Strategic Actions	Specific Interventions	Targets	Timeframe
			• Organize multiple off the radar spaces to increase women's leverage across the spectrum- economic social & political • Innovate on strategies to 'socially criminalise' sexual pacification		
5.	Social institutions (religious, cultural)	Unite against electoral bribery and promote citizenry demand for accountability from the leaders to create space for women to participate	• Strongly condemn commercialized politics and mobilize the people against the vice through debates and dialogues • Help to advocate the enforcement of legal provisions that favour gender equality		Continuous process
6.	General citizenry	Collective voice against electoral malpractices – violence, commercialization and sexualised politics	• Shun candidates that promote malpractices by denying them votes • Raise their voice against electoral, including sexual violence		Continuous process

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Appendices

Appendices

Annex 1: Successful candidates for MP in the study Districts

District	Constituency	Member of Parliament (direct seat)	Sex	Party
Kampala	Kampala central	Mohamed Nsereko	M	Independent
	Kawempe North Division	Ssebagala Abdu Latif Sengendo	M	
	Kawempe South Division	Mubarak Munyagwa	M	Independent
	Makindye west Division	Allan Ssewanyana	M	DP
	Makindye East Division	Kasozi	M	FDC
	Rubaga North Division	Moses Kasibante	M	DP
	Rubaga South Division	Kato Lubwama	M	DP
	Nakawa Division	Michael Kabaziguruka	M	FDC
Woman MP		Nabilah Naggayi Sempala	F	FDC
Gulu	Aswa County	Regan Okum	M	FDC
	Omoro county	Jacob Oulanyah	M	NRM
	Gulu Municipality	Lyandro Komakech	M	DP
	Tochi County	Okot Peter	M	DP
Woman MP		Betty Aol Ochan	F	FDC
Masaka	Bukoto East County	Florence Namayanja	F	DP
	Bukoto Central County	Hajji Mbabali Muyanja	M	NRM
	Masaka Municipality	Mathias Mpuga	M	DP
Woman MP		Babirye Kabanda	F	DP

District	Constituency	Member of Parliament (direct seat)	Sex	Party
Mbale	Bungokho South County	Michael Werikhe	M	NRM
	Bungokho North County	Gershom Wambede	M	FDC
	Mbale Municipality	Jack Wamai	M	FDC
Woman MP		Connie Galiwango	F	NRM
Yumbe	Aringa County	Ashraf Olega	M	NRM
	Aringa North County	Onzima Godfrey	M	NRM
	Aringa South County	Alioni Odria	M	NRM
Woman MP		Zaitun Drawaru	F	Independent
Kanungu	Kinkizi East county	Chris Baryomunsi	M	NRM
	Kinkizi West County	James Kaberuka	M	NRM
Woman MP		Elizabeth Karungi	F	NRM

Source: Electoral Commission records

Annex 2: List of Participants

Individual interviews

Gulu District

No.	Name	Sex	Age	Position	Sub County
1	Betty Anek Odong	F	53	NRM Agent	Awach
2	Pamela Angwech	F	–	Executive Director, GWED-G (NGO)	Gulu District
3	George Ebola	M	35	Election Manager/ NRM	Gulu District
4	Akumu Doreen	F	59	FDC Agent	Pece Division
5	Angee Filda	F	–	NRM Agent	Pece Division
6	Ayugi Margaret Odongo	F	60	Woman Councilor LCV	Pece Division
7	Francis Odongyoo	M	–	Executive Director, Human Rights Forum	Gulu Municipality
8	Oyat Chagga	M	–	General Secretary, FDC	Gulu District
9	Rose Amono Abili	F		Woman Councilor LCV/ Chairperson Women's League	Bungatira Sub County
10	Hon. Olara Otunu	M		Former UPC Presidential candidate	Pece Division
11	Stella Odongo	F	–	NRM Woman Councilor, LC5	Pece Division
12	Betty Paska Mercy	F	35	FDC LC4 Aspirant (Direct seat)	Pece Division
13	Mr. Ocaya Denis	M	–	FDC, Councilor LCV aspirant,	Pece Division
14	Rose Amono Abiri–	F	45	FDC, Councilor LC1	Pece Division
16	Alice Parlaki–	F	67	Women Elder, Councilor LC3, NRM,	Pece Division
17	Acayo Fiona	F	22	Students Affairs, NRM Youth League	Pece Division
18	Santo Okwaro	M	56	Religious leader/ Catechist	Toci Division

No.	Name	Sex	Age	Position	Sub County
19	Gloria Odaka	F	33	Paralegal	Gulu municipality
20	Akello Patricia	F	–	Voter	Gulu municipality
21	Amal Betty	F	–	Voter,	Gulu municipality
22	Akello Mercy Paska,	F	35	FDC, Direct seat, LC Council 4	Pece Division
23	Chief David Nicholas Opoka	M	89	Cultural Leader	Pece Division

Mbale District

No.	Name	Sex	Age	Position	Constituency
1.	Nagudi Mariam Wambede	F	32	Contestant, MP direct position	Bunghokho North
2.	Kasifa Kalivanuki	F	45	Voter	Bunghokho North
3.	Olive Kenny Nsubuga	F	41	Advisor/Prayer Partner, Female MP	Mbale Municipality
4.	Baluka Sharifa	F	24	Voter	Bunghokho North
5.	Rita Omalla	F	48	Voter	Bunghokho North
6.	Lunyolo Josephine	F	48	Woman Councilor, LCV/ contestant	Mbale Municipality
7.	Sarah Muteesi	F	32	Contestant/ LC III Councilor	Mbale Municipality
8.	Beatrice Nandudu	F	28	Voter	Mbale Municipality
9.	Joyce Matuka Kidulu	F	47	Contestant/Mayor/ Mbale Municipality	Mbale Municipality
10.	Kasande Madrine	F	44	Secretary/NRM Women's League/ Sub County level	Mbale District
11.	Namutosi Sarah	F	41	LCIII Councilor	Mbale Municipality
12.	Nanduga Proscovia Connie	F	35	LCV Councilor	Northern Division, Mbale Municipality
13.	Nadunga Scovia	F	29	Voter	Mbale Municipality

No.	Name	Sex	Age	Position	Constituency
14.	Kwaga Justin	F	30	Voter	Mbale Municipality
15.	Tabingwa Christine	F	56	Voter	Mbale Municipality
16.	Rev. Robert Wansala	M	–	Religious Leader	Mbale Municipality
17.	Safiyi Wakahete Mafabi	M	–	Cultural Leader	Mbale Municipality
18.	Ziwedde Isa	M	–	Deputy Chief Administrative Officer	Mbale Municipality
19.	Gizamba Ahmed	M	–	Sub County Election Supervisor, EC	Mbale Municipality
20.	Florence Bisikwawanzira	F	–	District voter educator	Mbale Municipality
21.	Akweta Yusuf	M	–	Uganda Human Rights Activists	Mbale Municipality
22.	Wambedde James	M	–	FDC Mobiliser	Mbale Municipality
23.	BalayoTonny	M	–	NRM mobiliser	Mbale Municipality

Kampala District

No.	Name	Sex	Age	Position	Sub County
1.	Faridah Nagawa	F	25	Voter	Kawempe Division
2.	Hajara	F	19	Voter	Kawempe Division
3.	Akiki Nyamaka	F	70	Voter	Kawempe Division
4.	Alice Namakula	F	30	Voter	Kawempe Division
5.	Tusiime Mariam	F	24	Voter	Kawempe Division
6.	Sophia	F	26	Voter	Kawempe Division
7.	Grace Bakashaba	F	38	Voter	Kawempe Division
8.	Rev. Mulondo Nathan	M	–	Religious Leader	Rubaga Division
9.	Agnes Namagembe	F	19	Voter	Rubaga Division
10.	Christine Nambii	F	37	Voter	Rubaga Division
11.	Nalongo Kiberu	F	56	Voter	Central Division
12.	Nantongo Gorette	F	51	Voter	Central Division

No.	Name	Sex	Age	Position	Sub County
13.	Hamidah	F	–	V/Chairperson/ FDC Women's League	Central Division
14.	Anna Namuddu	F	52	Voter	Rubaga Division
15.	Sr. Angella Atwiine	F	26	Religious Leader	Rubaga Division
16.	Barbra Namanya	F	24	Voter	Central Division
17.	Susan Akello	F	42	Voter	Central Division
18.	Nantongo Gorrette	F	51	Voter	Kawempe Division
19.	Musitwa Theopista	F	–	LCIII Councilor/ Contestant	Kampala Central
20.	Hamidah Nasimbwa	F	–	FDC Chairperson, Women's League	Kampala Central
21.	Nakkazi Sylvia	F	–	Voter	Kampala Central
22.	Luck Rose	F	–	Voter	Kampala Central
23.	Nabukenya Sophie	F	23	Voter	Kawempe Division
24.	Tebyasa Alice	F	49	LC3–Candidate	Kawempe Division
25.	Serunjoji Moses	M	45	District Electoral supervisor	Kawempe Division
26.	Kamariza Mouda	F	67	Voter	Kawempe Division
27.	Bahati Ibrahim	M	28	Voter	Kawempe Division
28.	Kahigimo Levi	M	45	NRM mobiliser	Kawempe Division
29.	Agaba Edwin	M	32	NRM Youth league	Kawempe Division
30.	Peter Lowestian	M	24	Crime Preventer	Kawempe Division

Kanungu District

No.	Name	Sex	Age	Position	Sub County
1	Atwiine Justine Kakuru	F	–	District Councilor	Kirima
2	Nyiramahoro Shamillah	F	–	District Youth Councilor	Kirima
3	Rulyabandi Felista	F	–	District Councilor	Nyakinoni

No.	Name	Sex	Age	Position	Sub County
4	Atuhaire Allen	F	–	Women's League Chairperson	Kanungu Town Council
4	Mugisha Jackline	F	–	District Woman Councilor	Kanungu Town Council
5	Tebereebe Peninah	F	–	District Councilor	Nyakinoni
6	Atukwase Martin	M	–	District Youth Chairperson	Kanungu Town Council
7	Mulekezi Ferdinand	M	–	Returning Officer	Kanungu Town Council
8	Hon. Jacqueline Kyatuhare	F	–	MP (Open Seat) / Independent	Kinkizi West
9	Kansiime Honest Mugisha	F	–	FDC	Kanungu Town Council
10	Wamunga Fred	M	–	Police(Assistant OC)	Kihiihi Town Council
11	Tumwendeze Rwozi	M	–	OC CID Kihiihi	Kihiihi Town Council
12	Desire Tibesigwa	F	34	Chairperson Mothers Union	Kihiihi Town Council
13	Twinamatsiko Sylvia	F	28	Voter	Nyakinoni
14	Kehonda Annita	F	–	Voter	Nyakinoni
15	Musiimenta Toska	F	27	Voter	Nyakinoni
16	Proscovia Tumusiime	F	26	Voter	Nyakinoni
17	Katusiime Evelyn	F	37	Voter	Nyakinoni
18	Tumusherure Justine	F	67	Former H/Tr	Nyakinoni
19	Mrs. Josephine Kasya	F	–	C/Person NRM Women's League	Kanungu Town Council
20	Mariam Asiimwe	F	–	District Councilor	Kanyatorogo

Masaka District

No.	Name	Sex	Age	Position	Sub County
1	Hon. Kase Mubanda	F	–	Woman MP (NRM)	Masaka Town Council
2	Hon. Florence Namayanja	F	–	MP (Open Seat)– DP	Bukoto East

No.	Name	Sex	Age	Position	Sub County
3	Nabaasa Nathan	M	–	Electoral Commission	Masaka Municipality
4	Mpanga Beatrice	F	–	District Councilor	Bukoto East
5	Nagawa Milly Phoebe	F	29	District Woman Councilor	Bukoto East
6	Namusozi Coltilda	F	58	Retired H/Tr	Bukoto East
7	Hanniffa Namukwaya	F	29	District Woman Councilor	Bukoto East
8	Nabakooza Agnes		–	District Woman Councilor	Kyabakuzza
9	Geoffrey Kasule	M	79	Opinion Leader	Bukoto East
10	Phibby Kyewalyanga	F	61	MP–NRM flag bearer	Bukoto East
11	Viola Ntesibe	F	28	Voter (Poultry rearing)	Bukoto East
12	Nakito Frank	M	–	Voter	Bukoto East
13	Asiimwe Joan	F	–	Voter	Bukoto East
14	Prossie Bukenya	F	–	Woman Councilor LC5	Bukakatta
15	Nampima Justine	F	–	OC Political Desk–	Masaka Municipality
16	Ssenyonga Martin	M	–	Crime Preventer	Bukoto East
17	Sarah Byamukama	F	48	President, Mothers Union	Masaka Municipality

Yumbe District

No.	Name	Sex	Age	Position	Sub County
1	Andiga John	M	65	Cultural leader	Yumbe Town Council
2	Driwaru Zaitun	F	38	Woman MP Independent	Yumbe Town Council
3	Hon Avako Janet	F		FDC MP aspirant Direct seat	Yumbe Town Council
4	Medina Yusuf	F	33	Voter	Yumbe Town Council

No.	Name	Sex	Age	Position	Sub County
5	Alice Asina Ashadura	F	–	LCV female councilor aspirant	Yumbe Town Council
6	Lukia Safi Rembe	F	–	Former Sub County woman Councilor	Yumbe Town Council
7	Azubi Siraje	M	32	Yumbe District Council	Yumbe Town Council
8	Mr. Bruhan Mansul	M	26	Election Observer	Yumbe Town council
9	Aliru Lukia Bruhan	F	36	Voter	Yumbe Town council
10	Peace Jamila,	F	23	Voter	Yumbe Town council
11	Bako Catherine,	F	26	Voter	Yumbe Town council
12	Olera Palma	F	37	Voter	Yumbe Town council
13	Asiimwe Jamila	F	34	Voter	Yumbe Town council
14	Drichiru Patience	F	–	Voter	Yumbe Town council
15	Sebi Aisha	F	44	Voter	Yumbe Town council
16	Bako Rehma	F	28	Voter	Yumbe Town council
17	Aluonzi Stephen	M	42	FDC Secretary general	Yumbe Town council
18	Guy Nassur	M	39	District Councilor	Yumbe Town council
19	Awilu magid	M	39	NRM Chairperson	Yumbe Town Council
20	Charity Faridah	F	34	Female District Councilor, NRM	Kuru
21	Hawa Sebbi	F		Election observer, WDG	Kuru
22	Mansur Braham	F		Election observer, WDG	Yumbe Town council
23	Onama Mahamoud	M	33	Sec. for youth, FDC	Aringa South
24	Ondo Jamilah	F	–	Sec. for women affairs	Yumbe Town Council

No.	Name	Sex	Age	Position	Sub County
25	Waiga Rasur		–	NRM mobiliser	Yumbe Town Council
26	Aluezuniyo Immaculate	F	–	FDC Women LCV councilor	Yumbe Town council
28	Anjuko Hasifa Museke	F	–	Female councilor	Yumbe Town council
29	Jane Alejo	F	39	NRM flag bearer MP contestant	Yumbe Town Council

Total individual interviews conducted= 142

Annex 3: Focus Group Discussions

Mixed FGD – Pece Division (Urban), Gulu District

No.	Name	Sex	Age	Position	Constituency
1	Denis Nokrach	M	29	Voter	Gulu Municipality
2	George Ochor	M	35	Voter	Gulu Municipality
3	James Okumu	M	28	Voter	Gulu Municipality
4	Patrick Ocaya	M	24	Voter	Gulu Municipality
5	Gift Oroma	F	28	Voter	Gulu Municipality
6	Gloria Adokorach	F	26	Voter	Gulu Municipality
7	Ajok Florence	F	39	Voter	Gulu Municipality

Female only FGD – Awach Sub County (Rural) Gulu District

No.	Name	Sex	Age	Position	Constituency
1	Oroma Concy	F	35	Voter	Aswa County
2	Apio Proscovia	F	29	Voter	Aswa County
3	Kipwonya Florence	F	30	Voter	Aswa County
4	Atwoo Florence	F	52	Voter	Aswa County
5	Auma Evalin	F	43	Voter	Aswa County
6	Layero Harriet	F	35	Voter	Aswa County
7	Acen Aidah	F	34	Voter	Aswa County
8	Akello Nancy	F	20	Voter	Aswa County
9	Angeyo Christine	F	48	Voter	Aswa County

Mixed FGD (Urban), Mbale District

No.	Name	Sex	Age	Position	Constituency
	Nabudala Samat	F	–	Voter	
	Aminaba Fred	M	–	Voter	
	Nadul Fred	M	–	Voter	
	Bushaku Shafiq	M	–	Voter	
	Ayere Salim	F	–	Voter	
	Matovu Ruth	F	–	Voter	
	Betty Manyiwa	F	–	Voter	
	Memo Moses	M	–	Voter	
	Mafabi Mohammed	M	–	Voter	
	Kidedo William	M	–	Voter	

Mixed FGD (Rural), Mbale District

No.	Name	Sex	Age	Position	Constituency
1.	Namakoola Titus	Male			
2.	Wafuna James	Male			
3.	Swaliki Batte	Male			
4.	Nandiga Justine	Female			
5.	Wanyenze Jane	Female			
6.	Ssempala Nasul	male			

Mixed FGD, Kawempe North , Kampala District

No.	Names	Sex	Age	Position	Constituency
1	Tushabe Catherine	F	22	Voter	Kawempe North
2	Nantume Sylvia	F	32	Voter	Kawempe North
3	Kisakye Jane	F	53	Voter	Kawempe North
4	Namutebi Flavia	F	30	Voter	Kawempe North
5	Bakozi Moses	M	27	Voter	Kawempe North
6	Mugume Joshua	M	27	Voter	Kawempe North
7	Lukwago Isaac	M	31	Voter	Kawempe North
8	Semakula Ibrahim	M	28	Voter	Kawempe North

Female only FGD, Kawempe North, Kampala District

No.	Name	Sex	Age	Position	Constituency
1	Nakuya Juliet	F	32	Voter	Kawempe North
2	Nyaketcho Faith	F	30	Voter	Kawempe North
3	Zalwango Claire	F	23	Voter	Kawempe North
4	Nansereko Faridah	F	37	Voter	Kawempe North
5	Namusisi Alice	F	32	Voter	Kawempe North
6	Nalubega Sorea	F	31	Voter	Kawempe North
7	Walusimbi Barbara	F	23	Voter	Kawempe North
8	Nambooze Marjorine	F	40	Voter	Kawempe North
9	Mabirizi Maimuna	F	28	Voter	Kawempe North

Mixed FGD, Kinkizi East –Kirima Sub County (Rural), Kanungu District

No.	Name	sex	Age	Position	Constituency
1	Nsimiire Sostene	F	33	Voter	Kinkizi East
2	Ndyabagye Elias	M	36	Voter	Kinkizi East
3	Nuwamanya Duncan	M	25	Voter	Kinkizi East
4	Mbabazi Sharon	F	26	Voter	Kinkizi East
5	Kazarwa Christopher	M	67	Voter	Kinkizi East
6	Kabagambe Deus	M	26	Voter	Kinkizi East
7	Komugisha Eunice	F	40	Voter	Kinkizi East
8	Arinda Merabeau	F	23	Voter	Kinkizi East
9	Mugabe Alex	M	36	Voter	Kinkizi East

Female only FGD – Kihhi Town Council (Urban), Kanungu District

No.	Name	Sex	Age	Position	Constituency
1	Kyokusiiman Peace	F	37	Voter	Kinkizi West
2	Kebirungi Ajala	F	20	Voter	Kinkizi West
3	Kyomuhendo Jackline	F	37	Voter	Kinkizi West
4	Lydia Kateshumbwa	F	59	Voter	Kinkizi West
5	Tindamanyiire Oliver	F	21	Voter	Kinkizi West
6	Ayebare Peace	F	33	Voter	Kinkizi West
7	Asasiira Precious	F	24	Voter	Kinkizi West
8	Aryatuha Patience	F	18	Voter	Kinkizi West

No.	Name	Sex	Age	Position	Constituency
9	Mugabirwa Feresta	F	34	Voter	Kinkizi West
10	Mary Twikirize	F	35	Voter	Kinkizi West

Female only FGD (Rural), Bukoto East, Masaka District

No.	Name	Sex	Age	Position	Constituency
1.	Nanyondo Christine	F	24	Voter	Bukoto East
2.	Namusonga Jane	F	75	Voter	Bukoto East
3.	Namutebi Justine	F	40	Voter	Bukoto East
4.	Nalubega Imelda	F	60	Voter	Bukoto East
5.	Nabukenya Josephine	F	34	Voter	Bukoto East
6.	Nakazzi Harriet	F	38	Voter	Bukoto East
7.	Namugumya Agnes	F	43	Voter	Bukoto East
8.	Namagembe Hadijah	F	34	Voter	Bukoto East
9.	Nanyage Florence	F	35	Voter	Bukoto East
10.	Namiiro Hanifa	F	19	Voter	Bukoto East

Mixed FGD (Urban), Kyabakuza Masaka District

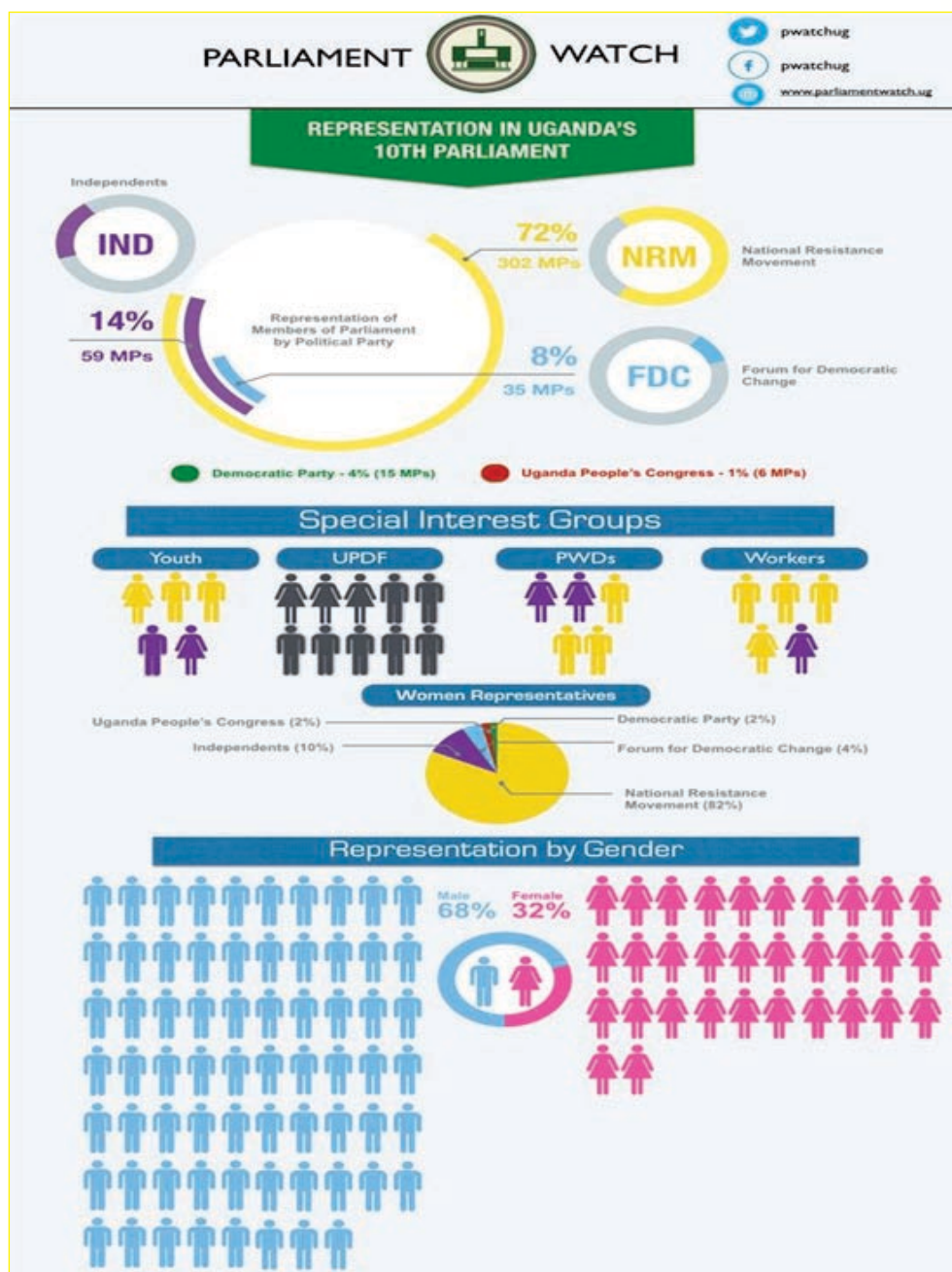
No.	Name	Sex	Age	position	Constituency
1.	Walusimbi John	M	50	Voter	Masaka Municipality
2.	Senyonga Ronald	M	51	Voter	Masaka Municipality
3.	Naluwadda Ruth	F	40	Voter	Masaka Municipality
4.	Kayondo Emmanuel	M	60	Voter	Masaka Municipality
5.	Kiyemba Deus	M	62	Voter	Masaka Municipality
6.	Ssentongo Ronald	M	31	Voter	Masaka Municipality
7.	Naavah Rehema	F	30	Voter	Masaka Municipality
8.	Nakimuli Lukiya	F	40	Voter	Masaka Municipality
9.	Namugerwa Rose	F	32	Voter	Masaka Municipality
10.	Nakangi Jane	F	34	Voter	Masaka Municipality

Mixed FGD (Urban, Yumbe District)

No.	Name	Sex	Age	Position	Place
1	Fatuma Tiko	F	40	Voter	Yumbe Town Council
2	Anguyo Lucy	F	47	Voter	Yumbe Town Council
3	Malamugu Amin	M	21	Voter	Yumbe Town Council
4	Dawa Hadisa	F	40	Voter	Yumbe Town Council
5	Dramaari Jamil	M	25	Voter	Yumbe Town Council
6	Okello Muhammed	M	22	Voter	Yumbe Town Council
7	Siasa Amana	M	33	Voter	Yumbe Town Council
8	Bakiti Hamza	M	27	Voter	Yumbe Town Council
9	Aliko Ramila	F	35	Voter	Yumbe Town Council

Total FGDs conducted=11

Annex 4: The 10th Parliament at a glance



Funded by:



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