



CEWIGO
MAKING POLICIES
WORK *for* WOMEN

CENTRE FOR WOMEN IN GOVERNANCE

WOMEN IN POWER AND DECISION-MAKING:



**25 Years of implementing The Beijing Declaration and
Platform for Action, the Case of Uganda
A Survey Report by Centre for Women in Governance**

November 2020

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FOREWORD



The year 2020 is very significant in the life of women and girls. The global community is celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Fourth World Conference on Women and the adoption of the Beijing Declaration Platform for Action. Uganda as a country is commemorating the promulgation of her 1995 Constitution that ushered in a new dispensation for women empowerment and gender equality. It gives women equal rights with men and outlaws laws, cultures, customs and traditions which are against the dignity of women. It is also the year for the planned launch of the third National Development Plan. Looking back 25 years, great strides have been made in promoting the rights of women and girls. Commendable progress has been registered in getting women into positions of power and this has brought with it immense relief in the lives of many women and girls as this report and other reports that came before narrate. It has taken collective efforts from all sectors of the country to have this achievement. Special recognition and appreciation goes to the Government of Uganda for providing leadership to attain women's emancipation. Government efforts

to have the necessary legal and policy infrastructure in place and enforce it cannot go unrecognized. Efforts by CSOs, including the Centre for Women in Governance, have made a big difference in the struggle for women emancipation and have been recognized by women leaders both in and outside of Government. I recognize and highly appreciate the valuable contribution of our staff, partners and collaborators who have worked tirelessly to bring a smile on the faces of many women and girls out there. With these efforts, the goal of gender equality and women's empowerment keeps coming closer and closer every year.

That said, however, this report observes that there are still some gaps, challenges, and barriers in the quest to attain gender equality in Uganda. The highlights of this report give us an opportunity to reflect more, re-strategize and marshal more energies and commit ourselves to cause faster and more balanced progress in the lives of all Ugandans. The hurting souls out there deserve quicker fixes to their reality!

I would like to express my appreciation to the Board of Directors and all those who contributed ideas into this report. I thank UN Women, the Democratic Governance Facility, the African Women's Development Fund for technical and financial support for the implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action and related projects

Finally, I am grateful to the Urgent Action Fund Africa for making this study possible.

Margaret Akello
Chairperson CEWIGO Board

ACKNOWLEDGMENT



The Republic of Uganda and indeed Civil Society in Uganda were represented at the Fourth World Conference on Women that was held in September 1995 in Beijing, in the Peoples’ Republic of China. The member states committed to implement the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (BDPfA), the key outcome of the Conference. Since then, both the Government of Uganda and Civil Society have been submitting reports on the progress of implementation of the BDPfA. The last report submitted by Government was prepared in 2019 for the commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Fourth World Conference on Women and the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, in 2020. Centre for Women in Governance was invited to contribute to that report.

At the same time, CEWIGO decided to generate this report that specifically focuses on Women and Power and Decision Making as well as two relevant commitments which she has been contributing (changing negative social norms and gender stereotypes and promotion of a supportive environment for women’s empowerment) with the

view of accelerating implementation. Consultations were held with actors in Government Agencies, CSOs, and with Local Governments in our target geographical areas of operation. This report presents the actions and measures that were undertaken by the Government in partnership with other stakeholders during the period 2014-2019 and results witnessed therefrom.

I wish to commend the Program Manager Ms. Prudence Atukwatse and the entire staff of CEWIGO for coordinating and providing technical guidance to the investigation process and compilation of this report. I would also like to thank the consultancy team led by Mr. Benon Webare for collecting and analyzing the data and for compiling the report. I also thank all the stakeholders who willingly provided the information. My sincere appreciation goes to our Development Partners Urgent Action Fund Africa for the support they have rendered CEWIGO to make a positive contribution to accelerating progress for women and girls.

Jocelyn Ekochu Bananuka
Acting Executive Director

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACFIM	Alliance for Campaign Finance Monitoring
AMISOM	African Union Mission in Somalia
AU	Africa Union
AUEOM	AU Election Observer Mission
BDPfA	Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action
BFP	Budget Framework Papers
CA	Constituent Assembly
CCEDU	Citizens Coalition for Electoral Democracy in Uganda
CEWIGO	Centre for Women in Governance
CoAct	Coalition for Action
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
EC	Electoral Commission
EOC	Equal Opportunities Commission
FDC	Forum for Democratic Change
FOWODE	Forum for Women in Democracy
GBB	Gender Bench Book

ICDP	Integrated Childhood Development Policy
ICT	Information, Communication and Technology
ICWEA	International Community of Women Living with HIV in Eastern Africa
KII	Key Informant Interview
MDAs	Ministry, Department and Agencies
MGLSD	Ministry of Gender, Labor and Social Development
MP	Member of Parliament
MPS	Ministerial Policy Statements
NAWOU	National Association of Women's Organizations in Uganda
NDP	National Development Plan
NEC	National Executive Committee
NRM	National Resistance Movement
NSCU	National Service College of Uganda
PFMA	Public Finance Management Act
PWD	Persons with Disabilities
UDHS	Uganda Demographic and Health Surveys
UMI	Uganda Management Institute
UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
UNHS	Uganda National Household Surveys
UNMISS	United Nations Peace Support Mission
UNSCR	UN Security Council Resolutions
UPDF	Uganda People's Defense Forces
UPE	Universal Primary Education
USE	Universal Secondary Education
UWEP	Uganda Women Entrepreneurship Program
UWONET	Uganda Women's Network
UWOPA	Uganda Women Parliamentary Association
VHT	Village Health Team

1.0 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1 About the Centre for Women in Governance

Centre for Women in Governance is a women's rights Non-Governmental Organization legally registered as number 6338. The organization was formed in 2006 to promote knowledge and understanding of the importance of women's participation in politics, to transform Uganda's political and governance terrain through empowering the electorates and to promote solidarity and partnership among women leaders, activists and entrepreneurs.

CEWIGO envisions a society where women and men are equitably participating and benefiting from good governance. CEWIGO's mission is to mobilize women and build their capacity to influence governance at all levels and to increase awareness that where women and men share equally in the generation and maintenance of good governance, the benefits accrue to all society.

CEWIGO has 3 core programs namely: The Women's Leadership Development Program that focuses on strengthening women's leadership at national, local and grassroots levels; The Women's Rights Advocacy Program aimed at advocating for conditions that sustain women's peace and security for good governance and The Community and Citizen's Empowerment Program that aims at empowering communities and individuals with knowledge and skills of their human rights and duties to engage effectively in governance processes including holding leaders accountable to deliver

quality public services.

1.2 The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action

The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (BDPFA) of 1995 is a visionary agenda for the empowerment of women. The Declaration remains the most comprehensive global policy framework and blueprint for guidance and inspiration to realize gender equality and the human rights of women and girls across the globe.

This landmark instrument was the outcome of the Fourth World Conference on Women, held in Beijing, China, in September 1995. After two weeks of political debate, exchange of information on good practice and lessons learned, and sharing of experiences, representatives of 189 Governments agreed to commitments that were unprecedented in scope. More than 30,000 people also participated in the Forum of non-governmental organizations in Huairou, a unique space of advocacy, networking, training and knowledge sharing.

Developed 25 years ago, The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action covers 12 critical areas of concern that are relevant as of today namely poverty; education and training; health; violence; armed conflict; economy; power and decision-making; institutional mechanisms; human rights; media; environment; and the girl child. For each critical area of concern, strategic objectives were identified, as well as a detailed catalogue of related actions to be taken by Governments and other stakeholders, at national, regional and international level.

Since 1995, Governments, civil society and

other stakeholders have worked to eliminate discrimination against women and girls and achieve equality in all areas of life, in public and in private spaces. Some advances have been made in this global agenda but no country has achieved equality for women and girls and significant levels of inequality between women and men still persist.

1.3 The Case of Uganda

The Republic of Uganda was one of the 189 United Nations Member States which attended the Fourth World Conference on Women that was held in September 1995 in Beijing, in the People's Republic of China. The member states committed to implement the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, the key outcome of the Conference. Since then, the Government of Uganda has submitted national reports on the progress of implementation of the BDPfA.

The last report was prepared in 2019 for the commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Fourth World Conference on Women and the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action in 2020. The report was prepared in accordance with the guidance note from UN Women and the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) to the member states. The report focuses on the actions and measures undertaken by the government in partnership with other stakeholders during the period 2014-2019. It among other things provides a macro analysis of the national priorities, key achievements registered, challenges and setbacks encountered in that five (5) year period as

well as the new and emerging priorities for future action.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The primary objective of this study was to produce a position paper, to stimulate discussion and accelerate implementation of Uganda's new and emerging national priorities over the five (5) year period (2020 to 2025) identified during the Beijing +25 national review process as described in section 1.3 above. The study focused on two key national priorities aimed at accelerating progress for women under the critical area of women in power and decision-making processes namely; Priority area number seven on "changing negative social norms and gender stereotypes" and priority area number eight on "promotion of a supportive environment for women's empowerment". It is expected that the outcomes of this study and the follow up activities will promote commitments for strategic resourcing of women's rights and gender equality work in Uganda.

1.5 Major questions

To address the above objective, the study was designed to answer the following questions:

What major achievements have been registered by Government since it started implementing the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action of 1995?

What good practices are emerging/ have emerged since the inception of Government's implementation of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action of 1995?

What major challenges have been experienced by

various stakeholders in implementing the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action in Uganda?

What lessons have been learnt in implementing the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action in Uganda?

What can be done differently to help address the challenges identified and fasten the progress towards the vision of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action in Uganda?

2.0 METHODOLOGY

2.1 Methods of Data Collection

To provide answers to the above questions, the following methods were utilized:

Key informant Interviews

In-depth interviews were conducted with 18 selected key informants at different levels from the districts of Bushenyi, Mbarara, Kabarole, Hoima, Jinja and Kampala using the key informant interview guide. Three respondents had been identified for each of the districts apart from Kampala, but in the final shape of things, the research team failed to interview one respondent in Mbarara and one respondent in Fort Portal. In the case of Kampala, only three respondents were interviewed after failing to connect with the rest that had been lined up for the interviews. One respondent was identified from Rukungiri District that falls outside the CEWIGO project area to see if her responses compared well with those of the project area respondents. The selection of key informants was done in consultation

with CEWIGO staff to generate a list of relevant and well informed and experienced informants with very reliable information. Key informant or in-depth interviews were conducted with one key informant being interviewed at a time.

Document review

Some of the quantitative and qualitative information used in this report was obtained from reviews of past national BDPfA progress review reports of especially 2014 and 2019, reports from studies conducted by Uganda Bureau of Statistics (e.g. Census reports, demographic and health surveys, national household surveys, other periodic surveys), studies undertaken by other institutions of Government with relevant mandates, scholarly materials and information on interventions that have been undertaken in the Country by non-state actors.

2.2 Data Analysis

Qualitative data was edited first in the field for purposes of ensuring completeness and accuracy. A quick impressionist summary method was used as one of the methods to analyze field data. From Key Informant Interview (KII) notes, the consultant noted down frequent responses of the respondents on various issues taking into consideration the explanations and interpretations given by the respondents. Data was also analyzed thematically. Themes here refer to topics or major subjects that came up during KIIs. Related topics were categorized and major concepts or themes identified. The summaries of the Key Informant

Interviews and documentary reviews were compiled, and categorized into themes based on the study variables/objectives. On the other hand, quantitative data used in this report was largely in its final form with the exception of a few cases where some trend analysis was done using MS Excel to check trends in certain values over time. All sources of data were checked for authenticity, relevance and accuracy.

3.0 FINDINGS

3.1 Major achievements

Since 1995, Uganda Government in collaboration with development partners and Civil Society Organizations have used the Beijing Platform for Action as a blueprint for advancing gender equality in Uganda. The question is whether anything has really changed since and why it still matters to women and girls today. With this in mind, a question was put to respondents in this study - Ugandan women and gender activists - as to what they thought implementation of the BDPfA had delivered. Reports from different institutions involved with implementing the BDPfA resolutions in Uganda were also reviewed to answer this question. The findings are discussed here below.

Key trends that are notable from this study include the following:

During the period 2014 – 2019, there has been notable improvement in Government’s appreciation of gender and equity budgeting and overall national compliance has greatly improved. The

in governance through the National Women’s and Local Council structures. Women form the majority among the village health teams (VHT), a third of village water committees and also act as community facilitators. Women organizations and Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) continuously mobilize and build the capacity of rural women across the country (MGLSD, Page 14, 2019). Some respondents, like Ms. Faith Amanyanya Betega – the Senior Probation and Welfare Officer of Bushenyi District, also indicated that the number of women CSOs has increased and are increasingly following up on Government programs and holding it accountable. Uganda continued to contribute to the international peace efforts through participation in the United Nations Peace Support Mission (UNMISS) and the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) and East African Community to fight terrorism. The country promoted and supported women to meaningfully participate (for example as military experts, part of contingent troops, part of formed police units, establishing ties with fellow women folk etc.) in the processes and implementation of peace agreements (MGLSD, Page 70, 2019).

Table 1: Policewomen Serving in Peace Missions in UNMISS and AMISOM

Peace Keeping operations	2015	2016	2017	2018/19
A M I S O M Contingent (FPU)	5	18	21	25
A M I S O M Individual (IPO)	5	8	-	17
UNMISS (IPO)	4	6	9	8

national commitment to address gender and equity requirements in the national budget framework papers improved from 57% in Financial Year (FY) 2016/17 to 61% in FY 2019/20 (MGLSD, Page 11, 2019). With guidance and leadership from the MGLSD, Government adopted gender mainstreaming as a strategy to ensure that the needs and rights of both men and women are visibly considered in all her policies, programs, and strategies.

Over the years, there was systematic engendering along the data production chain (Planning, identifying need, design of tool, data collection, analysis, interpretation, reporting, dissemination and archiving). As a result, major surveys undertaken include gender related data and information. These include: Uganda National Household Surveys, Demographic and Health Surveys, Panel Surveys, and issue-based surveys (Time use, Disability, Labour, Governance, Business, Financial, and Innovation surveys) among others (MGLSD, Page 11, 2019). Of these, issue based surveys and Uganda National Household Surveys have relevant data on women in governance but they are not done annually implying that depending on when one reads the reports from them, some data could be outdated.

The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action provided momentum towards adopting gender quotas¹ in political leadership (UN Women, 2020) and in the case of Uganda the political transitions since the 1990s provided windows of opportunity for gender equality gains. Rural women participate

¹ In the case of Uganda, the quota stands at 30% of legislators in both the national Parliament and District Councils

Source: *UPF Directorate of Peace and support operations/gender in MGLSD, Page 71, 2019*

- As can be seen in Table 1 above, the number of Women Police Officers who served based on skills and in contingents in AMISOM and UNMISS increased 4 from 2015 to 8 in 2018/19 (MGLSD, Page 71, 2019).
- Statistics indicate a steady rise in female political participation in elective offices (Kadaga, 2013, Page 34) and elections. Africa Union (AU) observers reported that women were well represented in polling stations as polling officials, party agents and domestic observers (AU Commission, Page 9, 2016). The female representation in Parliament increased from 24.6% in 2006/11 to 34.9% in 2011/2016 and 2016/2021. Although the latter percentages remained the same, the numbers of women in the 10th Parliament increased to 141 compared to 130 in the 9th Parliament. Moreover, the number of women who competed with men and were directly elected increased from 7 to 16 in the 10th Parliament and 30 in the current parliament (MGLSD, Page 62, 2019).

Table 2: Female Representation in Parliament 1989 - 2021

Term of office in Parliament	Females	Males	% Females
1989-1996	38	229	14
1996-2001	51	225	18
2001-2006	74	231	24
2006-2011	102	204	33
2011-2016	131	244	34.9

Term of office in Parliament	Females	Males	% Females
2016-2021	160	299	34.9

Source: *Parliament of the Republic of Uganda 2018 in MGLSD, Page 62, 2019 and MGLSD, Page 4, 2014*

- There are deliberate efforts to promote women’s participation in Parliamentary business. Whereas only 34.9% of Members of Parliament are women, women constitute more than 40% in the 3 out of the 4 leadership positions of both the sectoral and standing committees. Four committees have 50% and above women representation in the sectoral committee (MGLSD, Page 62, 2019).

Table 3: Composition of Chairpersons and Vice Chairpersons of Standing and Sectoral Committees of Parliament

S/N	Position	Females	Males	Total	% Females	% Males
1	Sectoral Committee Chairpersons	6	9	15	40.0	60.0
2	Sectoral Committee Vice Chairpersons	7	8	15	46.7	53.3
3	Standing Committee Chairpersons	6	7	13	46.2	53.8
4	Standing Committee Vice Chairpersons	4	9	13	30.8	69.2

Source: *Status of Women Employment in the Public Sector in Uganda in MGLSD, Page 62, 2019*

- Uganda conducted National Women’s Council elections across the country from village to national level in 2018. ...Three hundred fifty four thousand seven hundred and ninety seven (354,797) women have joined leadership and decision-making positions and have an opportunity to make decisions over issues that

relate to the lives of women (MGLSD, Page 63, 2019).

- Capacity building for women in politics was undertaken by multiple stakeholders such as the National Machinery, CSOs, private sector, and other Ministries, Departments and Agencies of Government (MDAs) (MGLSD, Page 63, 2019). These activities enhanced women’s capacity to perform their roles in terms of influencing positive changes for women, girls and the rest of the community (MGLSD, Page 64, 2019). Areas of training included gender and legislative agenda; effective participation in decision making; gender and equity budgeting; mentorship programme for aspiring women in leadership; established district women caucuses composed of district women councilors, and built their capacities in integrating women’s agenda in council business among others
- Training enhanced knowledge on council procedures and enabled female political representatives and female councilors to gain the confidence to present council motions and steer debates (MGLSD, Page 64, 2019).
- Major contributions have been registered as made by women who are already in strategic decision making forums of Government, NGOs and political parties. They are discussed here below:
 - Most key informants mentioned that women in offices of Government, NGOs and Political parties have been instrumental in institutionalizing gender equality in Government

sectors and to a certain extent political parties; advocating for quotas in legislative forums of Government (for example, according to the Program Coordinator UWOPA, Ms Lamunu Mary Harriet, after achieving the 30% quota in parliament and Local Government Councils, UWOPA is now advocating for the increase of the women quota from 30% to 40%); as well as mentoring and nurturing women leaders and continue to advocate for women as chairpersons of some committees in parliament and councils.

- Literature reviewed agrees with these assertions. Women's strong numerical presence in parliament has had some positive effects in Uganda. First, it has led to one of the most gender sensitive constitutions in the world in the sense that it contains articles directly affecting women in particular². Second, together with civil society, women in parliament have been important in passing legislation important for women (Kadaga, 2013, Page 34) and without doubt led to significantly more debate on women's condition, especially that to do with maternal health. In 2013, the Red Pepper Newspaper ran an article entitled: "Women MPs Demand Action from Government over Maternal Deaths". The Women MPs resolved to block the passing of the 2013-2014 National Budget and any supplementary budget that Government might present, unless

² In the Constitution of Uganda, Article 33(4), guarantees equal rights for women and men and equal opportunities in political, economic and social activities. Article 33(5) further recognizes the right to affirmative action for women in order to address imbalances created by history, tradition or custom. (AU Commission, 2016, Page 9)

it included a health sector supplement, or saw the Government's fulfilling the 15% funding of the health sector to maternal health that was agreed in the Abuja Declaration (2001), to which Uganda's government was party (Ahikire, Musiimenta and Ashaba Mwiine, 2013 featuring in *Feminist Africa 20* on Page 30). Society is gradually accepting the inevitable: that women make as good leaders as men (Kadaga, 2013, Page 36).

- Women's organizing within the political institutions of the State has also had some impact. The Uganda Women Parliamentary Association (UWOPA) is a parliamentary caucus that has been an important space for policy interventions, working to support women parliamentarians to utilize their position more effectively. UWOPA provides a forum to discuss, share experiences and support activities that facilitate women's participation and leadership with the ultimate aim of ensuring a gender-responsive legislative process. Because it is an institutionalized space, UWOPA facilitates women's influence in parliamentary processes. It has successfully pushed a number of gender-sensitive pieces of legislation through parliament (Ahikire et al., 2013, Page 30). Women Members of Parliament (MPs) have also used UWOPA as a key lobby site (Ahikire et al., 2013, Page 30). In Bushenyi District, respondents who included the Senior Probation and Welfare Officer/ Gender Focal Person, the Secretary for Education, Health and Community Based Services as well as

the Speaker herself concurred that the current speaker (a woman) has presided over the most peaceful house the district has ever had largely because she facilitated the emergence of and utilized one of the most potent women caucuses in Uganda's Local Government history that all district leaders in Bushenyi now believe without them no motion can pass through in the Council.

- Women's presence demonstrates their ability to govern in various other ways. For example, the ascendance of a woman, the Rt. Hon. Rebecca Alitwala Kadaga, to the position of Speaker of Parliament, to occupying the third position in the hierarchy of leadership in the country (after the President and Vice-President), is no mean achievement. It is an achievement that should be documented to draw lessons for the present and future (Ahikire et al., 2013, Page 31).

According to key informants interviewed, conditions that are traditionally known to prevent women from seeking and ascending to political decision making positions that have changed significantly include

- Many women have acquired minimum education qualifications for leadership positions as a result of the affirmative actions taken by Government including UPE, USE and 1.5 points awarded to females joining Institutions of higher learning
- Securing a gender-sensitive Constitution in 1995 that guarantees equality of both women and men
- Women issues have become subject of

discussion in many forums and this led to founding of NGOs, academic programs and emergence of publications which talk and stand for women rights and representation. Examples here include ACFODE, Mama FM station, some publications like 'Visible at Last', the 'Wave has rolled' which is about to be published among others.

- Society's way of judging women has positively changed (much there is still a lot to be done here) largely as a result of concerted advocacy efforts of NGOs, media, individual women leaders and Government itself
- Many women have come up in the public and political space and have registered great success thus inspiring others but also made a statement on those who never thought women could be leaders. Key informants pointed out the likes of Ms. Florence Mugasha who was Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Public Service; Hon Dr. Miria Matembe – who was Woman MP representing Mbarara District and a Minister of Ethics and Integrity; Right Honorable Rebecca Alitwala Kadaga the current Speaker of Parliament; Engineer Winnie Byanyima – formerly MP representing Mbarara Municipality and now Executive Director UN AIDS among others.

3.2 Good practices

This study sought to identify practices considered good for promoting and or sustaining the gender equality agenda. Here below are practices the study team found worth highlighting in this report.

According to Jocelyn Ekochu Bananuka (the Acting Executive Director of CEWIGO), Government has supported NGOs in a number of ways that include:

- The government allows private people and institutions access to information in its possession through its various MDAs. To strengthen this, an Act of Parliament on access to Government information was put in place. This has helped researchers and NGOs involved in work aimed at strengthening the capacity of women leaders/politicians
- Government officials attend workshops organized by NGOs and even make presentations on relevant topics
- Recommendations from research done by both Government and non-Government agencies have been incorporated into government programs.
- Government has funded some research initiatives aimed at enhancing effective participation of women in decision-making processes.
- The creation of gender desks and departments within the local governments to advance gender equality. These have provided good entry points to and worked hand-in-hand with NGOs and researchers in advancing gender equality.

Women's organizations work to identify and support women to aspire for elective political positions, run programs on gender and civic education and democracy, design mechanisms of accountability, and offer gender capacity-building workshops to which women MPs and councilors are invited

(Ahikire et al., 2013, Page 37). For example, women's organizations like Uganda Women's Network (UWONET), in a bid to enhance women's participation, drafted the 2006 women's manifesto (UWONET report, 2007 in Kadaga, 2013, Page 34).

Creating a shared agenda was seen by Forum for Women in Development (FOWODE) (2010) as a means of bringing to the forefront gender dimensions that ought to be addressed, so that real and meaningful development for the total empowerment of women and girls can be achieved. Other NGOs train women candidates for electoral office and offer induction programs for newly elected women, MPs and local councilors. NGOs also run different programs in the pre and post-election periods, offering leadership skills training for women in public office (Ahikire et al., 2013, Page 37). There are some other organizations, for instance FIDA, which have supported women financially to participate as candidates (UWONET report, 2007 in Kadaga, 2013, Page 34). This helps in highlighting the key issues all women in politics need to address themselves to if they have to be relevant to the ordinary woman, strengthens the interface between the women movement and women in political decision making as well as touching the most crippling of issues to women in politics – financing their electioneering processes.

In the Constituent Assembly (CA), the elected women formed a women's caucus to better enhance the interests of women. Out of 286 delegates, 52 (18 per cent) were women – and most of them

participated in the women's caucus. The women's caucus turned out to be effective and the women were able to talk with one voice and raise common objectives, turning the women's caucus into the most coherent body (Tripp, 2000: 77; Women's Landmarks: 15 in Kadaga, 2013, Page 34).

The support the CA delegates got from the women's movement was important, if not decisive, in the process of fighting for the provisions in the constitution concerning the status and participation of women in Uganda (Oloka-Onyango, 2000: 11; Tamale, 1999: 117 in Kadaga, 2013, Page 34). During the CA, a gender information Centre was organized by the National Association of Women's Organizations in Uganda (NAWOU). The information Centre soon turned out to be an important meeting place for the electorate and delegates as well as NGOs focusing on women (Women's Landmarks, 19). The caucus, in co-operation with the women's movement, was effective in implementing Article 31 (on the family), Article 32 (on affirmative action) and Article 33 (on the rights of women) of the constitution (Kadaga, 2013, Page 34).

The tactic that has been used by the women's caucus, right from the CA to the present, is to lobby and get the support from gender-sensitive male members of parliament. In controversial issues, the caucus persuades some of the male members to argue their cases, and as a result alliances are made with 'gender friendly' male colleagues (Kadaga, 2013, Page 35).

Kadaga (2013) also observes that, perhaps, more importantly, the National Resistance Movement (NRM) government's language on the empowerment of women has encouraged many women to become members of NGOs (Tripp, 2000: 115–122 in Kadaga, 2013, Page 35).

Consultations and dialogues between the Electoral Commission (EC) and stakeholders on election processes is a commendable practice. For example, following the emergence of COVID -19, the Electoral Commission had consultations with the scientists over options on the course of action as regards the 2021 general and local government elections. They felt a scientific process was the most ideal - and safe - option³.

The women movement put in place the Women's Situation Room just before the 2016 elections. This was later commended by election observers like the AU Election Observer Mission (AUEOM) for the role it played in promoting peaceful elections through violence monitoring and dialogue interventions before, during and after the elections⁴. In preparation for the 2016 elections, civic and voter education was undertaken through the media and accredited CSOs among them the Citizens Coalition for Electoral Democracy in Uganda (CCEDEU) (AU Commission, 2016, Page 9). Civic education is crucial in enhancing elections processes as it helps in making the population to become aware of vital

³ <https://www.newvision.co.ug/news/1521730/scientific-elections-women-group-reforms-revised-election-roadmap-on-Sept-5-2020> (Page 2)

⁴ AU Commission, 2016, Page 9

issues – right values, rights and responsibilities, right behaviors, right attitudes that are fully acceptable in a society where one lives - and be in a better position of exercising their obligations as free citizens. Voter education provides citizens with basic information about participating in an election including how to register, how to complete ballot papers and the electoral system in place.

The monitoring of campaign expenditure by the civil society spearheaded by the Alliance for Campaign Finance Monitoring (ACFIM), which produces periodic reports to the citizens on election related expenses is also notable. In the absence of a comprehensive legal framework regulating campaign financing, this played a critical role in enhancing the understanding of the electorate not only on the influence of money in (2016) elections but also on the approximate campaign expenditures by the candidates. (AU Commission, 2016, Page

10)

The legal framework in Uganda allows for government funding of political parties. Section 14A of the Political Parties and Organizations Act of 2005, (amended in 2010) mandates the government to fund political parties in respect for their normal day activities and for elections. This funding, however, applies to political parties represented in Parliament and independents duly elected. (AU Commission, 2016, Page 8-9). Government funding political parties' activities is a welcome practice as according to Makara (2009)⁵ political

5 The challenge of building strong political parties for democratic governance in Uganda: Does multiparty politics have a future? (This Article by Sabiti Makara featured in the East African

parties especially on the opposition are seriously constrained financially.

Accessibility of persons with disabilities to buildings is now provided for in the Building Control Act (2013). The law also ensures that the design and construction of buildings and utilities cater for access by persons with disabilities. (MGLSD, 2019, Page 14)

The Public Service Commission has put in place flexible and disability-friendly procedures to assist persons with disabilities (PWD) to participate in the interviews. The commission also implements affirmative action for recruitment of PWDs in public sector institutions. (MGLSD, 2019, page 15)

Government guarantees persons with disability political rights and opportunity to enjoy them on an equal right basis with others. Affirmative action allocates one seat out of the five for PWDs to a woman with a disability. However, in the current 10th parliament, there are two (2) women representatives. (MGLSD, 2019, page 15)

Political rights of older women are provided for under the National Council for Older Persons Act 2013. They are represented at the village/ward, sub-county/municipalities and counties, the district and the national level. (MGLSD, 2019, page 15)

The International Community of Women Living

Review (Issue 41 - 2009) about Democracy in Uganda, Pages 43-80. Article was downloaded from <https://journals.openedition.org/eastafrica/580> on September 21, 2020.

with HIV in Eastern Africa (ICWEA) worked with organizations of women living with HIV in the districts of the country to ensure priorities of the vulnerable women living with HIV are prioritized at national and district levels. These women were trained in district and national level planning and budgeting processes, advocacy and accountability mechanisms (MGLSD, 2019, Page 17)

The Public Finance Management Act (PFMA 2015), (through its gender-responsive budgeting clauses), requires all ministries, departments and agencies including local governments to implement gender-responsive actions within their mandates (MGLSD, 2019, Page 22)

The government put in place actions and measures to reduce and/or redistribute unpaid care and domestic work and promote work-family conciliation. The Employment and the Employment Regulations entitle all working women to 60 working days of maternity leave and 4 days of paternity leave for fathers. During this period, the public service standing orders (2010) which guide the recruitment, management and conduct of public officers were amended to integrate gender-responsive provisions (MGLSD, 2019, Page 30-31)

Government put in place programs that have been very instrumental in the emancipation of women and increasing their participation in decision making and politics. In Bushenyi District for example, respondents mentioned programs like Uganda Women Entrepreneurship Program

(UWEP) that is encouraging women to associate and start generating incomes; the Agriculture Cluster Development Program that ensures every sub-county has a community based facilitator to among other things support and strengthen relational/ associational development among farmers and Girl Child Education that is fighting early school dropout.

The government developed the Integrated Childhood Development Policy (2016) which provides direction and guidance to all sectors for quality, inclusive and coordinated ECD services and programs. In the implementation of the policy, various MDAs put in place childcare and breastfeeding arrangements, for example, The National Parliament, Uganda National Roads Authority and the National Service College of Uganda (CSCU). The government also promoted childcare centers in communities and informal sector work settings such as markets (MGLSD, 2019, Page 31).

The Ministry of Justice and Constitutional Affairs developed a Gender Bench Book (GBB), (2016) to address the gender capacity gap in the judiciary. The GBB was used to equip judicial officers (judges, magistrates, and all judicial office holders) with skills to interpret existing laws, traditional, cultural and religious practices that are discriminatory so as to adjudicate cases in a gender-sensitive manner (MGLSD, 2019, Page 37).

The Directorate of Women Affairs of the Uganda People's Defense Forces (UPDF) hosts annual

seminars and conducts frequent field visits to missions where female combatants present women issues to senior military officers and share suggestions and concerns for enhancing the working environment for women personnel. The UPDF is in the process of developing a gender policy which will include the gender and women concerns (MGLSD, 2019, Page 70).

The UPDF has a Directorate of Women Affairs headed by a female officer at the rank of a Colonel. The Directorate sensitizes and creates awareness to both male and female combatants about gender and conflict issues before deployment to missions. Women in the forces are also engaged in peacekeeping missions and undergo training as peacekeepers before, during and after deployment. UPDF has a Training Centre in Ssinga in the central region which provides continuous training, especially on post-deployment, psycho-social support and counselling (MGLSD, 2019, Page 70).

The Uganda Police includes Women Police Officers in AMISOM and UNMISS as individual police officers who apply for deployment based on the skills set and as part of units which move a contingent and in groups (MGLSD, 2019, Page 70-71).

In September 2014, the national machinery for gender equality and women's empowerment conducted an assessment of affirmative actions, initiatives and strategies for promoting gender equality and women empowerment in the country.

The report noted that affirmative action had opened up spaces for women where they were previously excluded due to the traditional norms, beliefs and sociocultural setups which confine women to the private sphere in society. (MGLSD, 2019, Page 61).

In order for the local governments to foster gender mainstreaming in the service delivery, 81% and 87% of districts and Municipal Local Governments respectively had the Gender focal point person providing guidance and support to departments (MGLSD, 2019, Page 63) on gender related matters.

The National Women Council in collaboration with District Women Councils continued to sensitize the women elected leaders on their roles and responsibilities (MGLSD, 2019, Page 64). According to MGLSD (2019), NGOs like UWOPA, CEWIGO, FOWODE and UWONET have also contributed to building capacities highlighted under achievements section above.

There are 292 operational FM radio stations, 28 operational free to air TV stations, 2 digital terrestrial stations, and 4 digital satellite stations in Uganda to date. Two FM radio stations in the country (Mama FM and Radio One) are female-owned. All radio and TV stations have specific programming hosted by and focusing on women and girls. All radio stations and TV stations allocate time for government programs which the National Machinery and other GEWE actors have utilized to mobilize and advocate for women and girls' issues (MGLSD, 2019, Page 65).

A Gender Analysis of Print Media Coverage of the 2016 General Elections was conducted by the Uganda Media Women's Association to; establish the visibility accorded to both women and men during the print media's coverage of the (2016) elections; analyze the presentation of stories, with a direct bearing on women; analyze the portrayal of women and men, in election-related stories; the delivery of election-related stories; and identify and point out some best or worst practices of press coverage (2016 elections) for learning or replication purposes. (MGLSD, 2019, Page 66).

The Equal Opportunities Commission (EOC) continued to track government budgets through conducting Gender and Equity compliance assessments of the Budget Framework Papers (BFPs) and Ministerial Policy Statements (MPSs). This assessment has progressed from 90 in 2016/17 to 142 MPSs assessed for FY 2018/2019 (MGLSD, 2019, Page 66). A pool of national trainers was established to build the capacity of MDAs and LGs. Gender and Equity Budgeting (GEB) tools including compacts, curriculum, training manuals, checklists, were developed for the sectors. Compliance scores of the National Budget Framework Paper as assessed by the Equal Opportunities Commission have increased from 57% for FY2016/17; to 60% for FY 2017/18 and 61% for FY2018/19 (MGLSD, 2019, Page 67).

The Uganda Human Rights Commission monitored the participation of women and other special interest groups in national politics including elections and

accessibility of polling stations (MGLSD, 2019, Page 68).

Local Governments developed and implemented Local Action Plans on UN Security Council Resolutions (UNSCR) 1325, 1820 and the Goma Declaration on women, peace and security with support from Civil Society Organizations namely CEWIGO and the Coalition for Action (CoACT) on 1325. In the implementation of the plans, community members especially girls/boys, women/men, older persons/persons with disabilities were assigned roles in conflict analysis, early warning, prevention and response to ensure peace and security prevail (MGLSD, 2019, Page 69).

3.3 Major challenges

The strides discussed in section 3.1 and 3.2 have not been made without challenges and neither have they eliminated all challenges women face in their bid for equal access to and full participation in power structures, decision making and leadership in Uganda. This section discusses the challenges women in Uganda still face as presented in relevant literature that was reviewed as part of this study as well as during key informant interviews.

The persistence of patriarchy which is rooted in culture and traditional beliefs continue to reinforce gender inequalities and women's powerlessness in accessing goods and services and opportunities (MGLSD, 2019, Page 12). This was confirmed in a recent survey conducted by the EU funded Action to end violence against women and children (AVAWC)

in the districts of Rukungiri and Mitooma between June and September 2020. Respondents were asked two questions to establish whether communities now look at the two genders equally. They were asked if it is better for boys to go to school than girls and also who they would prefer to pay school fees for in the event that the family did not have enough money. Tables 4 and 5 below indicate that close to 30% of the population still believes boys should be the favored gender in the event of scarcity of resources in homes.

Table 4: It is better for boys to go to school than girls

Responses	Percent
I agree	21.4
I disagree	76.3
To some extent I agree	2.3

Source: *Unpublished AVAWC Project Baseline Report (September 2020)*

Table 5: If there is a very small amount of money to pay for school fees it is better to send the boys to school first

Responses	Percent
I agree	25.2
I disagree	69.5
To some extent I agree	5.3

Source: *Unpublished AVAWC Project Baseline Report (September 2020)*

A related question was also asked to the same respondents about whose role it is to do household chores. As table 6 below indicates, 42.5% indicated it was women and girls to do household chores further confirming patriarchal attitudes in Uganda.

Table 6: Who should do household chores?

Norm/attitude/belief statement	Response (%)
<i>Mothers and girls are the ones to do house chores at home.</i>	
I agree	40.5
I disagree	56.2
To some extent I agree	2.0
Not sure	1.3
	100

Source: *Unpublished AVAWC Project Baseline Report (September 2020)*

Patriarchy manifests in the nature of the State, and its political processes provide a conducive environment to men as political actors. It is argued, for example, that the institution of Parliament is patriarchal because women still have to constantly justify their presence and their issues (Ahikire et al., 2013, Page 32). Men are dominant in decision making. Women who strive to take part in leadership are ridiculed as wanting to be ‘men’ – money minded, ambitious, immoral and unruly; as a result, women become shy, lack confidence and have low self-esteem. Men do not allow their wives to attend meetings as they fear that women are being lured into relationships with other (male) leaders (Kadaga, 2013, Page 35). CEWIGO’s Chairperson agrees. She indicated that ‘*negative cultural mindsets towards women’s political participation*’ exist and are an obstacle to most women who would be interested to join the political arena. This scenario was also confirmed in the recent survey

conducted by the EU funded Action to end violence against women and children (AVAWC) in the districts of Rukungiri and Mitooma between June and September 2020. Female respondents were asked two questions to establish whether they were members to any association, whether they were occupying leadership roles in these groups and who was responsible for making critical decisions (for example on health and children) at household level. Responses to all the three questions clearly show decision making to still be largely in the hands of men.

Table 7: Membership or belongingness to any local group, association or Organisation

Response	Percent
No	47.1
Yes	52.9

Source: *Unpublished AVAWC Project Baseline Report (September 2020)*

Only 53% of women belong to an association of some kind. In addition, for those who belong to any group, the majority (38.9 per cent) hold just membership positions, rather than being in leadership where decisions are made as table 8 below indicates.

Table 8: If Yes, which responsibility are you holding or you have ever held

	Percent
No participation	47.1
Chairperson	2.6
Committee member	10.5
Just a member	38.9
Others	1.3

Source: *Unpublished AVAWC Project*

Baseline Report (September 2020)

When the same respondents were asked about who makes decisions on health care matters for children and the family, in 51.7% of the cases, men made decisions. Table 9 below illustrates the findings.

Table 9: Who is responsible for decisions about your own health care and children?

	Percent
Husband	48.4
In-laws	2.0
Myself	43.1
Others (Mother)	1.3
Others (my son)	3.3
Others (parents)	.7
Others (VHT)	1.3

Source: *Unpublished AVAWC Project Baseline Report (September 2020)*

The situation in Uganda reflects militarized politics⁶ more than ever before..... While this militarism undermines the exercise of democracy more generally, women are more vulnerable to the threat of force. The period from 2001 to date, with a transition from mobilization politics to a politics of regime survival, has seen constitutionalism undermined. In this context, the space for pushing a substantive gender-equality agenda in the political dispensation has narrowed dramatically (Ahikire et al., 2013, Page 33). *Hon. Dr. Miria Matembe* echoed this in her interview with the study team saying *'leadership that was initially service delivery oriented and rendering itself to the 'cause' has been substituted by self-centered leadership driven by ambition, self-centeredness and greed. This*

⁶ Militarism is not just about war and armed forces. It is an ideology. Ursula Franklin (1988) defines militarism as a threat system, which when stripped of all its extraneous verbiage simply says "Do what I tell you – or else". (Ahikire et al., 2013, Page 32) Accordingly, the basic value of militarism is power over others, where the population begins to accept the use of violence as a method for resolving conflict (Ahikire et al., 2013, Page 33)

negatively affects women in leadership positions... With the removal of Presidential term-limits, many women who were initially driven by the “cause” were left scared and kept off. They lost the cause and many women were left hanging in balance. Those women that used to talk or contribute in Parliament decided to be silent and remain in Parliament while some had to lose their top leadership positions’. “Women’s rights activists in Uganda have been particularly concerned about the handling of women during protests in a way that is explicitly intended to humiliate and embarrass... We are in a situation when we still have to argue that it is wrong when a woman is arrested [and] you see her panties. I don’t see men in that position. We are clamoring to reach a point when women are on equal footing with men,” Solome Nakawesi (2010)⁷.

The nature of Uganda’s multiparty politics has greatly inhibited the emergence of a unified women’s voice at national and local levels. The creation of enemies based on political differences and the overly personalized party agendas make it extremely difficult for women to generate a strong lobby to advance women’s interests (Ahikire et al., 2013, Page 33).

The issue of inclusion and active participation of women in the different political parties... remains problematic... (Kadaga, 2013, Page 35). The imposition of party gagging that is not guided by clear principles and party rules illustrates the patriarchal and militaristic domineering practices

⁷ Downloaded from <http://peacewomen.org/content/uganda-female-faces-resistance-uganda-preventing-another-kenya-2011-elections> on Sept 11, 2020

within the parties...the majority of women are seen to have been captive to patronage politics... Such a relationship between the government and women political leaders undermines their capacity to demand accountability and pursue social justice agendas (Ahikire et al., 2013, Page 34). Political party leadership in Uganda is male dominated (Kadaga, 2013, Page 35; Ahikire, 2009, Page 2).

‘In the current multi-party dispensation, some women fear being seen by their ‘mother-parties’ as rebels or opposing the party position in some debates and thus decide to keep silent. You are expected to pay allegiance to the party and this has affected women to a greater extent than their male counterparts’, Ms Lamunu Mary Harriet.

It is particularly important to note that women largely continue to occupy the reserved seats in the national parliament and local government. This means that the political parties continue to restrict the number of women candidates fielded for the mainstream seats. (Ahikire, 2009, Page 3). Kadaga (2013) asserts that although the major political parties commit to specific indices of women at each level in the structure – NRM 30 per cent and Forum for Democratic Change (FDC) 40 per cent – the reality is different. Kadaga (2013) believes many women do not have the confidence to compete with men for such positions. To confirm these assertions, the study team sampled out 16 parishes from 8 sub-counties in the Districts of Rukungiri and Mitooma and looked at the position of chairperson Local Council (LC) 1 – the lowest level of administration

in local Government terms. It turned out that of the 135 LC1 Chairpersons in the selected parishes, only 14 (10.4%) were women which gives an impression that where positions have not been specifically legislated upon and subjected to the quota system, men tend to take more than the 70% that is legislated for leadership positions.

Most key informants who are involved in politics mentioned the cost of holding public offices as reaching unbearable levels for most women. According to Ms Lamunu Mary Harriet, the Program Coordinator of UWOPA, *'increasingly, politics has become too expensive, too costly to bear'*. Hon. Justine Burisadi, the speaker for Bushenyi District Local Council V had this to say on this matter: *'Women MPs / councilors represent bigger constituencies than their male counterparts which is more costly and yet their financial facilitation is the same'*. Hajati Saidat Kaganda Abwoli, the Woman Councilor for Central and Eastern Divisions of Jinja City said this on the matter: *'Having 50 villages in one sub-county and each looking at you the councilor for logistical support does not come easy and yet you are expected to monitor and supervise on-going government programs. Monetization of politics has led to capable women - but who are not doing well financially - falling out of the political space'*.

The other issue is the sexualisation of politics. Sexualized politics manifests in patronizing behaviors, sexist jokes, and derogatory media representations describing women political leaders

in terms of 'best legs', 'big bums' and the like. Cultural stereotyping and name-calling undermine female political leadership (IPU, 2009 in Ahikire et al., 2013, Page 35)

The sexualisation of political spaces has profound effects on how women can deliver on their leadership roles. At a practical level it disorients and diverts women and negatively affects women's self-expression and esteem. At the same time, sexuality is deployed as an instrument of blackmail, creating a "damned if you do...damned if you do not" scenario. In such a situation, the push for a gender-equality agenda is undermined (Ahikire et al., 2013, Page 36).

'Rather than debate and discuss ideas, history, ideologies and concepts, they focused on my relationship. These dizzy ducks have staggered from calling me a lesbian to sharing pictures of me demonstrating how to use a dildo, and now to the age of my heterosexual lover and our sex life. They have become moral police of my sexuality in attempt to dismiss my ideas about unity of the opposition. They want to project me as a sexually immoral woman; as if this would disqualify my own political opinion', Dr. Stella Nyanzi⁸

The relationships between women political leaders and the women's movement that will consistently bring these actors together remain weak. Yet without a stronger nexus, Uganda's women's movement

⁸ This is an excerpt from Dr. Stella Nyanzi's article 'Stop sexualizing my Politics!' that featured in PML Daily Editor of June 14th, 2020 downloaded on September 15, 2020 from <https://www.pmldaily.com>

will be unable to nurture a robust feminist political agenda (Ahikire et al., 2013, Page 37).

The other aspect that affects women's political participation is the burden of triple workload which women carry and, in particular, unpaid care services (Kadaga, 2013, Page 35). According to FAO (2020), 'rural women simultaneously manage triple responsibilities: at work, within the household and at community level. Women work within family businesses, as wage-workers or self-employed. (As farmers, this implies ploughing, weeding, seed preparation, planting, harvesting, processing of household crops and selling production surplus at local markets, as well as tending to small livestock. In artisanal capture fishing communities, women mostly support offshore fishing with time-consuming onshore tasks, such as net making and mending. In fish farming they are very active through feed preparation, feeding of stock, processing and marketing of fish from cages, pens and ponds). Household tasks involve looking after the family, caring for the children and the elderly, collecting firewood, fetching water and preparing meals while community tasks are linked to preserving culture and tradition, through the organization of funerals and religious ceremonies and to ensuring the provision and maintenance of common resources such as water, healthcare and education. The competing demands linked to this triple role make women time poor'. The workload can have some negative impact on women's horizontal mobility if it impacts the time they have to invest on political leadership and decision making processes ... As a

result of their domestic roles, female leaders may also find it hard to keep time or meet deadlines at work, resulting in poor participation in the decision-making process (Kadaga, 2013, Page 35). In agreement, Ms. Lamunu Mary Harriet (UWOPA's Program Coordinator) observed that *'gender roles have not yet been well shared as women still are held up by many challenges of pregnancy, child birth, antenatal, and other related home care work'*. Jocelyn Ekochu Bananuka (Acting Executive Director of CEWIGO) simply said *'multiple roles of women both at home and the work place' constrain women from joining and or staying in politics.*

According to Jocelyn Ekochu Bananuka (the Acting Executive Director of CEWIGO), literacy is also another thorny factor. The literacy level of aspiring women political leaders affects their capacity to comprehend and engage in technical processes that the government engages in. Despite good government policies to promote education for all Universal Primary Education (UPE) and Universal Secondary Education (USE), a large number of women are unable to access careers in leadership due to a low level of education (Kadaga, 2013, Page 35). According to MGLSD (2019), 71% of the girls never transition from primary to secondary school. Enrolment of girls to BTVET is still very low and literacy rates of women lag behind that of men.

Women do not have ownership of productive resources such as land and property. According to AVAWC Baseline study report, when a question was put to women as to whether they owned any

production assets, out of 117 adult women who participated in the study, only about half of them (48.7 percent) said they had assets.

Table 10: Ownership of production assets by Women

Response	Percent
No	49.0
Yes	51.0

Source: *Unpublished AVAWC Project Baseline Report (September 2020)*

In a bid to meet household responsibilities, women are engaged in food supply with agricultural labor and informal employment, both of which are characterized by a high workload and unpaid labor. This leaves them with no funds or time for politics or the development of leadership skills (Kadaga, 2013, Page 35)

Most women leaders in Uganda lack negotiation and lobbying skills. This undermines their capacity to compete favorably with their male counterparts as well as their confidence (Kadaga, 2013, Page 35). This scenario is made worse by what the CEWIGO Chairperson called *‘lack of mentors and role models in the communities to inspire women to run for these positions’*.

There are also policy related issues that negate efforts on gender equality. Uganda Management Institute (UMI)⁹ (n.d.) notes that one of the challenges facing policy implementation is when the implementers know what is to be done but choose to selfishly do nothing and or misuse the

⁹ UMI undated Policy Brief titled ‘Redeem policy implementation in Uganda by tackling the political question’.

resources allocated for implementation. It also observes that Government budgets are not well aligned with national priorities and that the missing evaluation component in Government program designs implies that there is limited understanding of why policies fail. Reference was made to the liberalization and privatization policies that are yet to be evaluated though could have realized negative consequences along implementation. UMI (n.d.) also highlights the issue of poor coordination and cooperation between government agencies and the limited appreciation of the value of strategic coordination as generally impacting negatively on all Government Policy implementation.

Poverty levels increased from 19.7% to 21.7% between FY2012/2013 and 2016/2017. Poverty affects women and men differently with households headed by unmarried especially divorced and widows with the highest poverty at 17% (UDHS 2016/17 in MGLSD, 2019, Page 12).

The unemployment rate among women is at 13% compared to 6% among men. It is higher in urban areas (14%) than in the rural areas (6%). Only 28% of the women are in paid employment compared to 46% of men and 71% of the women account for those persons engaged in vulnerable employment (UNHS 2016/17 in MGLSD, 2019, Page 12).

Trends in spousal violence (emotional, physical and sexual abuse by husbands) among ever married women 15-49 years reduced slightly from 60% in 2011 to 56% in 2016. Spousal violence is high

in all regions of the country ranging from 38% in Kampala to 73% in south western region (MGLSD, 2019, Page 12). Jocelyn Ekochu Bananuka (the Acting Executive Director of CEWIGO) added another dimension to this by indicating that the level of violence and intimidation meted out on people during electoral processes has been growing over the years and hinders many women from participating in elections.

Women access and use of Information, Communication and Technology (ICTs) was less than men. (As of 2018) Only 46% of the women owned a mobile phone and only 8% owned internet (NITA-U in MGLSD, 2019, Page 65). Many women are constrained by affordability, and the ability to maneuver the gadgets, which limited their use. This reduced their chances of accessing information to empower themselves (MGLSD, 2019, Page 65). UWONET (2020), pointing at recent data, also argued that a sizeable portion of the population do not have access to media platforms where the 2021 election campaigns are planned to be held. They also pointed at the inadequacies in smart phone ownership, let alone internet access to get onto social media. UWONET (2020) further argued that on top of the high cost of using traditional and digital media, equal access to these platforms by all political aspirations will highly be impossible - unless a mechanism of regulation is put in place.

Whereas the EOC GEB compliance assessment provided data on the extent of sector mainstreaming of gender and equity in plans and budgets, there was

no information on actual releases, expenditure and performance by sector on the implementation of the gender and equity commitments during the budget approvals (MGLSD, 2019, Page 68).

Although Uganda has ratified the UN Convention on Rights of Persons with Disabilities in 2008, there is lack of legislative provisions on voting by people with Disabilities in Uganda. For instance, Braille ballot papers. This implies that blind persons can only vote through the assistance of other persons (AU, 2016, Page 9)

Again, the AU 2016 (Page 10) observed that there is absence of a comprehensive legal framework regulating campaign financing in Uganda. AU 2016 (Page 8) noted that while the various laws have some provisions for campaign financing, the same laws are not comprehensive as they lack provisions on donation limits and spending caps for campaign purposes. This opens the electoral process to the unregulated influence of money and gives undue advantage to the candidates who have resources and as such prevents potential candidates, especially women, from contesting. AU 2016 (Page 5) observed that there had been unprecedented increase in campaign spending during the 2016 elections.

Several key informants observed that the sizes of constituencies for women seats (a District) are much bigger than the ordinary constituencies (a county or smaller) which are largely represented by men yet they get the same facilitation from Government to pacify them.

Other major factors raised by respondents that are currently constraining women from seeking strategic decision making positions include inadequate male support for women's participation and the "pull-down" syndrome where women tarnish fellow women's names instead of supporting them. Councilor Hellen Kabajungu from Rukungiri District Council and a former District Vice Chairperson of the same District narrated to the study team her experience with grassroots electioneering highlighting the fact that most women who succeed in elections have support of some males around them. It could be a husband, brother, friend etc. She indicated for example that in the current COVID-19 Pandemic restrictions, politicians are not allowed to hold public campaigns so politicians basically move from house to house and this requires a lot of energy. What most women have decided to do is rely on their male cohorts to ride them around on a bicycle or motor bike. She also highlighted the security aspects of the campaign indicating that where things go physical, for example protecting the vote and moving at night, most women rely on the male colleagues to do the job!

3.4 Lessons learnt

The causes of unemployment among women in the country are low levels of education, lack of adequate skills, possession of skills that do not match the job market and limited job opportunities in the country (MGLSD, 2019, Page 12)

Unemployment has short- and long-term effects on women. It affects women's ability to acquire and

control economic resources, limits their economic decision making and consequently reinforces their dependency on their male kin (MGLSD, 2019, Page 12)

The National Development Plan (NDP) II review (2019), revealed that patriarchal ideology along with discrimination and marginalization are pausing a barrier for women and girls to realize their full human potential (MGLSD, 2019, Page 12)

Patriarchy affects the equal sharing in the care and domestic work at household level leaving women with a burden of care which limits their participation in employment opportunities outside their homes (MGLSD, 2019, Page 12)

Despite the strengthened legal and policy frameworks, violence against women and girls persists in the country manifesting itself in forms of sexual violence (defilement, rape, sexual harassment at work and commercial sex exploitation of young girls), physical violence, emotional and economic violence as well as harmful traditional practices (MGLSD, 2019, Page 12)

Indeed, the NDP II review noted gaps and missed targets in gender and equity attainment in critical sectors such as health, education, energy. The review recommended that NDP III should explicitly include gender equality goals, interventions, targets and indicators for all the 18 sectors (MGLSD, 2019, Page 61).

That said, though, UMI, (Page 2), (n.d.), observed that despite the existence of decentralization, the power to execute decisions in Uganda is weakly institutionalized and open to particularistic interests of individual political players, civil servants and economic elites. Limited powers to execute decisions leaves fertile ground for grand corruption, exposes the public sector to systemic inefficiency and institutionalized incompetence (UMI, (Page 2), (n.d.))

In September 2014, the national machinery for gender equality and women's empowerment conducted an assessment of affirmative actions, initiatives and strategies for promoting gender equality and women empowerment in the country. The report also highlighted the need to strengthen the capacity of women councils, councilors and women members of parliament in public speaking, leadership, gender analysis and budgeting (MGLSD, 2019, Page 61)

The economic condition of a country is nevertheless an important factor in women's access to the political sphere. Due to the fact that women are often solely responsible for the management of households, any adverse economic fluctuations impact them directly. Preoccupation with fighting for survival reduces women's interest in competing for elective office (Kadaga, 2013, Page 32).

The likelihood of women to be nominated is higher in a party system with a small number of large parliamentary parties as large parties are likely to have safe seats in which they can place

female candidates. African politics, however, is characterized by fragmented and ineffective opposition parties, which makes the likelihood of women begetting official seats even more unlikely (Kadaga, 2013, Page 33).

Political parties 'structure national political processes and political contestation, engage in competitive electoral politics, nominate prospective public representatives and political leaders, and compete to run institutions of government' (Ahikire, 2009, Page 1)

Political parties generally continue to be spaces for male dominance, where women continue to face serious obstacles. Nonetheless, political parties remain necessary; women have to devise ways to engage effectively and strategically from within them in order to transform them and maximize their chances for greater political influence over policy processes and decisions to improve the position of women in society, politics and government (Ahikire, 2009, Page 1)

A number of women's organizations (under the umbrella body Uganda Women's Network (UWONET)), made women's minimum demands to political parties and organizations, requiring these organizations to ensure that women constituted at least 40 per cent of personnel in political parties and organizations governing structures. However, these demands were generally ignored by the parties, and women continue to be marginalized and disempowered with regard to party leadership

structures (Ahikire, 2009, Page 2).

The failure of parties to field a higher number of women on the mainstream seats means that women as a social group remain largely in the ghetto of the political mainstream in Uganda (Ahikire, 2009, Page 3).

The majority of women politicians in Uganda, including other prominent women, tend to belong to the dominant party (the NRM). This is understandable given that a dominant political party has the necessary political power and institutional capacity to formulate and implement the right policies and programs to address issues of concern (i.e. equity in representation) for women. Therefore, women stand a much better chance of success in terms of mobilizing for gender equality, not only within the ruling party but also in terms of government public policies (Ahikire, 2009, Page 4).

In Uganda, however, the prospects for women to enhance their ability to drive change through their membership of the NRM seem severely limited. A key factor to note here is the fact that patronage politics, combined with the entrenched positions of patriarchal leaders, continue to operate effectively in Uganda (Ahikire, 2009, Page 4). The path of popular, participatory and ultimately patronage politics currently undertaken by Uganda will continue to yield little socioeconomic progress unless the country moves to a stage where participation and performance can converge (UMI, (n.d.), Page 3)

‘With the removal of Presidential term-limits, many women who were initially driven by the “cause” were left scared and kept off. They lost the cause. Many women were left hanging in balance. Those women that used to talk or contribute in Parliament decided to be silent and remain in Parliament while some had to lose their top leadership positions. The affirmative action has become a two edged sword... on one hand it is used to get jobs and on the other to stand up for the Government and not for the cause of the people’, says Dr. Miria Matembe.

In Uganda, all the major parties have their own women’s leagues. However, these leagues usually lack the necessary political influence, are largely invisible as policy actors, and their leaders lack political clout (Ahikire, 2009, Page 5).

Ugandan politics remains volatile, highly informed by historical and social-cultural processes, whose implicit and explicit impact on political relations between women and men as political actors cannot be underestimated. The ISIS-WICCE study finds that, while most women politicians may wish to make a difference for women, the challenges they face are largely systemic and thus cannot be effectively addressed by individualized approaches or generic skills training packages (Ahikire et al., 2013, Page 39). This is in agreement with feminist scholars who argue that women’s interests are best defined through collective processes of interest articulation (Celis et al., 2007 in Ahikire et al., 2013, Page 37). This requires overcoming the evident gap between the interests articulated by the women’s movement

and the interests of women who have entered in the political sphere (Isis-WICCE 2014b in Ahikire et al., 2013, Page 39). Effecting change will require a long-term vision and strategy, as well as a concerted effort to build the women's movement into a force powerful enough to bring about deep changes in Ugandan politics and society. Ultimately such a movement must reverse the status quo by ensuring that neglecting women's interests will become politically costly for political actors (Ahikire et al., 2013, page 39).

Politicians do not necessarily behave out of good will and well-intentions; they respond to the challenges they face by deploying strategies that assure their hold to state power. As such any ruling regime will create position, institutions/structures, policies and strategies to bring elite political power brokers on board rather than building capacity to execute critical government programs and transform the country (UMI, n.d., Page 1)

In Uganda the ruling regime has engaged in the politics of "broad-base" which inevitably has reintroduced the old modes of rule where political legitimacy is achieved through elite political inclusion and cooptation at the expense of all-round socioeconomic transformation (UMI, n.d., Page 1)

Deriving legitimacy to rule from patronage rather than from provision of critical public goods and services for the wider public creates a network of elite supporters and their followers who profiteer from the system but at the same time it creates

a culture of none accountability among public servants who are in charge of policy implementation (UMI, n.d., Page 2)

In an interview with Dr. Miria Matembe, she narrated how the country's leadership that was initially service delivery driven and lending themselves to the 'cause' has been substituted by self-centered leadership driven by ambition, self-centeredness and greed. This has affected women in leadership positions. The vision of the country has been substituted by the personal ambitions of some individuals. She adds that the NRM's 10-point program which was inclusive and democratic in nature is no longer. It is now being driven by greed and no longer by the needs of the people.

Dr. Matembe further narrated that there is now a power-shift in family relations when women moved into the public arena. The shift in power relations has led to change in the public image of women. With economic emancipation and social networking among women leaders, some men/husbands have suffered and this has led to home-breaking.

NGOs have expressed a level of discontent with what they perceive as overbearing Government regulatory oversight which constrains their freedom of action. NGOs that are engaged in advocacy are particularly sensitive to the quality of the political space provided to enable them carry out their activities (National NGO Policy – Uganda, 2010, Page 8). At an interview with the study team, Dr. Matembe agreed with and upheld this position

saying Government is not allowing the NGOs to play their civic role freely.

3.5 What can be done differently?

Multi-member, proportional representation electoral systems have proven to be the most encouraging towards allowing women governmental positions (Kadaga, 2013, Page 33). Ahikire, (2009, Page 7) concurs with this position. She noted that the PR electoral system is an important contextual factor for countries which have made strides in achieving greater representation for women in politics and government. She observed that even if prospects for such a system being adopted in Uganda are bleak, at least in the near future, it remains useful if and when electoral reform becomes an issue of public policy debate (Ahikire, 2009, Page 7).

Multiparty politics is crucial to achieve substantial women's political participation (Ahikire, 2009, Page 7). Kadaga (2013, page 35) takes this a notch higher by suggesting that the situation can change if there are more equitable quotas in parties such as the ones the constitution provides for parliament and local councils, because political parties are the first glass ceiling that women have to break through to get into political positions.

A women's specific space (e.g. a league) within the parties is necessary, so long as it is used by women themselves to act strategically rather than for top-down manipulation and patronization. (Ahikire, 2009, Page 8)

A strong women's movement is necessary for setting standards, norms and accountability (Ahikire, 2009, Page 8). Ahikire et al., 2013, Page 39 put it that there is need to strengthen the nexus between the women's movement and women political leaders as part of movement-building. They further recommend that this should be treated as a long-term process, purposively powered with strategic alliances and mobilization across social differences and partisan allegiances.

Mama and Okazawa-Rey (2008) also argue that anti-militarism activism must be a key area of feminist strategy in the contemporary period (Ahikire et al., 2013, Page 33).

Create positive incentive systems for those who deliver services to the communities and punish those who are ineffective. This increases levels of accountability not through the ritual of elections but through scrutiny and public ownership of public policies (UMI (N.D.), Page 2).

The myriad policy monitoring agencies, anti-corruption bodies, government commissions, parliamentary committees and presidential initiatives should be consolidated into few and focused robust institutions founded on meritocracy and not ethno-regional balancing or short-term political calculations (UMI, n.d., Page 2).

Government needs to increase capacity of citizens to participate and engage development processes through the popular participation avenues such as "Barazas" (UMI, n.d., Page 2).

Government should make it a requirement that every

approved policy should have an education programme, a mechanism that includes leaders, media, and champions of policy among the users (UMI, n.d., Page 3).

EC to “take charge of ensuring that the provisions of the law on access to especially state-owned media are adhered to by all public media” and to propose penalties for abusing the provisions of the law for adoption by Parliament (UWONET/ New vision, 2020, Page 4). The public broadcaster should provide equal coverage to all candidates as prescribed by law to ensure that each candidate is given an equal and fair chance to compete and express their views to the citizenry (AU, 2016, Page 19)

Enforce the law equally on all parties and candidates to ensure that all candidates compete on equal footing as well as ensure fulfilment of the right to security of the person (AU, 2016, Page 19)

The election body meets with private radio/ TV owners and “build consensus on access to media for all candidates regardless of party or political affiliation”, with the discussion focusing on the rates of airtime “since elections are an important public good” (UWONET/ New vision, 2020, Page 4)

Reinstatement of community radios to allow more citizens to access information (UWONET/ New vision, 2020, Page 4)

Government should ‘provide adequate resources

to enable the Electoral Commission to conduct continuous procurement of election materials, conduct continuous voter registration and voter education’ (AU, 2016, Page 18)

Develop legislation to regulate political party and campaign finance to ensure fair access to public resources amongst political parties and independent candidates in the case of campaign finance (AU, 2016, Page 18)

Conclude electoral reforms at least a year before elections to allow for timely preparation and implementation (AU, 2016, Page 18)

Conduct continuous voter education to address the issue of low voter turnout and invalid and spoilt votes as well as ensure fulfilment of universal suffrage by the citizens (AU, 2016, Page 19)

Conduct continuous voter registration, which provides for a more cost effective registration process (AU, 2016, Page 19)

4.0 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter discusses here below the major conclusions drawn from the findings discussed in chapter three above as well as key recommendations for Government, NGOs and development partners dealing with issues of gender and governance to consider for the next five years.

4.1 Patriarchy is still alive and well in Uganda’s culture and traditional belief systems. It continues

to reinforce gender inequalities in a variety of ways including economic, social, and political arenas. Based on the study findings, the following are the recommendations to address the issue:

MGLSD should build on lessons learnt from past projects and programs to sustain and scale up the ongoing campaigns and public education programs about the values and roles of women and children in society

MGLSD should re-negotiate with religious leaders, political leaders, cultural activists and other critical stakeholders contentious areas¹⁰ of the marriage and divorce Bill that was rejected, reach compromise positions and re-table the bill before Parliament for endorsement

MGLSD should train and mentor women in offices so they are able to reconcile and balance women's roles in homes and job matters. Failure to ably balance work and family has critical consequences such as family breakdowns and is a very big cause of social insecurity.

NGOs have a role to play to address patriarchy. NGOs should:

Build on lessons learnt from past projects and programs to design strategies for sustaining and scaling up the ongoing campaigns and public education programs about the values and roles of women and children in society

Support MGLSD to re-negotiate with religious leaders, political leaders, cultural activists and other critical stakeholder's contentious areas of the

¹⁰ The main areas of contention hindering the passage of the Bill are ownership and division of property among the spouses, usage of the word 'divorce' being unchristian, and bride price being non-refundable on dissolution of marriage

marriage and divorce Bill that was rejected, reach compromise positions and re-table the bill before Parliament for endorsement

Train and mentor women in offices so they are able to reconcile and balance women's roles in homes and job matters

4.2 Uganda's political terrain is largely characterized by the politics of regime survival, a weakening multiparty dispensation that has greatly inhibited the emergence of a unified women's voice at national and local levels, sexualized politics and increased militarization of the electoral processes in which women are more vulnerable than men. This study has identified a number of recommendations to address this issue. Parliament should:

Develop strategies for nurturing the emergence of fewer, stronger political parties

Introduce a proportional representation electoral system

Introduce equitable quotas for women in parties such as the ones the constitution provides for parliament and local councils

Lobby with the Executive to create a liberated political civic space

To improve Uganda's political terrain with its attendant anti women characteristics, NGOs should:

Advocate for fewer, stronger political parties

Advocate for the introduction of a proportional representation electoral system

Advocate for stronger women's specific spaces (e.g. leagues) within political parties that can act

strategically and free from top-down manipulation and patronization

Lobby with the Government to create a liberated political civic space

4.3 The relationship between women political leaders and the women's movement is weak and unable to develop and uphold a robust feminist political agenda. This study has identified a number of recommendations to address this issue and they include the following:

MGLSD should evaluate the Gender Information Center project implemented during the Constituent Assembly time and in collaboration with UWOPA use the outcome in designing an intervention that can play a similar role in the next parliament 2021-2026

MGLSD, Ministry of Local Government and Parliament should put together programs to train women MPs and Councilors in the art of caucusing and support them to use the strategy effectively in lobbying and getting the support from gender-sensitive male members of parliament and councils whenever need arises.

Electoral Commission should prioritize holding regular consultations and dialogues with stakeholders, especially members of the women movement and women leaders, on election processes and legislation

- MGLSD should lobby Parliament and development partners for increased funding

to be made available to NGOs involved with Gender work.

From the NGO perspective, to strengthen the relationship between women political leaders and the women's movement, women focused NGOs should;

- work to identify and support women (including financially) to aspire for elective political positions, run programs on gender and civic education and democracy, design mechanisms of accountability, and offer capacity-building training to which women MPs and councilors and those aspiring to be in those offices are invited.
- Support the development of a shared agenda (something akin to the 2006 women's manifesto) with participation of women already in political positions, upcoming women leaders, and women's organizations as a means of bringing to the forefront gender dimensions that ought to be addressed.
- Evaluate the Gender Information Center project implemented during the Constituent Assembly and support UWOPA to use the outcome in designing an intervention that can play a similar role in the next parliament 2021-2026
- Train women MPs and Councilors in the art of caucusing and support them to use the strategy effectively in lobbying and getting the support from gender-sensitive male members of parliament and councils whenever need arises.

- Lobby for and support regular consultations and dialogues between the Electoral Commission and stakeholders, especially members of the women movement and women leaders, on election processes and legislation

4.4 Uganda has a bad reputation of poor policy implementation that is largely informed by selfishness, poor alignment of budgets and national priorities, inadequate policy monitoring and evaluation and poor coordination and cooperation between government agencies. This study has identified a number of recommendations to address this issue and they include the following:

- Ministry of Public Service and Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development should consider increasing levels of accountability by way of creating more positive incentive systems for those who deliver services to the communities and punishing those who are ineffective
- Parliament should lobby the Presidency to consolidate the myriad policy monitoring agencies, anti-corruption bodies, government commissions, parliamentary committees and presidential initiatives into few and focused robust institutions founded on meritocracy and not ethno-regional balancing or short-term political calculations
- Parliament should approve funding for authentic community radios for all communities to allow

more citizens to access information

- Parliament should make it a requirement that every approved policy should have a public education program that helps increase public scrutiny and ownership of public policies. This program would involve leaders, media and champions of policy among the users.

To address the bad reputation of poor policy implementation, NGOs should;

- Design and implement strategies and mechanisms such as “Barazas” that will help increase capacity of citizens to participate and engage development processes
- Introduce community radios and other information sharing opportunities in their areas of operation to enable more citizens to access information especially during this scientific election period

4.5 Increased poverty levels characterized by high unemployment rates among especially women, low women access to and use of ICTs, low women access to media platforms (where the 2021 election campaigns are planned to be held), unpaid but heavy domestic work burdens and low levels of ownership of productive resources. All these affect women more than men. This study has identified a number of recommendations to address this issue and they include the following:

- MGLSD should step up gender awareness

raising and sensitization efforts at all levels.

- Improve Government policy implementation (see strategies under 4.4)
- All arms of Government should raise their political will to fight corruption. Actions need to be louder than words.
- MGLSD should scale up and improve implementation of good women and youth empowerment programs such as Uganda Women Entrepreneurship Program (UWEP) and the Youth Livelihood program

On the other hand, NGOs should:

- Step up gender awareness raising and sensitization efforts at all levels.
- Support Government to improve policy implementation (see strategies under 4.4)
- Advocate for stronger laws against corruption
- Advocate for a stronger political will at all levels to fight corruption. Actions need to be louder than words.
- Support the scaling up and implementation of good women and youth empowerment programs

4.6 Inadequate electoral legislative framework that is unable to accommodate voting by some sections of people with Disabilities in Uganda, weak at regulating campaign financing in Uganda, and accommodates late preparation and implementation of electoral reforms. This study has identified a number of recommendations to address this issue and they include the following:

- Parliament, in collaboration with Ministry of Justice and Constitutional Affairs, should

allocate adequate resources to enable the Electoral Commission to conduct continuous procurement of election materials, conduct continuous voter registration and voter education

- Parliament, in collaboration with Ministry of Justice and Constitutional Affairs, should come up with legislation to regulate political party and campaign finance to ensure fair access to public resources amongst political parties and independent candidates in the case of campaign finance
- Parliament should conclude electoral reforms at least a year before elections to allow for timely preparation and implementation
- The Electoral Commission should conduct continuous voter education to address the issue of low voter turnout and invalid and spoilt votes as well as ensure fulfilment of universal suffrage by the citizens

To help address the inadequate electoral legislative framework and timing of election reforms, NGOs should support;

- The conduct of continuous voter education
- Educate people about the voter registration processes and calendars to enable a more cost effective registration process

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: List of Respondents in the Study

S/N	Names	Position	District/City
1	Hon. Dr. Miria Matembe	Former Minister, Chairperson CCEDU, Human Rights Activist & Founder, CEWIGO	Kampala
2	Mary Harriet Lamunu	Program Coordinator, UWOPA	Kampala
3	Jocelyn Ekochu Bananuka	Vice Chairperson/AG Executive Director, CEWIGO	Kampala
4	Judith Mutabazi	Gender Focal Person, NPA	Kampala
5	Faith Amanya Betega	SPWO/Gender Focal Person	Bushenyi
6	Justine Burisadi	Councilor PWDs (Female) and District Speaker	Bushenyi
7	Peace Tibakuna	Secretary For Health, Education & Community Based Services	Bushenyi
8	Hajati Saidat Kaganda Abwoli	Woman Councillor-Central & Eastern Divisions, Fortportal	Kabalore
9	Irene Linda Mugisa	District Councillor/Social worker	Kabalore
10	Prisca Muganzi Mulongo	City Councilor, Nyakayojo /Nyamitanga (Formerly Chairperson Social Services Mbarara District)	Mbarara
11	Mirabel Kabeigarire	CDO – (Kakiika) Mbarara City North Division	Mbarara
12	Loy Bogele	CDO-Walukuba, Masese Division, Jinja	Jinja
13	Elizabeth Mutesi	Assistant Town Clerk, Walukuba Division, Jinja	Jinja
14	Hellen Elizabeth Chandiru	Councilor, Women Representative, Walukuba-Masese Division, Jinja	Jinja
15	Asha Karamagi	Deputy District Speaker-Hoima	Hoima
16	Innocent Aliguma, W.	CDO-Kigorobyia Sub-county	Hoima
17	Peninah Baseke	Councilor-Elderly, Kigorobyia Town Council	Hoima
18	Hellen Kabajungu	Woman Councillor – Ruhinda and Buhunga Sub-counties, Rukungiri District Council (Formerly District Vice Chairperson)	Rukungiri

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