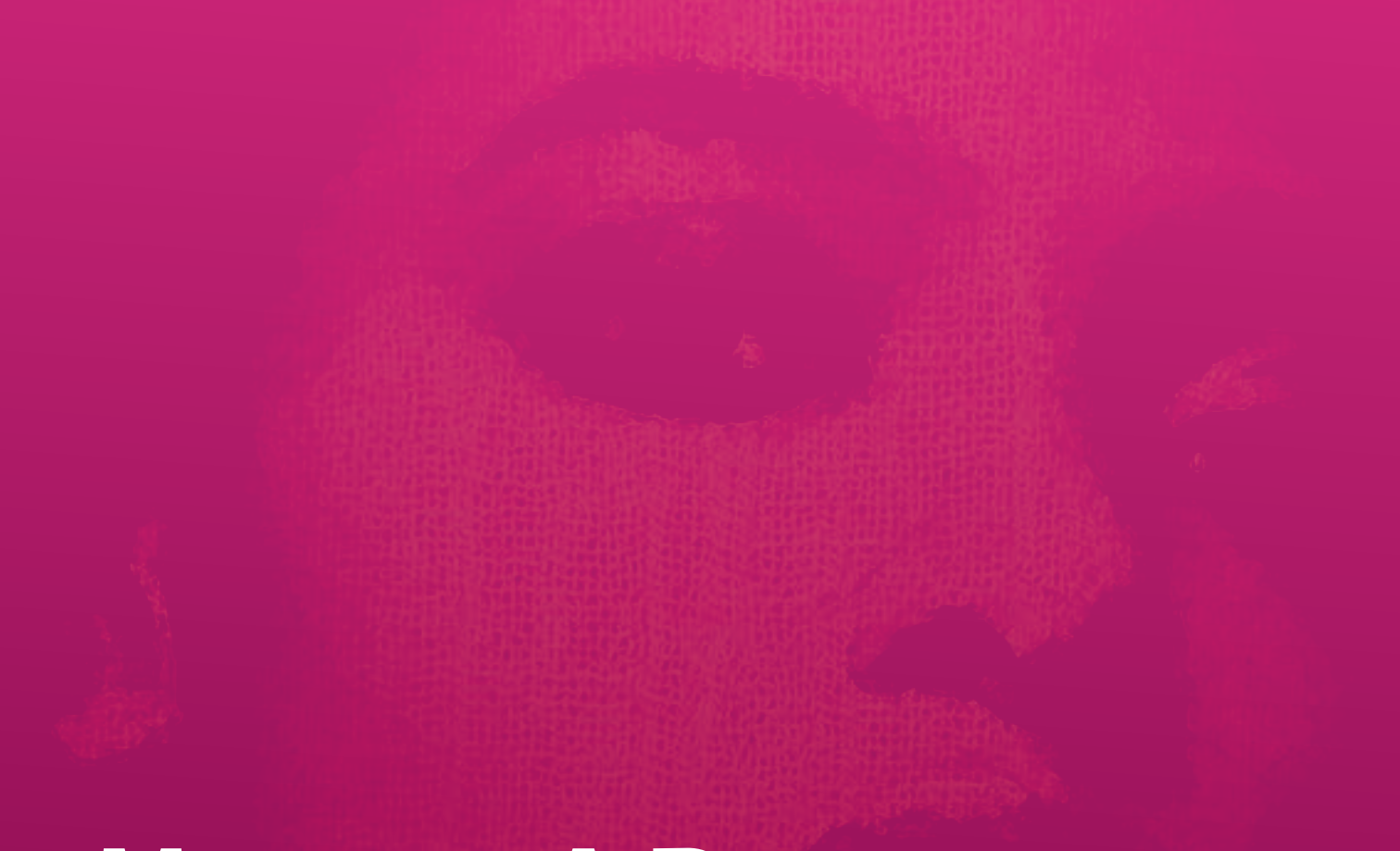

Making A Difference Beyond Numbers:

Towards women's substantive engagement in political leadership in Uganda

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A Report by
Isis-WICCE In Collaboration with
the Uganda Women Parliamentary Association (UWOPA)

Isis-Women's International Cross-Cultural Exchange
(Peacecreating Peaces Internationally)

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ACRONYMS

ACFODE	Action for Development
AU	African Union
CAO	Chief Administrative Officer
CBOs	Community Based Organisations
CCZ	Constitutional Commission of Zimbabwe
CEDOVIP	Center for Domestic Violence Prevention
CEWIGO	Center for Women in Governance
COPAW	Coalition to demand Accountability from Women members of Parliament
CSOs	Civil Society Organisations
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FGM	Female Genital Mutilation
FIDA-U	The Uganda Association of Women Lawyers
FOKAPAWA	Forum for Kalongo Parish Women Association
FOWODE	Forum for Women in Democracy
GBV	Gender Based Violence
IDP	Internal Displaced Persons
IPU	Inter-Parliamentary Union
Isis-WICCE	Isis-Women's International Cross Cultural Exchange
LCs	Local Councils
LEGCO	Legislative Council
MPs	Member of Parliament
NAWOU	National Association of Women Organisations in Uganda
NGOs	Non-Government Organizations
NRA	National Resistance Army
NRC	National Resistance Council
NRM	National Resistance Movement
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
UNRISD	United Nations Research Institute for Social Development
UPE	Universal Primary Education
USE	Universal Secondary Education
UWONET	Uganda Women's Network
UWOPA	Uganda Women Parliamentary Association
VSLA	Village Saving and Loan Association
WAG	Women's Action group
WDN	Women's Democracy Network
WORUDET	Women and Rural Development Network

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And to all *the key informants, Councilors, Local leaders, Members of Parliament of Uganda (Current and Former), the Academia and the Judiciary, and Leaders of Women NGOs and Civil Society Organisations who spared time to share their experiences, we thank you.*

To Ford Foundation*, thank you for being an empowering development partner. We are grateful for the financial investment that enabled us to have a collective reflection on how women political leaders can explore their full potential in the democratic dispensation and national development.*

FOREWORD

The last two decades have been recognized as critical in national and global efforts in the empowerment of women and in enhancing their participation in the governance and leadership spaces. Women's participation in politics has been high on the agenda of governments and this has spurred up their leadership abilities on the social, political and economic platforms of social change. Women political leaders have campaigned and lobbied on key social needs and concerns like health, education, security and poverty.

In Uganda, women have espoused their newly acquired status and recognition especially through affirmative action to affirm their visibility on the frontline of political participation and engagement to push for gender sensitive policies. The period from 1986 to date has specially enabled women to take an active role in public politics. In this period, women legislators have taken lead in the enactment of critical laws like the Domestic Violence Act (2010), the Prohibition of Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) Act (2010), Prevention of Trafficking in Persons Act (2009) and have sustained the debate on issues that infringe on the security of women generally. At the local councils, the women councilors have emphasised legislation on gender based violence (GBV) and delivery of services for livelihood enhancement.

It is equally important to acknowledge the civil society and the women's movement in particular, who have continued to strengthen the capacity of women political leaders, and to lobby and advocate for the advancement of the women's agenda and national development in general.

Even with these achievements registered at national and local levels, when it comes to decision making, the ground has remained uneven. I want to congratulate and appreciate the role of Isis-WICCE for yet again demonstrating its role in research and documentation by coming up with this study. The thorough analysis presented in the study is critically important as it gives us women political leaders in Uganda an opportunity to question and challenge ourselves further on our roles and mission. The study 'Making a Difference Beyond numbers: Towards women's substantive engagement in political leadership in Uganda; calls on us not only to celebrate the

few strides we have made as leaders but to continue to reflect on whether we have effectively exploited the available decision making opportunities to the advantage of our constituency in Uganda. We must indeed question ourselves on what difference we have made in the lives of the ordinary women and men in Uganda.

As this study concludes, we must ensure a more critical focus, move away from our individualistic aspirations, and work towards critical and all embracing objectives which are powered by a rights and people centered agenda. We surely need a critical mass to achieve our empowerment objectives and to make a difference in this country. The task is still enormous but we must embrace it to make a difference.

Rt. Hon. Rebecca Alitwala Kadaga
SPEAKER
PARLIAMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF UGANDA.

Executive Summary

The study on Making a Difference Beyond numbers: Towards women's substantive engagement in political leadership in Uganda is part of a series of research usually carried out by Isis – WICCE towards generation of information to defend the rights of women and girls, and denouncing violence against women as well as engaging states and non-state actors to stop the abuses. The research was geared towards documenting women's experiences in Uganda's political leadership, particularly including those communities emerging out of conflict. It was further intended to generate information as an advocacy tool for social justice and women's empowerment as well as ensuring sustainable women's political effectiveness in Uganda.

This study picks from the realization world over that although the campaign for women's participation in public life has taken several years, with some of the outcomes reflected in international human rights frameworks and national efforts, actual transformation in the lives of women has been painstakingly slow. The study builds to the realization that as the numbers of women in politics increase in many parts of the world, it has become more evident than ever that the strategy of getting women into formal political spaces is only part of what it takes to transform political decision making. The study calls for diverse strategic engagements that might include bringing about changes in political systems to make them genuinely inclusive. The study posits that while representative democratic arenas have received the lion's share of attention, understanding women's political engagement requires that we pay closer attention to the other spaces – 'new' democratic spaces and more 'traditional' arenas outside the domain of formal politics – in which women participate as political and social actors, including their pathways into politics. Some of these critical spaces include the women's movement. As the study strongly argues, the nexus between the women political leaders and the women's movement can provide an epicenter of feminist consciousness and ultimately enable the women political leaders to make a difference in politics.

Using varied qualitative methods, the study sought to make a contribution to a holistic understanding of conditions under which women in parliament and Local Councils (LCs) can make a difference to the lives of the women in Uganda. A number of questions were then raised to different audiences that included women members of Parliament, women councilors, political opinion leaders, leaders of women NGOs, and a think tank that brought women leaders across African countries, particularly those emerging out of armed conflicts.

Overall, the study covered four broad areas; firstly, the nexus between the women's movement and the women political leaders as the epicenter of a sustainable feminist political leadership since it has the potential to garner feminist consciousness, mobilization, resources and networks necessary for women's political effectiveness. Secondly, the study looked at the agenda with which women political leaders possess as they enter politics (whether the expressed or the experienced). This study argued that having (or not having) a gender sensitive legislative agenda is a pre-condition towards politics of making a difference. The third conceptual focus was on the difference that women have brought in politics (beyond their numerical presence). This spoke volumes in terms of what successes women political leaders have made, what enabled them to do so, and the blockages experienced. The fourth and last focus was on the desire to move women's political leadership towards a much more engaging process of feminist consciousness, guided by a feminist action agenda. From an optimistic stance, the study envisages women political leaders as a political and social constituency to be politically aware of the nature of their political rights vis-à-vis the social context they have to operate from. The study noted that an ideal political landscape has to incorporate most (if not all) of the above nuances of networking to be able to jointly resist structures that obstruct women from making a difference in political legislations.

Key Findings

From the above conceptual and methodological focus, the study established key insights in Uganda's gender and politics of making a difference.

1. First, the study strongly posits that the gender question in Uganda's politics is rather a historical question, one that has been shaped and redefined by certain historical moments i.e. patriarchal colonial oppression, newly independent government regimes that either suppressed or coopted women into male dominated political structures (Obote and Amin Regimes) as well as regimes promoting ameliorative politics of affirmative action. The study utilizes works of feminist scholars who argue that the colonial administration as one of the historical moments that shaped the gender question at the time by exporting what Tamale (1999) termed as 'British

patriarchal politics' which had long-term consequences in the inclusion and acceptance of women in Uganda's politics. This analysis as well identifies the post 1986 NRM regime as historical in terms of numbers, in a sense that prior to 1986; women's participation in public politics was dismal.

What stands out uniquely about these historical junctures is a complex manner with which women were integrated into or excluded, and ultimately, the implications of the latter statuses on sustainable gender equality outcomes in Uganda's politics. This study emphasizes that the above moments in the history of women's political participation in Uganda are all pivotal, if women are to make a difference in Uganda's politics since the historical junctures remain structural foundations upon which women's political participation is constructed.

2. Secondly, the study documented a mark in the reorientation of the nature of political debates, attitudes towards women political leaders and generally; the visibility of women in politics. The study for instance noted that the presence of women in politics has normalized women's status as political actors and gone a long way in redefining how men do their politics. Women's access to these political spaces at local and national level has not only introduced new relations between women and men, by allying fears that women are and should passively look on to men in politics but also facilitated a kind of discussion on some issues on the floor of parliament or in Local Councils, which would never or have seen the light of day. Some of these issues include violence against women, or cultural practices that promote gender based violence, or projecting the voice of peace. The visibility of women political leaders has served to reinforce the feminist position of personal is political.

3. Furthermore, women political leaders are making a difference in promoting health, challenging harmful cultural practices, engaging in mobilization, and coalition building for gender sensitive legislations as well as projecting themselves as capable political leaders. The study for instance points to the whole process of politics of mobilization, coalition building and legislation like the Domestic Violence Act (2010), The Prohibition of Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) Act (2010), Prevention of Trafficking in Persons Act, (2009), as some of the successful test cases for legislation towards gender sensitive laws. The study strongly notes that the resistance towards practices like FGM represents a significant step of women in Africa dedicating significant energy and effort to challenging the various manifestations of gender-based violence within and beyond notions of "African culture".

Understanding the blockage to making a difference

This study observes seemingly notable successes yet; the broader picture is much far from being desirable. The study notes that achievements in pro-women legislations remain uneven and unimpressive while the women's access to and influence in parliament has been so frustratingly slow. The change in women's lives is far from satisfactory and this raises broader questions that relate to the context as well as the conditions under which sustainable gender equality is and ought to be pursued. A significant number of participants alluded to the deeply embedded gender-biased patterns in public decision making and policy implementation that stop progressive public policy in its tracks. The study also indicates that women's political leadership faces several huddles at local and national levels. Findings from different consultations indicate that the inhibitions to women's political participation are enmeshed in a predominantly patriarchal system, constantly changing shape even when women make significant breakthroughs. The study identified five key structural obstructions to women political leaders making a difference as;

1. Militarism - not just about war and armed forces but rather an ideology that defines a threat system which when stripped of all its extraneous verbiage simply says "Do what I tell you – or else". The ideology is particularly normalized through language of abuse, domination and threats. According to some African feminist scholars, feminists must as of necessity take on the permeation of militarism in African politics as one way to create substantive transformation.

2. Multiparty dispensation and the politics of patronage, party gagging and overly personalized party agendas that have apparently made it extremely difficult for women to generate a strong lobby on issues around women's interests.

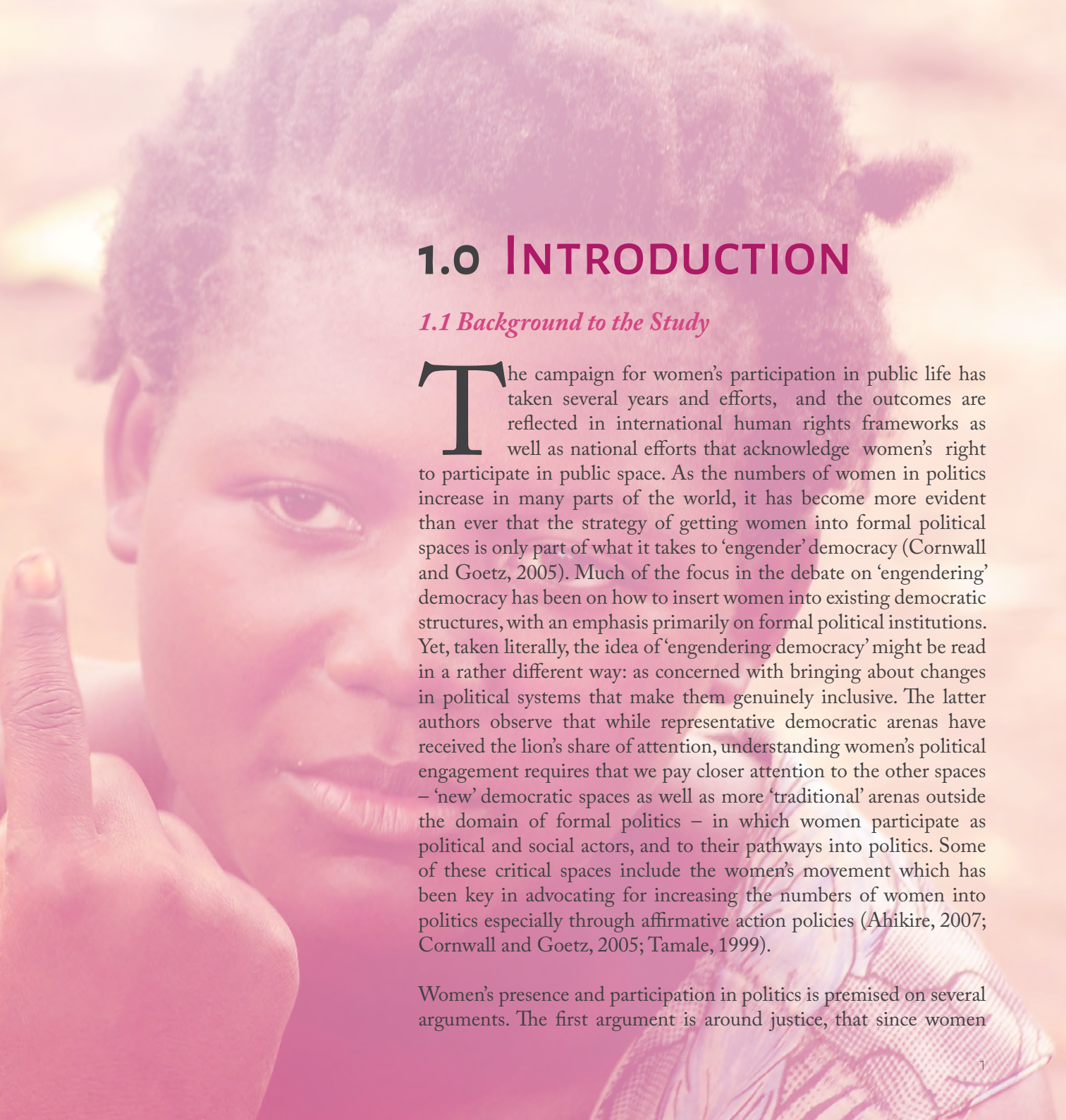
3. Sexual Pacification; Pacification is a term derived from the process of colonization as a tool for conquest. Similarly, the findings refer to the Sexualisation of political space as sexual pacification of women. The overly sexualisation of political space persistently came out as a major obstacle to women's substantive engagement. Sexualisation here is understood as a situation in which sexuality comes to determine major political narratives. This was seen to manifest itself through the actual lived experience of women political leaders, as well as the dominant discourse of them as key subjects or even objects of the perceived sexualisation. Perceptions and practices also consistently appear in the media in form of women leaders decrying sexual advances from male colleagues or even surveys on who the most beautiful (and not even the most handsome) MPs are. In certain public circles, there is a perception that some women in politics are sexually exploited to be in certain positions of leadership. Most importantly, the study notes that sexualized politics has wider implications for women's political effectiveness.

4. Commercialized politics – the nature of politics was generally described at best as commercialized; an investment arena rather than a platform to represent and respond to the needs and interests of citizens. The materialistic nature of politics has rendered issue-based deliberations unattractive particularly on those issues that deal with critical women's rights such as women's property ownership and bodily integrity.

5. Inadequate gender capacities and knowledge was identified as another inhibitor to women's effective participation in both local councils and the national parliament. The inadequate knowledge was even worse in a political space that is patriarchal – if you are someone who does not understand gender issues in a patriarchal setting; it is very easy to get lost therein.

What remains outright conclusive in this study is that the desire for women political leaders to make a difference in politics should not be seen or judged outside of the existing contexts. As widely illustrated through key observations by all sets of participants, the political context in Uganda 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. As one of the participants strongly pointed out, the challenges women political leaders face, are structural in nature yet the approaches they use remain individualistic. Similar arguments along the study noted that the concerns that women political leaders have cannot be addressed by strategies that are not only fearful of challenging the root causes but also remain adhoc, one-off events and un-coordinated. The challenges are largely described as qualitative and ever changing yet the actors continue to look up to the quantitative/numerical strengths of women to deliver qualitative solutions. It became ultimately clear that there is no way how the women political leaders and women's movement will continue doing the same old things and expect new results. But rather, to devise new measures that are ready to sustainably confront and transform the nature of politics.

Developing a feminist Political Agenda entails a conscious process that is geared towards moving beyond struggles where women are only seen as contributors, whose role is supplementary rather than being the core of political transformation. The study also calls for building synergies between women political leaders and the women's movement to be able to create formidable accountability structures, leverage human and financial resources as well as collectively build gender capacities of women in political leadership.



1.0 Introduction

1.1 Background to the Study

The campaign for women's participation in public life has taken several years and efforts, and the outcomes are reflected in international human rights frameworks as well as national efforts that acknowledge women's right to participate in public space. As the numbers of women in politics increase in many parts of the world, it has become more evident than ever that the strategy of getting women into formal political spaces is only part of what it takes to 'engender' democracy (Cornwall and Goetz, 2005). Much of the focus in the debate on 'engendering' democracy has been on how to insert women into existing democratic structures, with an emphasis primarily on formal political institutions. Yet, taken literally, the idea of 'engendering democracy' might be read in a rather different way: as concerned with bringing about changes in political systems that make them genuinely inclusive. The latter authors observe that while representative democratic arenas have received the lion's share of attention, understanding women's political engagement requires that we pay closer attention to the other spaces – 'new' democratic spaces as well as more 'traditional' arenas outside the domain of formal politics – in which women participate as political and social actors, and to their pathways into politics. Some of these critical spaces include the women's movement which has been key in advocating for increasing the numbers of women into politics especially through affirmative action policies (Ahikire, 2007; Cornwall and Goetz, 2005; Tamale, 1999).

Women's presence and participation in politics is premised on several arguments. The first argument is around justice, that since women

constitute roughly half the population; they are entitled to comparable numerical representation in bodies that govern society (Ahikire, 2007). In other words exclusion of women from those bodies is simply unfair and discriminatory. The second argument is that women bring to political life a different set of values and help to create a more caring, pluralist and compassionate society. This assumes that their presence will change the political culture merely on the basis of women's innate attributes of nurturing. The third argument, and perhaps the most popular, when viewed in light of the women's movement, is the interest argument which advances the position that women and men have different interests and issues that need specific representation separately and those that men cannot 'represent' women. It is assumed therefore that once in power, women will change the content of politics to cater for women's interests (Goetz, 2003, Kwesiga et al. 2003).

From the perspective of the global and the national women's movement, the emphasis is that achieving the goal of equal participation of women and men in decision-making provides a balanced development framework and more accurately reflects the composition of society; strengthens democracy and promotes proper functioning of systems and structures. In this sense, women's equal participation in governance and decision making is not only a demand for simple justice but a necessary condition for gender equality and making sure that the present institutional culture is deconstructed to take women's interests into account. This was well emphasized in the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action [1995], "without the active participation of women and the incorporation of women's perspectives at all levels of decision-making, the goals of equality, development and peace cannot be achieved".

Hence the question that has occupied the women's movement for the last decade or so is that of moving beyond numbers. The agreement now is that numbers are not enough and are an imperfect measure of women's effectiveness (Goetz 2003). This is the debate that Tamale extrapolated on in her path breaking 'When Hens Begin to Crow' distinguishing between descriptive and substantive representation of women in Uganda's parliament (Tamale 1999). Hence, questions have been around an understanding whether an increase in the number of female representatives (women's descriptive representation) in structures of decision making such as parliament and local councils, results into an increase in attention to women's policy concerns (women's substantive representation). With regard to Parliament, Karam puts this debate in perspective thus:

> *We need to look beyond the often asked question of how to increase the number of women in parliament, and move towards presenting examples and experiences of how women can impact on the political process while working through a parliamentary structure* (1998:9).

Now, there exists a sense of frustration amongst key actors in the women's movement as well as some women leaders, to the effect that despite women's increasing numbers in governance and decision making, the change in the lives of women is not happening as fast as we would want to. The Ugandan

woman's status is remarkably lower than that of men on all counts, whether in the arena of politics and citizenship, the economy, the socio cultural or in the intimate personal relations, For example, feminized poverty, gender based violence and the generalized lack of respect and fulfillment of women's rights seem to be the norm as opposed to the exception. Hence in this case a critical mass is not necessarily the sure way to make a feminist difference to politics and policy making.

But why, in the first place, did we assume that numbers of women in decision would automatically lead to gender fair outcomes in decision making spaces? Women are as heterogeneous as their interests and they are not operating in a vacuum. There is need for a much more sober approach that promises to take on the complexities involved in such political processes. There is, hence, a need for a critical reflection especially on the fact that women's physical presence has to be consciously translated into strategic presence (Ahikire, 2007) through a political process, which brings several players into focus. These players include, in addition to the women leaders, mainly the women's movement as an entity and the state as an institution. Outcomes of physical presence then seem to hinge more on the articulation of the nexus between the women leaders and the women's movement and the ways in which this nexus is brought to bear on the decision making processes in the state arena.

1.2 Focus of the Study

The study sought to make a contribution to a holistic understanding of conditions under which women in parliament and Local Councils (LCs) can make a difference to the lives of the women in Uganda. To answer this question, the focus quickly turned from questions such as "do women represent women?" or "do women in politics make a difference?"; to questions like "what mark have women representatives made in political engagements to challenge public patriarchy and how is the nexus between Women's Political leadership and the women's movement been positioned in all this? To pursue these questions, we sought to establish whether or not there exists a shared agenda between the women's movement and the women politicians and how such an agenda has been pursued with what outcomes, carefully registering the successes (facilitators) as well as the inhibiting factors amidst current governance challenges such as militarism, fundamentalism as well as an overly sexualized political space.

Furthermore, the study sought to deal with the question, of the conditions under which the presence of women in decision making makes a difference in the lives of women, and what needs to be done to achieve this? The study was then anchored around two key concepts, namely, the women's movement and effective leadership. Here, the women's movement is pragmatically defined as the space where women have used diverse strategies to dismantle patriarchy and achieve the dignity of women. As a social movement, the women's movement is seen as a fluid space to embrace all those that subscribe to the cause of gender equality and are ready in one way or another to bear the cost of dismantling

patriarchy. Participation in decision making and influencing the public policy agenda has been seen as one of the ways through which the gender equality agenda and dismantling patriarchy can be pursued with women leaders as front runners of the women's movement. This then brings into focus the need for effective feminist political leadership, defined as a process by which a person or groups of people influence processes to make a difference in women's lives (position and condition).

INDICATORS OF EFFECTIVE FEMINIST LEADERSHIP

- Level of engagement in parliamentary/council sessions and related processes
- Active involvement in the formulation of legislation that enhances gender equality and women's autonomy.
- Clear focus on budget allocation to gender equality
- Level of engagement with community (feedback)
- Level of engagement in strategic networks such as women caucuses to build synergy and movements.

We have to realize fast enough that like male politicians, women politicians address the issues of concern to their constituencies and parties. Furthermore, given the way in which party selection systems may eliminate outspoken feminists as an electoral liability, it is not surprising to find women politicians who do not advocate for women's concerns. The links with activist women organisations may be weak or nonexistent. Women with an autonomous link to feminist activism may be weeded out. Studies elsewhere have shown that the presence of a strong, autonomous women's movement was more relevant in accounting for substantive changes/transformation than mere numbers of women political leaders (UNRISD: 2005). So then, the focus must be turned into how to make numbers of women in political leadership front runners of a women's movement to agitate for gender responsive laws as opposed to a situation where they come under scrutiny in isolation.

1.3 Study Objectives

Overall Objective

To examine conditions under which female Members of Parliament and women Local Councilors can influence decisions for substantive gender equality in Uganda.
Specific Objectives

1. Assess the manner of interaction between women political leaders and the women's movement and whether or not a shared agenda exists.

2. Examine the successes of women political leaders in translating their physical presence into strategic engagement for gender equality in the Ugandan society.

3. Determine the inhibitors that women political leaders within parliament and Local Councils encounter in influencing public policy towards gender equality.

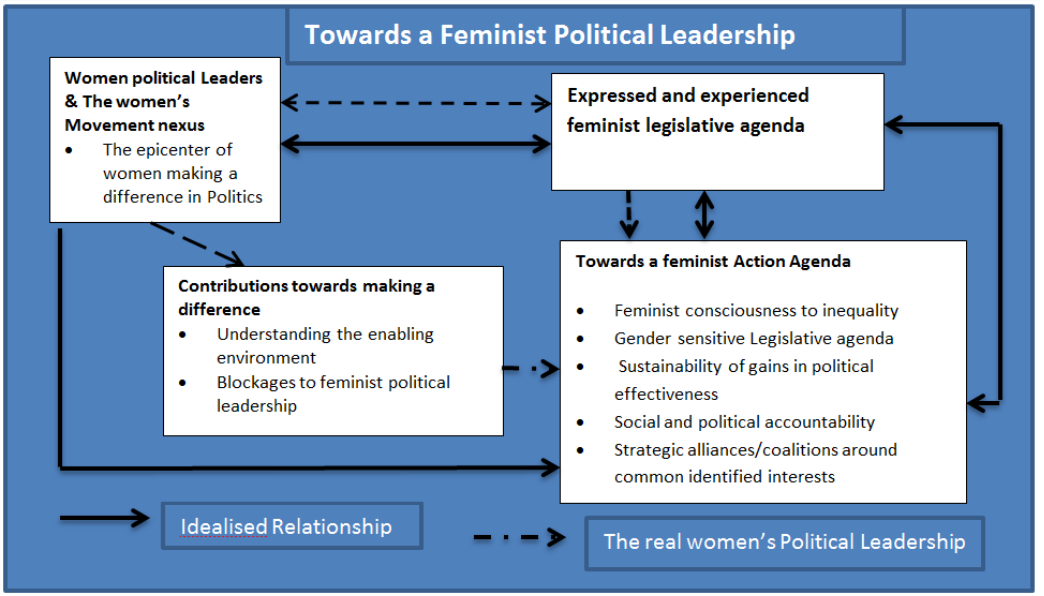
4. Identify strategies for enhancing women political leaders' engagement in decision making.

1.4 Methodology

The focus of the research was on the national level parliamentary legislative machinery and local councils. For the local councils, the districts of Pader and Agago were purposively selected because of their history in the armed conflict to appreciate how the dynamics of conflict and post-conflict settings could have influenced women's engagement in politics. The study focused on the period from 2001 to 2013. The reasons for focusing on this period are two- fold. First, it is over a decade since the 1995 constitution that laid the ground for numerical achievements of women representation in the national parliament and local council structures. The second is that, it is a period when Uganda as a country begins to move from politics of mobilization and transition to regime consolidation (Ahikire 2007). A focus on this period is premised to look at how the gains in numerical strengths begun to translate into substantive gender transformation within this very context.

The research team employed a host of methods. First, a high level dialogue was hosted with women MPs, seeking to capture their voices on what has been achieved and the factors underlying successes and limitations, as well as their perspectives on the contribution of the women's movement in Uganda towards their political participation. A second dialogue was held with leaders of women's NGOs focusing on the understanding of the women's movement and women political leaders' nexus, and what more needs to be done. The team also carried out in-depth conversations with key actors both males and females. In Agago and Pader districts, extended discussions were held with women councilors and other key actors (male and female) in the local governments and community based organisations.

1.5 Women Political Leaders Making a Difference: A Conceptual Mapping



Overall, the study covered four broad areas (see figure above). Firstly, the nexus between the women's movement and the women political leaders is seen as the epicentre of a sustainable feminist political leadership since it has the potential to garner feminist consciousness, mobilization, resources and networks necessary for women's political effectiveness. Secondly, the study looked at the agenda that women political leaders possess in politics (whether the expressed or the experienced). This study argues that having (or not having) a gender sensitive legislative agenda is a pre-condition towards politics of making a difference. The third conceptual focus was on the difference that women have brought in politics (beyond their numerical presence). This spoke volumes in terms of what successes women political leaders have made, what enabled them to do so, and the blockages experienced. The fourth and last focus was on the desire to move women's political leadership towards a much more process of feminist consciousness, guided by a feminist action agenda.

The study envisages women political leaders as a political and social constituency to be politically aware of the nature of their political rights vis-à-vis the social context they have to operate from. The study noted that an ideal political landscape has to incorporate most (if not all) of the above nuances of networking to be able to jointly resist structures that obstruct women from making a difference in political legislations. It is important to note that the dotted lines between different actors on the map reflect the fault lines that partially account for women's inability to make a difference.

The above reflections re-echo the study's emphasis on deliberate attempts by the women's movement to consciously structure and implement a gender sensitive agenda through gender awareness campaigns.

2.0 The Numbers: An Overview

2.1 Parliament and District Local Councils

Uganda stood out as a trailblazer in Africa and in the world in its effort to bring greater numbers of women into formal politics. By 2001, Uganda's parliament was one quarter female. About one third of local government councilors were women (Goetz and Hassim, 2003). According to Wang (2013), women's presence has been progressive overtime. Citing the trend as a visible step towards women's presence, Wang tracks women political leaders in parliament since 1989 as indicated in the figure below.

Table 1: Women in the Uganda Parliament, 1989-2011

Women in the Uganda Parliament, 1989-2011					
	1989	1996	2001	2006	2011
Open seats	2	8	13	14	11
District reserved seats	34	39	56	79	112
Seats reserved for groups					
Youth	-	-	2	1	2
Person with disabilities seats	N/A	N/A	2	1	2
Workers	-	-	1	2	2
Army	-	-	-	2	2
Others*	2	-	1	1	4
Women**	38 (16.0)	47 (17.0)	75 (24.7)	100 (31.4)	135 (34.8)
Total MPs (Men & Women)	238	276	304	319	388

Sources: based on data from Tripp, 2006, p.116; Muriaas & Wang, 2012, p. 312; Inter-Parliamentary Union (http://www.ipu.org); official website of the Parliament of Uganda (http://www.parliamnet.go.ug/new/).

* In the Fifth Parliament (1989-1996), this refers to historical members and other nominated by the president. in the subsequent parliamentary periods the numbers refer to ex-officio members of Parliament appointed by the president

**Percentage of women MPs in parentheses

Similar milestones in women's numerical presence is noted by the Inter Parliamentary Union which places Uganda's women parliamentary composition at 35.0% by 2011, a figure below African peers (Rwanda 63.8% lower house and 38.5% upper house; Senegal - 42.7%; South Africa – 42.3%; Mozambique – 39.2% and Tanzania with 36%). It is however important to note that women's increase has largely corresponded to the increase in the number of districts (112 districts by 2011), since each district is supposed to be represented by a female member of parliament. Considering that the creation of new districts was largely politically motivated rather than a conscious process aimed at addressing existing gaps in women's representation, the numbers of women political leaders may not have a direct impact on gender outcomes in policy and programming.

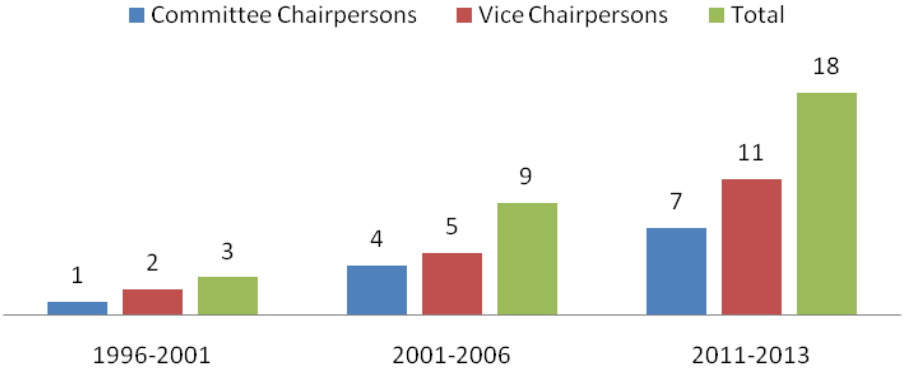
A promising trend of women taking on leadership in committees of parliament is also reflected along the 6th, 7th and 9th parliament. The number of women Committee Chairpersons and Vice Chairpersons increases with increase in the number of women legislators as well as extended periods the institution of parliament adjusts to women as new political actors.

Table 2: Female Leadership in Parliamentary Standing Committees

#	Category	Period			
		1996-2001	2001-2006	2011-2013	Total
1	Committee Chairpersons	1	4	7	12
2	Vice Chairpersons	2	5	11	18
	Total	3	9	18	

Source: Parliament of Uganda; http://www.parliament.go.ug/new/index.php/parliamentary-business/committees (cited on 30th January 2014)

Female Parliamentary Committee Leadership



The 2011-2013 information on committee leadership correlates with data from Forum for Women in Democracy (FOWODE) draft statistical report (2013). It indicates that women account for 39% of the chairpersons and 29% of the vice chairpersons of the standing committees and sessional committees of parliament as shown in table 3 below.

Table 3: Parliamentary committees' headship by Sex by December 2013

Parliamentary Committees	Women	Men	Total	% F	% M
Committee Chair Persons	11	17	28	39	61
Committee V/Chair	7	20	27	29	71
Total	18	37	55	34	66

Source: Parliament of Uganda; http://www.parliament.go.ug/new/index.php/parliamentary-business/committees (cited on 30th January 2014)

At the local council level, the picture of numbers of women in politics in Pader and Agago reveals the same principle that without the Affirmative Action policy, women would not occupy this space. Apart from the 30 percent councillors as provided for by the Local Governments Act (1997), all other positions are dominated by men. Even beyond the political positions, technical positions in both districts of Agago and Pader are overwhelmingly male dominated.

Table 4: Representation of Women and men in key district Political and Technical Positions

	Position	Pader District Administration			Agago District Administration		
#		F	M	Total	F	M	Total
1	District Chairperson (LCV)	0	1	1	0	1	1
2	D/LCV	1	0	1	0	1	1
3	District Executive Members	1	4	5	1	4	5
4	District Speaker	0	1	1	0	1	1
5	Deputy Speaker	1	0	1	1	0	1
6	Heads of Departments	0	6	6	0	0	0
7	District Community Development	0	1	1	0	1	1
8	Deputy Community Development	1	0	1	1	0	1
9	District Education Officer	0	1	1	0	1	1
10	Deputy Education officer	1	0	1	0	1	1
11	District Health Officer	0	1	1	0	1	1
12	Deputy District Health Officer	0	0	1	1	0	1
13	District Engineer	0	1	1	0	1	1
14	Deputy Engineer	0	0	0	0	0	0
15	District Production Officer	1	0	1	0	1	1
16	Deputy Production officer	0	0	0	0	1	1
17	District Planner	0	1	1	0	0	0
18	Deputy Planner	0	0	0	0	1	1
19	District Chief Administrative Officer	0	1	1	0	1	1
20	Assistant Chief Administrative Officer	0	1	1	0	1	1
21	RDC	1	0	1	0	1	1
22	Deputy RDC-DISO	0	1	1	0	1	1
23	Deputy DISO	0	1	1	0	1	0
24	Chairperson of LCIII /Town councils	0	12	12	0	16	16
	Overall Total	7	33	41	4	36	40
	Percentage	17%	83%	100%	10%	90%	100%

Source: Dialogue with District women councilors and Community based organisation leaders in Pader and Agago districts

Statistics in the above two districts, whether in political or technical positions indicate a different picture from the national image of women in public politics. Women remain largely invisible beyond the gazetted quotas. This invisibility is further reflected in the general lives of women such as inadequacy in service delivery, civic knowledge and competences. It is an outward manifestation of an internal and silent problem of patriarchal politics. Yet this image is not different from the cases in other districts and national level distribution of women in public institutions. In what she terms as the unbending patriarchal power, Ahikire (2007) noted that apart from the seats created specifically for women, patriarchal constructions of political power seem to be even more resilient at local levels. Even when the local governments are closer to people, the nearness does not automatically translate into political power for the less privileged especially in a competitive environment. With almost all top positions of district administration projected as male dominated, these findings project a new political dynamic where (as some participants cited), women as political actors are called upon not to 'interfere' in the competition for the direct seats since they already have their own reserved seats. This approach of analysis not only reflects the theoretical flaws of implementing reformist affirmative action strategies, but also exclusively ghettoizes women political leaders who are demeaned as unreal and further reinforces patriarchal power.

2.2 Women Political Leaders in Other Government Institutions

Within the three arms of government (the Executive, Parliament and Judiciary), one is headed by a woman (Parliament). One out of the three deputies is also a woman. Although women remain few at this level, the choice of a female speaker as the head of Parliament is a critical step towards having women in critical leadership positions. The Speaker of the Parliament of Uganda is the most senior ranking woman in the country. Her presence is a pointer to women's ability to lead in top leadership positions despite the many forms of resistance they encounter along their managerial paths. A glance at the cabinet composition tells a mixture of successes and gaps in terms of women political leadership. According to the 2013 executive composition, none of the six topmost government executives is a woman. The President, Vice President, Prime Minister and all the Deputy Prime Ministers are men. This has been the case since 2005 when Uganda dropped the first ever female Vice President on the continent (Rubimbwa and Komurembe' 2012[1]).

1 Rubimbwa, R. Komurembe, G. (2012) Women count: United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325: Civil Society Monitoring Report 2012, Center for Women in Governance, Uganda, Kampala

Table 5: Composition of Cabinet Ministers by Sex[2]

Cabinet Composition by Sex	Female	Male	Total	% F	% M
President	0	1	1	0	100
Vice President	0	1	1	1	100
Ministers	9	19	28	32	68
State Ministers	13	33	46	28	72
Total	22	54	76	29	71

Source: www.parliament.go.ug/new/index.php/members-of-parliament/cabinet-members

Uganda's executive arm of government is composed of 26 ministries with a total of 77 cabinet members. Of the 28 full cabinet ministers, 9 (32%) are women. Women also account for 28% of ministers of state and an overall 29% of the entire cabinet. Women have however been appointed to head the key ministries of Finance, Planning and Economic Development, Education and Sports, Health, Energy and Mineral Development as well as Ministry of Trade and Industry.

Overall, Uganda has had its share of women political leaders gaining prominent access to public politics in numbers that historically represent a breakthrough. Women's access to these political spaces at local and national level has introduced new relations between women and men, by allying fears that women are and should passively look on to men in politics. Their presence in increasing numbers has normalized their status as political actors and gone a long way in redefining how men do their politics. Indeed Tamale, quoting a veteran male parliamentarian indicated:

> *Women are no longer regarded as accentrics in the political field and more and more women are coming out to participate as a matter of course. Their mere presence in the house, I think, caused men to contribute in a more cautious manner…to censor themselves in whatever they said that it was not offensive to women. And of course, now there is far more emphasis on women's issues, gender matters … They are given more prominence* (Kizza Besigye, AR).Tamale, (1999; 68)

Tamale's succinct choice of such a citation provides a conceptual lens through which the presence of women (perceived new comers) in politics is viewed. Beyond the entry of normalizing women's public participation, women in such political positions present a potential to clean up politics, to force men to be cautious, to be extra careful with their language, their perception of who women are and are not and ultimately on advancing women specific interests as a constituency. On the whole, women's numerical presence re-orients the nature of politics and political interests that can be deliberated

2 See parliament website www.parliament.go.ug/new/index.php/members-of-parliament/cabinet-members

on. As one of the participants in the key interview indicated, their [women] presence brought a kind of discussion on some issues on the floor of parliament, which would not have seen the light of the day. It must however be noted that an increase in numbers of women political leaders does not always automatically translate into legislative advances for women (Ahikire, 2004; Goetz, 2002, 2003; Hanssen, 2006). In fact, reserved seat quotas in a hybrid regime with executive dominance provide opportunities for manipulation by the dominant party, turning the quota policy into another instrument of control by incumbents. This can be linked with the previous incidence of creation of new districts in Uganda where the ruling government strives to amass its political support through women district representatives rather that women representing women-specific interests.

3.0 Women Political Leaders beyond Physical Presence

3.1 The Mark of Women's Presence in Political Leadership

> *For the first time women became a subject of discussion which was not the case before. Women became an issue in the public space. They started highlighting issues that affect them as women and proposing what they would want to amend for their economic empowerment. The women in Uganda became visible and audible to the extent that you could not just do without them. They were the second powerful interest group that embraced the constitution with enthusiasm, energy, and hope. They were visible at last…*
> (Hon. Miria Matembe, July 2013).

The physical presence of women refered to by most participants as visible at last signified a critical breakthrough, an initial step of breaking into a domain that was historically not theirs. The political space seemed new to them but one that belonged to them as a matter of justice and fairness.

A cross section of women leaders reveal that the years 1980 to 2001, was the period when women made maximum impact in the Ugandan political space. It was a period that was punctuated by powerful landmarks such as the NRM government takeover, the UN conferences of Nairobi and Beijing, the constitution making in Uganda that definitely facilitated women's vibrancy in political leadership. The initial entry set the stage for other forms of engagement in women's political participation to follow. Indeed the period 2001 to date is seen by many scholars (Tripp, 2003; Ahikire, 2007) as a historical moment when women's substantive engagement went into another phase. Fundamental events such as women running for presidency happened. In 2006 and 2011 respectively, Miria Obote

and Betty Kamya went into the history books as female presidential candidates. They traversed the whole country as presidential contenders. These and many other national and local incidences made women's constituency to be visible and their presence in public spaces demystified the stereotypes about political contest at the helm of power as a male preserve. As one of the participants indicated;

> *If we consider 20 years for example, the 1980 elections, if we ask how many women tried to campaign and how many went through, we might get one or none. But increasingly, more women have been joining the political arena in Uganda. Definitely, women's increased participation in political leadership has had an impact. Society is beginning to accept that women and men are equal.* (Male participant, July 2013)

The gradual increase of women in public politics has had an impact of women being socially accepted not only as active participants in politics but as equals of men in other socio-economic and cultural fields. It must however be noted that although women political leaders' visibility signaled their critical importance in public debate, it also unconsciously demanded from them to be sustainably and consciously aware of the nature of politics they had joined and how to adapt to be able to deliver. This kind of consciousness about women-specific interests amidst a gendered political terrain is what constitutes feminist political leadership.

3.2 The Personal is political

The "personal is political" is a slogan that has powered feminist activism since the 1960s. The statement demonstrates feminist struggle to bring the so called private sphere and the relations therein under the rubric of what should constitute political questions. This slogan finds its resonance when we look at women's presence in public politics in Uganda.

A former woman Member of Parliament indicates thus;

> *I brought secrecy into the public space-something that many people would not dare reveal. At first it was resented, and rejected but eventually, it was accepted. I painted the whole picture of injustice and inequality in a home and it was clear for everybody* (Hon. Miria Matembe, July 2013).

From the interviews with both male and female key informants, it was clear that women's presence in leadership has been partly responsible for shifting the public conversation and putting neglected private issues into the public sphere. The fact that women leaders particularly the women Members of Parliament and women local councilors have put what was regarded private issues into the public space constitutes an achievement for women to celebrate and reaffirm their right to be in that space. The above participant points to a kind of resistance and resentment of what was perceived as trivial issues of women, or domestic matters worth addressing outside of public politics. This not only

exposed the nature of politics as patriarchal (keeping men in public as political actors and women as private contributors) but also the resistance that women entrants ought to be aware of once they joined politics.

The Specific Case of Gender Based Violence

Women's political presence has introduced a new set of issues that would not have otherwise seen the light of day on the floor of parliament and local councils. Most of the issues raised by participants interacted with in the course of this study pointed to issues that are enshrouded in a lot of cultural secrecy or public triviality especially issues of sexuality and sexual relations. The gravity entailed in some of these issues drove some women political leaders to join politics while other issues came into political limelight as a matter of women political leaders' life experiences. For instance, one participant explained that:

> *I wanted to join politics and use my position to advocate for women's rights and the right to refuse to undergo female genital mutilation (FGM). I hoped to bring about a change in a culture that oppresses women. I wanted to see the people of my district work hard and develop and also change their harmful cultural practice of FGM* (Hon. Jane Frances Kuka, July 2013).

To Amina Mama (2005[3]), the resistance towards practices like FGM represents a significant step for women in Africa dedicating significant energy and effort to challenging the various manifestations of gender-based violence within and beyond notions of "African culture".

At the District level, it was reported that women have brought on board issues that would otherwise be considered taboo in public space. One key participant in Pader District indicated for instance that; in our culture, sex, for example is not talked about in public yet with women in politics, sex has to be talked about. This is not to say that it is only women who can be perceived in a sexual manner but rather that as majority victims of sexual abuse, their life experiences and testimonies became central in political deliberations.

In Pader and Agago, women councilors revealed that they have been working hard to ensure that the society gets to learn about the societal importance of those so called private issues. The women councilors have influenced the bringing into the public space the previously prohibited topics such as Gender Based Violence, defilement, and rape. There is a lot of debate about these issues which would otherwise be invisible in public space. Participants also strongly argued that women political leaders pick interest in issues that affect women, children and family structure generally. Sometimes these

3 Amina Mama, 2005, Editorial; Women Mobilized; in the Journal of Feminist Africa, Gender Institute, Cape Town

Murdered on International Women's Day; A case of Pader Business Woman

In Pader, a woman was hacked to death by her husband on International Women's Day. The woman run a market stall in Pader town council where she conducted her business. The husband suspected that his wife had money, and when he asked for it and she could not give him the money, he killed her. This man tried to interfere with the case because here they say that if you kill a person and eat his/her liver, they will not come to know that you are the killer. But we were able to know. We mobilized all women in the town council and went and arrested the man and took him to the police station. We carried the dead body to his compound, dug the grave and buried her ourselves because he had even refused to bury her. The man is still in prison. (As told to the research team by a female District Councilor, Pader)

are issues that men consider important but not urgent[4] . In communities emerging from conflict such as Pader and Agago, breaking silence around issues of sexual abuse and the openness with which to discuss them as issues of national importance can have extensive benefits for women and men. Both men and women can be victims of abuse and in certain cultural contexts; men may be discouraged from opening up especially if the abuse tampers with their male power.

A male participant from Agago district further indicated that;

> *Women political leaders are making a difference in the specific area of gender based violence. In cases of a grave nature, they give the victims referral letters to health centres, LC3 and LC5. We have been able to handle cases that women political leaders have referred to us. As I talk now, I have left 20 men in the prison cells for cases of defilement, rape and wife battering* (Male Key informant, Agago District, July, 2013).

The study reveals that Ugandan women particularly at the local council are concerned about the large number of economic and social problems facing their communities. There are examples where women used their position and various strategies to demand for social justice as illustrated by the following case:

This is one of the many known and unknown cases of gender based violence in Pader, after a protracted period of armed conflict in the region. It is something that most participants identified as most pressing, especially with the psychosocial trauma and the changing relations between women and men after the war. International Alert (2010) indicates that the conflict in northern Uganda led to a shift in household roles and responsibilities, with women increasingly in charge of family livelihood,

4 Mr. Okot Emmanuel, sub-county chief in Agago District

and working in income-generating activities. This ultimately changed the power relations between women and men, putting men's power in a position of flux, much less to a point of helplessness and vulnerability. Socially, this has escalated gender based violence.
However, what remains symbolically significant is the murdering of an economically progressive woman on International Women's day, a time that women globally take stock of their empowerment. The case study also points to masculinities (male attributes of the murdering husband) likely slipping in vulnerability, lack, and inadequacy, as characterized by his desire to control the wife's income as a resource. This is worsened by the kind of brutality meted out on the woman – killing and then, splitting open her stomach split to get the liver, and then refusing to bury her in his ancestral grave yard.

The case indeed speaks volumes of gender based abuse but also of women's ability to mobilize jointly and resist against a common problem – violence against them. This kind of collective action was also noted as capable of bringing women councilors and community based organisations together to advocate for common interests of women living peacefully. Wang (2013) points to a similar collective action at the national level during the passing of the Domestic Violence Act. She notes that the establishment of closer and more coordinated relationships between female legislators and actors in civil society is very critical for women to make a difference in politics.

With the end of war in northern Uganda, women's increased exposure in IDP camps through several trainings on income generating activities by NGOs and development partners placed them in a relatively authoritative position. At the house hold level, involvement in petty commodity production availed women financial resources that led to some level of economic autonomy. With financial autonomy comes the ability to make certain decisions at house hold level and consequently the broader community. Yet on the other hand, traditional masculine identities in Acholi and Lango cultures, which depended on men's ability to protect, provide for and rule, has been severely destabilized by the conflict. Evidence from participants also indicate that while women may have gained more influence in household and community leadership, normative social restrictions encourage them to participate in lower levels (such as community groups) rather than higher structures (e.g. standing for public office or participating in spaces where local and national agendas are decided). What remains outstanding in this case however is the sense of optimism that women political leaders and civil society have towards their political involvement. The awareness that their predicament (that of subordination to men) is not cast in stone and that it can change especially with men being brought on board to appreciate issues of gender equality.

This case also helps us to appreciate that the rampant violence meted out against women in general and the women political leaders in particular, could be an outward sign of men's rejection of women's new status as public actors. Violence could also be a means for men to assert themselves at a time of greater social change and personal disempowerment (International Alert, 2010).

3.3 Creating a Space for Policy Impact: The Case of Uganda Women Parliamentary Association (UWOPA)

The Uganda Women Parliamentary Association (UWOPA) creates a strategic opportunity for women parliamentarians to utilize their position more effectively for the benefit of the womenfolk in Uganda. As a parliamentary caucus, 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. According to Tamale, Women members of parliament have an opportunity through UWOPA, because it is an organized and institutionalized space which women can use to penetrate and influence parliamentary actions. (In-depth discussion, July 2013).

The strategic importance of UWOPA as a specific space for MPs is also reflected in the organisation's strategic plan as thus;

> After realizing that one of the factors constraining women's access to leadership in Parliament was our rules of procedures, I worked with UWOPA to ensure that the rules of procedure were amended to provide for a quota system that enables women to access leadership positions in the committees of Parliament. The rule was then amended providing for a minimum of 40% of all leadership positions being reserved for women. With these, we can work through the committees to effect change that we so desire.
>
> Furthermore, we have partnered with United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) to reform the budget process and integrate gender responsive budgeting, an initiative I launched recently. We are now working to amend the Budget Act with the aim of ensuring that all budgets presented before parliament both in the plenary and in committees are accompanied by the Gender Equity certificate.
>
> I have also embarked on the institutional reform of parliament, to ensure that the working environment within parliament is women friendly. I have directed that a baby care centre be opened for breast feeding mothers and also by being flexible to allow women leave early when the plenary hours exceed 6pm.As the patron of UWOPA, I want to reaffirm my commitment to supporting the mission and vision of UWOPA.
>
> (Foreword to UWOPA Strategic Plan 2011-2016 by the Speaker of Parliament of the Republic of Uganda and Patron UWOPA – Rt. Hon. Rebecca Alitwala Kadaga)

Key observations come out of this forward – awareness of constraints that women political leaders

face in parliamentary processes, a host of strategies beyond quotas to enable women politicians effectively participate in committee leadership, as well as addressing structural reforms (women-friendly environment).

As an institutionalized space, UWOPA has been a mechanism through which some of the gender sensitive pieces of legislation have been nurtured and pushed through parliament. The Prevention of Trafficking in Persons Act (2009) was passed as a private Members Bill by the then chairperson of UWOPA. The Domestic Violence Act (2010) and the Prohibition of Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) Act (2010) saw a direct role of UWOPA. In the case of the Marriage and Divorce Bill, even when it is observed that it has hit a roadblock, it is nevertheless important to acknowledge UWOPA together with the women's organisations' efforts in bringing it this far and directing the public debate around it. The chairperson of UWOPA during the 8th parliament was clearly at the forefront of the effort to push for the Marriage and Divorce Bill. The Revision of the Penal and Sexual Offences Bill is also directly attributed to the effort of UWOPA as a strategic space.

Furthermore, the women's movement has used UWOPA as a channel for advocacy at Parliamentary level. It was reported, for example that the chair of UWOPA with the backup of the women's movement, ensured that the President signed the African Union Protocol on the Rights of Women when Uganda was due to host the 15th African Union Summit, in 2010[5] . UWOPA engaged the President on the fact that it would be a shame for Uganda as a country, to host the AU summit when it had not signed the AU protocol. The President apparently consented to the protocol. UWOPA has also been engaged in leadership training for women at local level. Through partnerships with different development partners, UWOPA supports skills training and empowerment for women district and sub-county councilors.

In a sense, the women's movement has utilized UWOPA as a window into some level of effective policy impact. To some extent, UWOPA provides the opportunity to focus on issues as women despite party affiliation. It provides a window to work with women's organisations, such as Isis-WICCE, UWONET, FOWODE, ACFODE, FIDA-U, NAWOU, CEWIGO, CEDOVIP, among others, to influence laws and policies. What we need to realise however is that such an institutional space is visibly missing at the district level yet local councils have a potential to harness women's interests at the local levels especially amidst rigid and intact cultural norms and values that continue to work against women's political participation. According to female councilors in Agago, an organised coalition of women political leaders at the district level is a pivotal aspect of promoting gender responsive legislation.

5 The 15th African Union Summit was held in Kampala-Uganda from 19th – 27th July 2010 under the theme "Maternal, Infant and Child Health and Development in Africa" see more; http://www.africa-union.org/root/au/conferences/2010/july/summit/15thsummit.html

3.4 Impact on Gender Sensitive Policy and Legislation

Madam Speaker, I beg to move that the Prevention of Trafficking in Persons Bill, 2009 be read the second time. (Ms Winifred Masiko; NRM, Woman Representative, Rukungiri)...

Madam Speaker and honourable colleagues, on behalf of the Committee of Defence and Internal Affairs ....the committee noted that there is strong evidence that trafficking in persons exists in Uganda and needs to be legislated against. (The chairperson, committee on Defense and Internal Affairs; Mr. Mathias Kasamba)

Mrs. Loi Kiryapawo: Madam Speaker, is it in order for us to debate this important Bill when government is just represented by two ministers?

THE DEPUTY SPEAKER: The Prime Minister is here.

Mrs. Kiryapawo: But this is very important. When we were debating the other Bills, this bench was almost full. This shows that government does not take this Bill as important yet the people we are talking about are Ugandans... Is it really in order for the Front Bench to be almost empty, Madam Speaker?

THE DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon. Members, I see the Leader of Government Business and the Minister for Youth here. I think that the more we delay this Bill citing technicalities, we shall continue to allow children to be trafficked in this country. The Prime Minister is here, the minister in charge is here and we are here. Please, let us move. We are in order to proceed.

Source: Hansard; Wednesday, 1 April 2009; Parliament met at 3.07 p.m. in Parliament House Kampala.)

In the recent parliamentary period from 2006 to 2011 (the Eighth Parliament), several laws considered important to women were enacted (Wang, 2013). Most notably, the passing of the Prevention of Ttrafficking in Persons Act, 2009, and the enactment of the Domestic Violence Act in 2010 marked a significant advance in the area of laws governing human dignity and domestic relations. The process of legislations on the above two cases but also many others where women leaders were key in mobilization, moving motions, and doing research to support legislation indicates an improvement in terms of legislative achievements for women over previous parliamentary sessions.

The above cited case for example portrays women members of parliament central to moving the motions. Presenting the bill for its second reading, the Rukungiri woman Member of Parliament Hon. Winfred Matsiko challenges the normative standard that would have been, before women came to parliament. Indeed a female participant in Pader district councilors' dialogue indicated that;

> *For a woman to stand up, move a point and get supported is the biggest issue especially in a historically male dominated institution* (Ms Hellen Acheng, Deputy Speaker- Pader District Council).

For her, a woman's ability to stand up, move a point, and later on be supported, signifies such a long journey of multiple huddles that women have braved and cannot be taken for granted. Similar aspects of making a difference are reflected in the Deputy Speaker's ability to navigate through stormy

parliamentary discussions, remain impartial yet influence the direction of debates. In the cited case for example, the Honorable Speaker guided the house that concerns raised by honorable members especially the fact that few ministers were present could be technicalities that have implications on the passing of the bill yet trafficking children remains a reality. There are many other registered scenarios where women members of parliament have been influential in articulating legislative agendas that concern women's lives. For instance the Chairperson of the Committee on the Public Service and Local Government now health committee that exposed the rot and filth in Mulago Hospital and in Makerere University was a woman member of Parliament (Editor of the Hansard, July 2013). As a chairperson to the committee on social services, Hon. Rosemary Sseninde presented a committee report to the flow of on the Uganda National Health Research Organisation Bill, 2006. In this bill, she points out the critical need for creating a sustainable culture of health research and to bring the Uganda Virus Research Institute, the Tropical Diseases Research Institute and the National Chemotherapeutic Institute under the National Health Research Organisation. Issues[6] considered as critical which her report exposed include;

- Unethical conduct of research in institutions such as Mulago and Makerere university
- I think this legislation has come at an appropriate time. It is very timely especially now that it has come at a time when we have some fake scientists claiming to be doing research on innocent people… (male legislator, Fort portal Municipality, Kabarole)
- There have been concerns, particularly lately but also for a long time, that medical workers or health workers in Uganda are very disgruntled and they are leaving the country looking for greener pastures. If they go to work, they work half-heartedly or if they work, they steal the drugs. The total result of all this is poor health service delivery (female legislator, FDC, Lubaga Division North, Kampala)
- Contradictions among medical practitioners especially due to different education training systems / Curricula.

In other instances, Women Members of Parliament raised a red flag on many cases of sexual abuse of young girls in schools as an urgent issue of national concern. One particular case is the sexual abuse of school girls in Tororo District as indicated below.

> Ms Grace Oburu; NRM, Woman Representative, Tororo: Thank you, Madam Speaker. I rise on an urgent matter of national importance. Last weekend I attended Women's Day celebrations in Paya sub-county and among the reports that I received from the LC III chairman was that from January to 28 March, 124 girls had been defiled. This is in one sub-county, and those are just reported

6 See Hansard Wednesday, 8 April 2009, Parliament met at 2.55 p.m. in Parliament House, Kampala. The Speaker, Rt. Hon. Edward Ssekandi)

> cases but there are cases which go unreported. The officers in the parliamentary research office are carrying out a study on the dropout rate of girls and this was among them - teachers are engaged in defiling girls. When a child leaves home, the other parent to that child is the teacher but now the teacher is the one defiling this girl. What is this teacher instilling in this girl as a person of moral authority? I am requesting that when these cases get reported, they are dealt with without fear or favour. Now they get reported, people get arrested but it just ends there; they are not followed up and people go scot-free. So, that is why there is a lot of defilement going on. People know that after all, there will be nothing done to them. I am requesting government to actually ensure that those who defile children are punished accordingly. Thank you. (Parliament of Uganda – Hansard; Wednesday, 1 April 2009; Parliament met at 3.07 p.m. in Parliament House, Kampala, The Deputy Speaker, in the Chair.)

The honorable member argued that most cases of sexual abuse of girls remain shrouded in the culture of silence and therefore go unreported which poses a great challenge to girls' access, completion and benefiting from the education system.

In July 2013, the Red Pepper[7] 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 would come up with unless it was a health sector supplementary or it indicated government's fulfillment of the 15% funding of the health sector that was agreed on in the Abuja declaration[8] (2001), which Uganda's government was party to (Masereka, 15 July, 2013). Women MPs have influenced the budget of the Ministry of Health for more allocation of money on reproductive and maternal health, and it is hoped that this will remain their priority.

In addition, women MPs were instrumental in ensuring that maama kits[9] get to their various constituency health centres. During the dialogue with women MPs it was acknowledged that: "As women political leaders we did a lot to support the issue of mama kit on the floor of parliament". But they quickly added that implementation is still a challenge. Here we have to realize in this case that we are also dealing with a situation of run down social services where even simple basics are shamelessly lacking. Dealing with simple basics can have a derailing impact. And when the implementation is lacking, that also tends to dilute the impact of women's legislative efforts.

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7 A tabloid newspaper.

8 Abuja Declaration on HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis and other and other related infectious Diseases was reached on during and African Union Summit in Abuja, Nigeria, April 2001.

9 Maama kits refer to a simple and basic package necessary to facilitate child delivery, e.g. gloves, polythene paper, razor and cotton wool.

The legislative outcomes in the cases cited above are a few of the gender sensitive legislations that women members of parliament, women coalitions in CSOs circles and male allies in parliament have been able to achieve. However, beyond these success stories, the study noted the need to appreciate the context with in which legislation takes place, the nature of women's mobilization, and the resilience towards intended or unintended threats to gender equality legislations. It is also crucial to note the overwhelming information that teams had to put together to rally for support for legislation whether as members of parliament or women CSOs. Challenging and renegotiating institutional relations where women political leaders are (perceived as) new comers or with deeply entrenched patriarchy, requires awareness raising, strategic information sharing, coalitions and strategic partnerships and a ray of institutional space (UWOPA) to amplify women's voices in legislation.

3.5 Voice of Peace

Women in leadership are known for being the voice of peace. This is particularly the case for women in Northern Uganda, where there has been an openly grisly conflict for over two decades. Berwind (2012) validates this view that though women are seldom represented in official peace negotiations, their work as peace builders in their families, communities and societies is significant[10] . In Agago, the District Council Speaker intimated that women councilors had brought their peace making skills into the mainstream political arena as he reflected:

> *You know, for us men, we are a bit fierce but women try to cool down the council fire. When our chairperson was challenged over his age, there were sections of the councilors who supported and others who were against him. This made me see the power of women as peace builders–as people who don't want conflict. Despite their small numbers in our council, women overpowered men. They contributed to bringing peace to my council. I must say that during the last two months the council has been peaceful courtesy of women's efforts. If I am to be strong as a speaker, I have to rely on the contributions of the women. In fact, our culture perceived that women are not important but today we need women in all structures because of the unique values they bring. In the next council meeting, I want women to take up chairing of committees. We shall have the meeting on 22nd July 2013 and I want to reshuffle the committees and bring more women on board especially those women who are not catching up* (Mr. Oweka John Bostify; Speaker, Agago District Council, July 2013).

10 (http://www.cdainc.com/cdawww/pdf/other/rpp_understandingcumulativeimpactsofpeaceefforts_ background_Pdf.pdf)

The speaker's reflection brings out the realization that excluding women excludes their unique contributions. He further expressed his willingness to be part of the new generation that demystifies the dominant thinking that marginalizes women and regard them as less important. His views clearly points to the fact that women's leadership is different and should be tapped for general societal posterity, as well as respecting and fulfilling their right to participation.

3.6 The Magnifying Effect

Within the last thirteen years in Uganda, women's involvement in political leadership has had a magnifying effect. There are women leaders who ably encouraged and mentored other women through convincing their husbands and fathers that politics is not only for men but women too. One participant had this to say:

> *I encouraged men to let their wives, sisters and mothers to attend development projects and meetings. In fact, I would refuse to start a meeting if there were only men. I would tell the men to go back and bring their wives for the meeting to start. This was a big achievement because in Kapchorwa district women were not valued outside the home* (Hon. Jane Francis Kuka, July, 2013).

The impact of women political leaders was also reflected through the young peoples' voices. A question was put to young people about which women political leaders they look up to and why. The table below reflected the responses:

Table 6: Young Women Speak: "Which women leader in Parliament do you look up to? Why?"

Name of Leader mentioned	The Why
Rt. Hon. Alitwala Rebecca Kadaga Woman MP Kamuli and Speaker of Parliament	· Acts independently to critise the wrong doers and thanks the ones who do well regardless of party or tribe. She follows her own opinion and thus is not swayed by Government pressures in her decision making but of recent her Deputy Speaker is letting her Office down. · Does not fear to raise her views, is not selfish to support her party's side only and is a person for the people of Uganda. · A woman who managed to earn the right of being trusted by all members of parliament and being voted in as their Speaker, secondly because she is a fair leader who does not choose sides in parliament. · An independent woman, a fair leader and follows the Ugandan Constitution in executing her duties. · Stands up for issues and she is not driven by anybody else she only follows her own mind. · Intelligent and is very concerned about others especially the women generally. · Straight forward mostly about corruption cases in Government. · She is bold. · A strong focused woman who managed to compete with men and be the first female Speaker of Parliament in Uganda. · I admire the way the Honorable organizes and maintains order in Parliament and I acknowledge that she has played a big role in fighting Corruption in the Country. · The position she holds is huge and tough but she has shown she can handle it. She has made a lot of changes, stood for the good of everyone even if it is not favouring her party thus she is for the people. · She is educated, learned, informed and respectful. · She is not influenced by anyone and is transparent.
Hon. Nantaba Idah Erios; Woman MP Kayunga & Minister of State for Lands	· Treats everyone equally and fights/speaks for the poor people who had their land taken away by the ones who have money. · Takes people as equal and understands people's problems.

Name of Leader mentioned	The Why
Hon. Betty Nambooze Bakireke; MP Mukono Municipality	· She works for the people, presents their views, defends the truth and people's rights. · Does not tell lies and fights for us the common people of Uganda. · She is not biased, fair to all and wants everyone to move ahead peacefully in their lives. · Makes sensible statements, helps people in need and her district (bought an ambulance for Mukono District) and will definitely leave a legacy behind. This ambulance helps also other neighbouring Constituencies. · Very active and straight forward about corruption in Government. She also doesn't segregate and isn't tribalistic to other members of parliament provided they are on the right side she works with them. · Confident and does not fear to air out her views and opinions. · Kind hearted and knowledgeable about different issues. · She looks at the grass root people and forwards issues she believes in. · Articulate, sticks to her views especially if she knows it is right and will defend it. · An inspirational woman and I give her a lot of respect. She visited our school and encouraged youth to be vocal and stand for what they believe is right. · She is stubborn in a good way. Does not let people take advantage of her.
Hon Beatrice Anywar Woman MP Kitgum	· Mama Mabira. She stood firm and refused corruption on the issue of selling off Mabira Forest to Investors who were going to destroy one of the largest forests in Uganda thus degrading our environment. She is active in house debates and she is patriotic
Hon. Miria Matembe Former MP	· She is a woman leader who clearly speaks her own mind.
Hon. Naggayi Nabilah Sempala Woman MP Kampala	· She is active in politics. · She is brave and open minded. · She is working for the good of people and their needs.
Hon. Nansubuga Rosemary Seninde Woman MP Wakiso	· She has spearheaded many changes in her District. · She is doing what she is expected to do, helping women in her constituency in farming and other income generating activities. Encouraging women to attend ante-natal and take children for immunisation.
Hon. Kiiza Winifred Woman MP Kasese	· Outspoken and not easily manipulated by anyone. · She speaks her mind.

Name of Leader mentioned	The Why
Hon Betty Kamya; Former MP and President Uganda Federal Alliance	· She is issue oriented and has a good Program Layout.
Hon. Amelia Kyambadde MP- North Mawokota Mpigi & Minister for Trade and Industry	· She is a very good Listener who is easy to talk to and discuss issues with, overall I would say she is Consultative and engaging with all. · She reaches out to the people and helps them with the basic needs.
Hon. Winnie Byanyima; Former MP	· She has good achievements in life that have created an excellent life profile for her that I greatly admire. She is also very much dedicated to Women empowerment and thus I consider her to be an excellent role model for the young women to look up to. · She is independent and successful out of her own sweat.
Hon. Margaret Kiboijana Woman MP Ibanda	· She is good and advocates for women's needs. · I like her attitude. · She is approachable and interacts with people.
Hon. Amoding Monicah National Youth MP	· Her policies and plans for the youth if put into consideration will enable the youth to achieve something.
Hon. Mary Karooro Okurut Woman MP Bushenyi & Minister for Gender, Labour & Social devt.	· Represents issues as told. · Fights for human rights.
Hon. Cecilia Ogwal Atim Woman MP Dokolo	· She is hard working. · She is loving and loves her nation and people. · She is intelligent · She is a presidential material. She speaks for Uganda not only her district. Advocates for hospitals, schools, good roads, this is what I call Member of Parliament. One should not only look at their district raise issues and let government plan according to the district needs and emergencies raised.
Late Hon.Nebanda Celinah Former MP Butaleja	· I liked her arguments and views. · She was a very vocal person and did not allow being intimidated. · She used to speak her mind and she was an MP and not a councilor speaking on behalf of everyone especially when issues were concerning women. She was not selfish, she respected all.

Source: Voices of young women captured during the research process

These responses clearly indicate that the young women are looking up to the women leaders who meet their expectations and needs. Their responses also demonstrate a clear need to institute processes that create direct links between the youth, women political leaders as well as the women's movement in

general. The above women political leaders are an inspiration to young women because they dared to stand out and challenge the politics previously dominated by men (Hanssen, 2006) and make it conducive for women to participate. The descriptive attributes that young women and men pointed out of the women leaders are not commonly associated with women. Women political leaders in the above cases are seen as independent minded, intelligent, strong-focused women, very active and straight forward, articulate, outspoken and many other descriptions. All these point to a new set of positive attributes of women as critical actors in public politics, a new form of inspiration to young women who would want to participate in politics.

3.7 Ability to Govern: The first female speaker of Uganda's Parliament

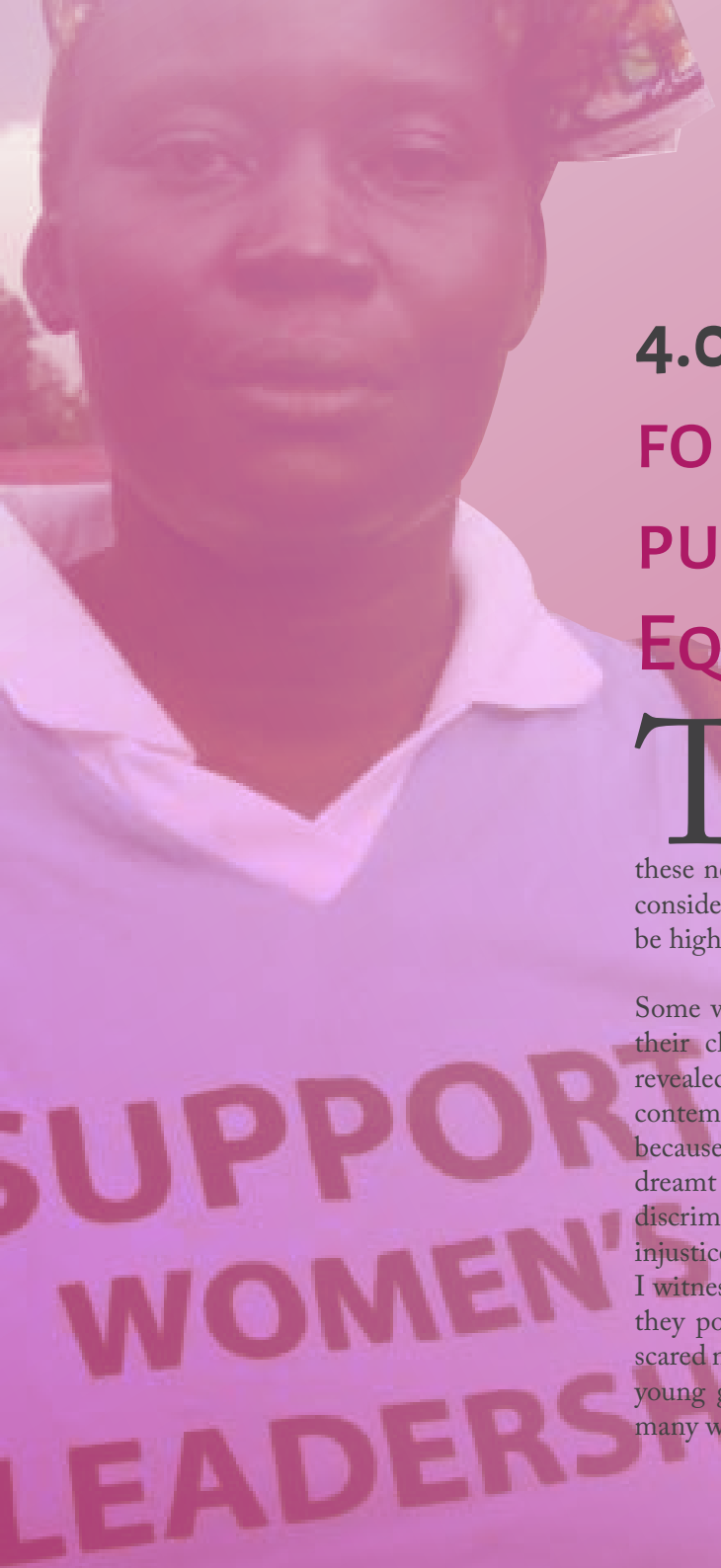
Perhaps one of the most notable marks has been the ascendance of a woman to the position of Speaker of Parliament, the Rt. Hon. Rebecca A. Kadaga. Ascendance to position Number three (3) in the hierarchy of leadership in the country (after the President and Vice President), is no mean achievement. It is an achievement that should be documented and harnessed to create lessons for the present and future. Hon Kadaga entered parliament as woman MP Kamuli District. In the 7th and 8th parliaments, she became deputy speaker. Looking through the Hansard of the time, the expression 'Madam Speaker' was a frequent occurrence. In a way this sustained visibility of the Deputy Speaker in the 7th and 8th Parliament, neutralized the male discourse of 'Mr. Speaker sir' as the norm. Hon. Kadaga notably presided over a substantial volume of parliamentary debates, to the point of creating a picture of a substantive speaker. According to a number of women MPs, Hon. Kadaga also offered a strategic entry into making a difference in parliamentary processes and outcomes. Some of us, who had previously critiqued the deputizing syndrome which women seemed to be destined to, began to rethink our position and to re-theorize in new ways that would allow for consideration of women's agency and how it is deployed in various ways. Hon Rebecca A. Kadaga won the race for the post of Speaker of Uganda's 9th Parliament. The case of the Rt. Hon Speaker Rebecca A. Kadaga is not a lonely experience that Ugandan women aspiring for political leadership have got to look up to. Uganda also saw a female legislator ascending to the leadership of the East African Legislative Assembly. According to the New vision[11] article Uganda's Right Hon. Speaker of East African Legislative assembly made history by becoming the first woman elected to the position of Speaker at the East African Legislative Assembly.

As Speakers of legislatures at National and regional levels, Rt. Hon. Rebecca A. Kadaga and Rt. Hon. Margaret N. Zziwa respectively, have created a sense of women's ability to govern. Most importantly, Hon Kadaga has brought on board questions where women can act autonomously even within their

11 The New Vision Newspaper , How Margaret Zziwa won EALA Speaker Post, June 6th, 2012

parties as demonstrated by her engagement with the Executive and the party caucus of the National Resistance Movement (NRM). The work ahead is to make this kind of achievement to represent women as a collective as opposed to being an exception of an individual woman.

This study has indicated a series of success stories through which women have been able to make a difference in politics of Uganda. Although the achievements of women political leaders beyond their physical presence (record of pro-women legislation) have been generally uneven and unimpressive, they provide a sense of optimism for many positive changes to hope for. But what enabled women political leaders to make such a difference? In the next section of this report, we explored the contexts that enabled women political leaders to make a difference in local and national politics.



4.0 Accounting for Successes in pursuing the Gender Equality Agenda

The question that Tripp (2000) posed and its response were found relevant in this study "what accounts for women's new visibility in the political arena as independent actors? No single factor can account for these new trends. "Rather, a combination of factors needs to be considered" (2002, p. 1). Nevertheless, some of the factors should be highlighted.

Some women had dreams of making a difference derived from their childhood experiences. The women leaders interviewed revealed that they watched their mothers, aunties, and their contemporaries oppressed, discriminated against and excluded because they were women. For example, some female legislators dreamt of fighting against FGM, childhood experiences of discrimination against them as girls and many other social injustices. As one participant recounted; "When I was 10 years, I witnessed the cutting [FGM] of Sabiny women/girls, and how they poured millet grains on the wounds to stop the bleeding scared me… I wanted a different experience". The desire to defend young girls and women from unfair cultural practices inspired many women to join politics, to make a difference.

> *The determination to fight for women emanated from my lived experience of being discriminated against. Seeing women, and girls suffering, being treated as lesser intelligent and valuable than boys troubled me and became a driving force for me to do something. This discrimination became vivid to me way back in early 1960s when I went to senior one. By 1967 when I joined senior one in secondary school, I had already made up my mind that I was going to become a lawyer and defend the rights of girls and women. As a young girl I could see it but did not have a clear imagination what that was and how I was to deal with it.* (Hon. Miria Matembe; July, 2013).

The women's childhood dreams only needed the right environment and time as expressed that "I was waiting for the day to get an opportunity to get into politics to defend the rights of women". The time was ripe for those wanting to pursue gender equality and women's empowerment agenda. Similarly, there was a momentum where the global and the national women's movement powered key front runners and these have acted as role models, whose determination and resilience has encouraged other women.

Capacity building and mobilization of women leaders was high on the agenda of organizations like Action for Development (ACFODE), UWONET, FOWODE, among others. Their focus has been on leadership training and civic education for women. A number of women MPs attributed their success to some of the efforts by the women's movement as explained by one participant:

> *Round tables with women NGOs such as UWONET helped women to push for their agenda. Cooperation of members of Parliament with the Civil Society organizations enabled the women leaders to improve their strategies. There have been caucuses for example with UWONET, NAWOU and others.* (Hon. Margaret Babadiri; July, 2013).

This cooperation does not only stop at the parliamentary level. The women local councilors also re-echoed the work of the women NGOs/CBOs in support of the women political leaders. The NGOs at the national level have networked with other grassroots CBOs, such as FOKAPAWA, WORUDET in Pader and Agago districts are attempting to better link the rural and urban women, and build the capacity of women in political leadership. Women councilors appreciated the NGO support that:

> *Some NGOs such as UWONET came to consult us on our specific training needs as leaders and as women politicians. They picked four women councilors from each sub-county and trained them. Although not all of them were trained, those who were trained exhibited the skills acquired. The training also made women very competitive and confident. In fact male councilors were complaining why these NGOs are training only women councilors?* (Participant in the FGD for women Councilors, Pader District, July, 2013).

Capacity building and training received through FOWODE, UWONET, WORUDET, and many others were highly regarded as expressed during the meeting with women councilors in Agago district. "These trainings have opened our eyes on the rights of women, what to do as a leader to maintain our leadership position… Women have also been mobilizing at the local level for fellow women because there are many challenges there". In the specific case of Pader and Agago districts, women's experiences of the insurgency created a training ground for some women. Before the war, women were meant to be home makers with very limited public presence, which however dramatically changed with the displacement and living in the Internally Displaced Persons Camps (IDPs). A number of voices from Pader and Agago point to post conflict change in gender relations as central to increasing women's economic autonomy, exposure and with these, the ability to participate in politics;

> *"In the camps, men became redundant while the women did all it took to sustain the household economy. After the camp life, women went back to communities but men refused to go back home. They are still in town..."* (Validation Dialogue, Pader, October 2013).

> *"In my experience, if you want a programme to succeed, we tend to give more responsibility to women to mobilize and identify the problems. This started after the war when many NGOs started to target women as key to reconstructing northern Uganda".* (Sub county Chief, July, 2013).

> *"In fact our woman MP is the role model for women in this district. She is doing what we never expected her to do as a woman. Her excellent performance proved that women can make it in leadership. She has linked the local leaders to the national leaders. For example, she supported us from here to go to Kampala to attend parliamentary proceedings and she is always in touch with us".* (The Speaker, Agago District, July, 2013).

> *"We used to misunderstand women because they did not have a platform and were confined in the background but now they have come out to show their capabilities"* (FGD with women leaders of CBOs/NGOs in Agago District, July 2013).

All the above voices point to a complete change in perception, trust and image of women as domestic actors and private contributors to women as household heads, and community leaders. The change is reflected in the structuring of the language around women political leaders for example the thinking that "we never expected her (meaning their woman MP) to perform like that" or that "her performance was a proof" all allude to women as new actors, performing out of the ordinary, norm or expectation. Indeed International alert (2010) indicates that with the end of war in northern Uganda, women's increased exposure in IDP camps, several trainings on income generating activities by NGOs and development partners placed them in a relatively authoritative position. At the house hold level, involvement in petty commodity production availed women financial resources that led to their economic autonomy. With financial autonomy comes the ability to make certain decisions

at house hold level and consequently the broader community. This, according to International Alert (2010), is one of the key contexts that underscore women's political effectiveness in Agago and Pader. Women's organizing efforts after the war was helpful too in pushing women into active politics. It was noted that women demonstrated more ability in creating and sustaining associations. For example, being involved in Village Saving and Loan Associations (VSLAs) during the camp period, enabled women to effectively manage and sustain related activities like savings clubs, income-generating groups, and self-help associations after returning home. The aspect of mobilization, collective efforts and creativity that came with being a member of VSLA was a key recruiting environment for women to remain productive after the war. Given their location in lower echelons of power before violent conflict, women found it much easier to emerge from the shambles of conflict because they had multiple coping abilities that enabled them to survive amidst hardships.

On the whole, the impact of women's political leaders was contingent on a number of significant factors. For Wang (2013), these factors are all related to an improved efficacy of the parliamentary women's caucus. The operations of the Uganda Women Parliamentarians Association and its cohesiveness in mobilizing women MPs across party lines as well as the association's strategic alliance with the Uganda women's movement were critical. At the national level, the increased support of male legislators, partly resulting from a conscious and successful strategy of recruiting male allies to help advocate for women's issues was also credited as an enabling factor to women's effectiveness (Wang, 2013). In an earlier research study, Hanssen (2006) also indicated that when men move motions for women, it is believed that their colleagues regard the message more meaningful and applicable to men and women. The establishment of closer and more coordinated relationships between female legislators and actors in the women's movement provided an enabling context. Although the nexus between the women political leaders and the women's movement may not be all that solid, and coordinated on an agreed legislative agenda, the existence of the women's agenda (FOWODE, 2010), and issue based coalitions (e.g. coalition on the legislation around Domestic violence coordinated by Center for Domestic Violence prevention - CEDOVIP) point to an existing opportunity. This enabling environment was noted by Tamale (1999) and Oloka-Onyango (2000) in the earlier days of Uganda's constitutional making and consolidation. They indicated that the support women MPs 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).

5.0 Understanding the blockages to Making a Difference in Political Decision making

This study identifies notable successes yet; the broader picture is much far from being desirable. Tripp (2006) notes that the achievements in pro-women legislations remain uneven and unimpressive, while the Inter Parliamentary Union (2009) indicates that women's access to and influence in parliament has been so frustratingly slow. The change in women's lives is far from satisfactory and this raises broader questions that relate to the context as well as the conditions under which gender equality is and ought to be pursued. What is it that blocks a substantive articulation of a feminist agenda in key decision making spaces such as Parliament and Local Councils even when their positive performance is visible? Many researchers have explored whether the exciting higher numbers of women in politics have created any difference (Goetz, 2003; Hanssen, 2006; Tripp, 2006). Participants whom we interacted with during this study express the same discontent.

> *When we see an increase of women in many leadership positions, it is exciting… but leadership with a difference is clearly still a challenge. Now we are enjoying the positions, but what difference are we making?* (Female legislator; during the Dialogue for Women MPs, July 12, 2013).

Goetz (2009) points out that once in office, many women have

faced profound obstacles to advancing a gender equality agenda. In effect, they have discovered deeply embedded gender-biased patterns in public decision making and policy implementation that stop progressive public policy in its tracks. Goetz's argument was frequently shared by many participants. Women's political leadership faces several huddles at local and national levels. Findings from different consultations indicate that the inhibitions to women's political participation are predominantly patriarchal and constantly changing shape even when women make significant breakthroughs. In one of the interviews, a male respondent indicated that;

> *Every achievement that the women's movement registers changes the shape of the movement and the nature of resistance it faces. The challenge is that we have not been able to notice that as the women's movement. We are too quick to celebrate and we are always eternally grateful rather than see our achievements as a right to participate.* (Hon. David Pulkol, July 2013).

In a very candid reflection, the male legislator warned that challenges to women in political leadership were multiple; they evolve from time to time and are highly informed by the bigger context of Uganda's patriarchal political system. In this study's observation, patriarchy manifests through the overwhelming nature of the state and its political processes that provide a conducive environment to men as political actors. It is argued, for example, that the institution of parliament is patriarchal because of its colonial history where it was a space for only men. This has left women to constantly justify their presence and their issues. At the local level, patriarchy plays out in the existing cultural institutions that nurture women and men for different spaces and also gives them different social capital, to enable them function in these spaces. In the districts of Pader and Agago for example, the clan structure and the family have the powers to allow or reject women's political participation. In the latter social structures, there is an acceptable male leadership in matters of inter-clan conflict resolution, reconciliation, powers of decision making, control of resources such as land and other household properties. Men also make up the clan and area-chief committees; as chairpersons, vice chairpersons, treasurer, secretary, mobilization and other portfolios. In all these leadership structures, women are not culturally expected to play any role. As these cultural leadership positions act as a training ground for men to perfect their leadership, it leaves women with no exposure to any form of leadership. Therefore, women's absence in all these traditional structures makes them ill-prepared for public space political deliberations.

According to the findings in this study, what constrains women's effective decision making in the political sector includes, but is not limited to: militarism, the nature of multiparty dispensation, the perceived sexualisation of political space, commercialization of politics, the tide of patronage and the limited gender capacities of women leaders. These are in tandem with what other political scholars had earlier identified. According to Goetz (2003), Hanssen (2006), Matembe (2002) and Tripp (2006), the lack of success in gender sensitive legislations has been attributed to a range of factors, including the quota system, patronage politics, Parliament's subordinate position vis-à-vis the executive, lack of

political will, a weak tradition of lobbying and advocacy within civil society, female legislators' loyalty to the ruling party is part of the problem. Deeply embedded in a social system that some identified as patriarchal (Tamale, 1999; Ahikire, 2007), the above inhibitions present a high cost to women who choose to participate in politics.

5.1 On Militarism

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". Accordingly, the basic value of militarism is power over the other", where the power influences the population, which begins to accept the suitability of violence as a method for resolving conflict. Military ideology creates an enemy out of difference and then uses the existence of the enemy to justify continued militarism (Burke 1994). The ideology is particularly normalized through language, which distorts and sanitizes its impact (Burke 1994).

Key African feminist scholars such as Amina Mama have for long advanced the analysis that feminists must as of necessity take on the permeation of militarism in African politics as one way to create substantive transformation. The situation in Uganda now bears to this sense of militarism more than ever before. Many women MPs expressed the fear of the "or else" aspect. The fear of militarism is predicated on embedded dehumanization of the enemy (Clarke 2008). There is overwhelming pressure towards "do as I say" especially on issues where the government has interests. Although this situation applies to majority of male MPs, it is more conspicuous when it comes to women, partly because of their socially defined dual role in politics.

One male respondent enjoined the researchers to think deeply about the question of militarism in Uganda today:

> *We need to ask ourselves – was NRM a military organisation with political objectives? The way military issues have remained central to NRM even after multi- party politics is amazing. If there were men and women who put together the political ambitions of the military in the bush, where are these? In any military organisation, when you retire, you hand over everything but now we see retired army officers being promoted while in retirement, they are in military fatigue. The institutions of NRA/NRM were ceded to the state after the bush war. The Resistance Councils became the Local Government structures, the National Resistance Council (NRC) became the current national Parliament, and the NRA became the UPDF. When they were ceded to the state, the umbilical code was never cut. As a result, there is no NRM in reality* (Former male legislator, interview, July 2013).

Accordingly, political leadership has learnt how to run a military, single party government in a multiparty setting. The elections are apparently enforced by military structures and between one election and another; there is an imperfect observance of the Constitution. Apparently people fear to stand as MPs in opposition for fear of repression. In essence, militarism has made Uganda have a constitution without constitutionalism. Militarism has accordingly powered key reversals in constitutionalism especially in the period from 2001 to date, notably manifested in the transition from mobilization politics to regime survival. In this context, the space for pushing a substantive gender equality agenda in the political dispensation has narrowed dramatically. Mama and Okazawa-Rey (2008) argue that anti militarism activism must be a key area for feminist strategy in the contemporary period.

5.2 The Multiparty Political Dispensation and the Problem of Patronage

The nature of Uganda's multiparty politics was viewed as a great inhibition to a unified women's voice at national and local levels. The creation of an enemy based on mere difference and the overly personalized party agendas have apparently made it extremely difficult for women to generate a strong lobby on issues around women's interests. Consider the following submission:

> *Sometimes I want to support Hon. Alaso's perspective but I cannot given that she is not in my party and thus my party comes first. Many women will go with what their parties say* (Woman MP, in a High Level Dialogue for Women MPs, July 2013).

When a political party takes precedence, over other social parameters of mobilization, it is only when the party position reflects women issues that these issues will be at the centre stage of political deliberations. It was emphasized that in the current political nature of Uganda, women's issues can no longer be effectively addressed since women cannot deliver as one political constituency. "Can we all vote as one on specific laws? That is no longer possible, and that's a big challenge". Women MPs noted that they are no longer solid on matters that affect them as women, even when the issue at hand is critical. "Because the party brought you to Parliament it can discipline you if you go against its position," (Woman MP.) This matter generated further discussion on the social media, where in some cases this assertion was termed as diversionary and contrary to what took MPs to parliament (See box below[12]).

12 Names of respondents have been concealed for ethical reasons. The New Vision article posted on its face book page on 17th July 2013 indicated that The multi-party political dispensation is hindering advancement of women issues in Parliament and is one of the inhibitors to achieving substantial gains, women legislators said.

Box: 1 Face Book responses on Multiparty as a challenge to Women MPs

Ek....Da... Serving party interests alone will not achieve the desired goal! U MPs were elected to parl'nt by de p'ple of Uganda and u have the moral obligation 2 do what is right 4 this country,

To... Ja...Et.. They Are Trying To Plead With Ugandans Who Watch Them Very Quiet In The August House. Those Claims Are Just Diversionary And Contrary To What Purposes That Made Them Opt To Be Politicians And The Allegiance They Swore On The Way To The Parliament. However Hon Alice Alaso Has a point For Sure And Can Be Excused But Some Even Claim That Their Failure To Meet The President Is What Bars Them From Delivering The Service To The People As They Are Oppositions Which Is A naked Lie. Amolata Woman Mp Is A minister But No Service Is Genuinely Delivered Despite Her Meeting With The President Every Wednesday In Cabinet, So Such Hideous Claims Is Unacceptable. On the Issue Of The Party Positions, MPs ought to know that their bosses are their voters not the party and I Vividly Give Them To Reflect On What Caused The Name Rebel NRM MPs in Parliament B'se These Guys Were On Pressure From Their Bosses The Voters, hence Causing The Loggerheads Btn Them And The Party On Which Ground They Were Right. Let Them Serve Party Interest! ;

Is.... Cu..... Is it the party that prevents you from talking about issues like 16 women dying in labour every day until one of you goes the same way then you make it a national issue? GIVE US A BREAK...your SOULS are SOLD.
Na..... Di... Wat are they doing to remedy this situation? Clearly just talking won't change a thing.

The above responses are varied but many seem to place the blame on women MPs as individuals. However, the discussion needs to go beyond individuals to look at the systemic fractures. For example, all women MPs from the ruling and opposition parties alike noted the constraining impact of the defective multiparty dispensation. There exists overwhelming party gagging that is not guided by clear principles and party rules. So the blockage does not stem from the mere multiparty system but rather on the patriarchal and militaristic domineering practices within the parties. In the case of the NRM, it was noted that the party caucus seems to operate as a "cult", while those in opposition parties talked of undue witch-hunting especially for women considered undesirably strong and autonomous.

5.3 On the Sexual Pacification and its Debilitating Effect on political effectiveness

Pacification is a term derived from the process of colonization as a tool for conquest. Similarly, the findings refer to the Sexualisation of political space as sexual pacification of women. The overly sexualisation of political space persistently came out as a major obstacle to women's substantive engagement. Sexualisation here is understood as a situation in which sexuality come to determine major political narratives. This was seen to manifest itself through the actual lived experience of women political leaders, as well as the dominant discourse of them as key subjects or even objects of the perceived sexualisation. Perceived sexual networks were understood as organized, persistent and repetitive acts, comments, jokes, statements or other related practices that are perceived to be derogatory in nature, targeting individuals on the basis of their sexual nature. Such

perceptions and practices also consistently appear in the media in form of women leaders decrying sexual advances from male colleagues or even surveys on who the most beautiful (and not even the most handsome) MPs are. In certain public circles, there is a perception that some women in politics are sexually exploited to be in certain positions of leadership. This perceived sexual identity may be in form of derogatory comments about their bodies or their relationship with male colleagues in different political deliberations.

At the district level where the study focused, women political leaders decried the sexualized language used to describe them. They indicated that quite often, women who choose to participate in politics are commonly perceived as prostitutes because they will not have the 'courage' to control their emotions once they are with other men, or that politics is fit for widows. When women persist in participating in politics, they are asked - "what kind of a woman are you? You are big-headed". Such kind of name calling was perceived to be used as a social control mechanism against women who were challenging their culturally expected role as mothers and home makers. It is also a form of cultural stereotyping of women which remains an outward sign of resisting female political leadership (IPU, 2009). In terms of mobility, it was also argued that male councilors find it easier to move to constituencies for meetings and consulting with the electorate compared to women. They easily jump on a fellow man's motorbike. But for a woman to jump on a man's motorbike, it will be misinterpreted that you have a relationship with the owner of the motorbike. In other instances, women councilors revealed that some men use women's bodies, dress code, and interactions to intimidate, confuse or divert the attention of women councillors during Council debates.

> *I stood up in council to contribute. I had not known that as I was standing up, the button of my blouse opened. Then a male councilor stood up on a point of order… "Is it in order for the honorable member to dress indecently in the house?" It was so embarrassing, I could not proceed. He had focused on my abdomen not even my mouth and what I was going to say* (Woman councilor, Pader town council).

At the national level, sexualized politics was perceived in forms of fraternizing, patronizing, sexist jokes, derogatory sexual identities through which the media[13] describes women political leaders as 'off layers', 'best legs', 'big bums'. Although some of the women MPs may be in position to resist such comments, it was strongly argued that most of these practices are meant to demean women leadership and construct their secondary citizenship.

> *... Men are like hyenas; very greedy and keep staring looking at female policy makers as sexual objects. If some could dare at me, what happens to the young girls/women? Today, policy makers sex as anything – consuming each other. It is very dangerous for young women from upcountry/vulnerable areas who find*

13 See New Vision Article May 11th 2011; Beauty Survey of Female MPs prove a point

themselves rubbing shoulders with these so called big men they used to hear and see on the TV (Hon. Miria Matembe; July 2013).

In 1999, Tamale stirred debate by documenting sexualisation as part of the gendered nature of parliamentary politics. At the time, this sounded as an exception rather than the norm. Today, the sexualisation seems to have comfortably attained the status of the norm, where even the President of the country was quoted in one of the daily newspapers saying that the male MPs were consistently broke and indebted because they spent most of their money on their women MP concubines (Red Pepper, July 27, 2013). The Newspaper read in part:

> *The report penned recently lists sex as number one among 10 terrible secrets that have dipped the MPs into an awful financial quagmire. It says some male MPs spend their money financing sexual networks with fellow female legislators.*
> *Horny make MPs have had a huge drain on their incomes orchestrated by their MP concubines" the report says.* (Red Pepper, July 27, 2013).

Perceptions, whether of the 'self' or by 'others', in such a sexualized manner, has an impact on how women can effectively deliver on their leadership roles. It disorients women; it is diversionary and affects women's self-expression and esteem. A consistent use of sexualised jokes or derogatory statements about women normalizes the anomaly of looking at women as 'inferior political actors', 'not worth', 'sexual symbols' rather than committed political actors. According to a female councilor in Pader, even the most intelligent women are disorganized when their bodies are used as a focus of intimidation. Participants further indicated that:

> *Sexualisation weakens the struggle for gender equality, it robs the women of their confidence to speak, it compromises their capacity to speak out and it is so disorienting. It is bad.* (Male respondent; July 2013).

Indeed most women MPs were reportedly irritated and frustrated by male colleagues who repeatedly comment about their beauty and bodies rather than their contributions in the house[14] . But there is another angle to this whole arena of sexuality. Some participants believed that sexuality was one arena of political recruitment. Accordingly, there was an attempt to link political favours to women's willingness to yield to sexual advances. At the same time, it is the same instrument used for blackmail, which ultimately evens out women's autonomy as political actors. This then presents a "dammed if you do…dammed if you don't" scenario. In such a situation, the push for a gender equality agenda is evidently constrained.

14 See New Vision Article, May 13th 2011 on Female MPs decry Sexual Advances.

One of the overarching challenges highlighted in the above discussion is the prevailing cultural attitudes regarding the roles of women and men in society. These affect the nature and forms of women's political participation and impact their levels of success in seeking positions of power. Cultural attitudes affect not only how women are perceived by the electorate, but also by political party leaders and the media. Some participants even noted that women were seen as intruders in the field of politics. Others underscored that the electorate often overlooked the specific and valuable contribution that women could bring to politics. Cultural attitudes also impact on how women see themselves, affecting their confidence and resolve to pursue a political career (IPU, 2009).

5.4 Politicians or Business Men and Women?

The nature of politics was generally described at best as commercialized, an investment arena rather than a platform to represent and respond to the needs and interests of citizens. Responses from key interviews indicate that Uganda's politics is no-longer issues-based or a call to service but rather an occupation whose focus is far from effective deliberations for gender equality. In an interview with the Former Clerk to Parliament, it was noted that;

> *Politics is no longer a call to service. It is rather an occupation and according to the trends, there is a big fear of it continuing that way… Politics has been made so attractive that everyone runs to earn. Look at the voters; majority of them are very young. Do you really expect the MPs to seat in parliament and consciously engage? Do they have anybody holding them accountable?* (Mr. Aeneas Tandekwire, Former Clerk to Parliament, July 2013).

Other participants had earlier on questioned whether Uganda has politicians or business men and women. Once MPs have paid for votes, majority of them work hard to ensure that the money invested therein is harvested back. Although the nature of commercialized politics may be generic for male and female MPs, it specifically has a gendered impact on the level of women MPs deliberations in the sense that gender equity and equality issues may not be priority issues to focus on. Issues in the women's agenda do not usually translate into electoral fortunes or areas worth 'investing' in one's political ambitions. This has made women issues less attractive and therefore non priority for the women MPs. What matters most are not the interests of the communities but rather what amounts to the legislators and how to win the next election.

> *The manner of politics is unethical and non-knowledgeable. Most people are now thinking of 2016 elections; so for many of them gender equality is not an issue for now.* (Male participant, July 2013)

Whether it is the monetary demands from the constituents or the financial expectations of political leaders, the materialistic nature of politics has rendered issue-based deliberations unattractive

particularly those issues that seek to challenge gender inequalities and transform social relations such as women's property ownership, bodily integrity and human rights, among others.

5.5 Women Political Leaders and the Tide of Patronage

The tide of patronage, as identified during the study was mentioned as a key hindrance to women's effective engagement. Patronage was perceived as a powerful tide moving against what women in politics have achieved so far in Uganda:

> *Women are swimming upstream and there is a powerful tide moving against them downstream. It is a tide of patronage. It's the kind of patronage where people think they put you there and expect you to perform to their tune. The tide of patronage is still strong and needs to be confronted head-on* (Hon. David Pulkol, July 2013).

> *There is also the glorifying of tokenism. When we had the first female Vice President, we thought we had everything. Today our male counterparts will tell you that you have the Minister of Finance as a woman, what more do you want?* (Hon. Nabilah Ssempala, July 2013).

Patronage was also extensively seen and manifested through the increase in the number of new districts and the resultant women Member of Parliament positions as well as the political leadership that is satisfied with showcasing women. Having women there seemed to have been more of a goal that women are reminded of, rather than a means to achieve transformation of the power systems. It was also noted that patronage impacts negatively on women's effectiveness especially when they fail to demand accountability from the political leadership they are expected to be eternally grateful to.

The splitting of districts started way back in 1991. According to the parliamentary website, the National resistance Council (NRC) was expanded beyond the membership of 270 by the creation of 4 districts namely; Kisoro, Pallisa, Kiboga and Kibaale on 15th March 1991 and Ntungamo on 5th May 1993 which necessitated election of additional 5 Women Representatives to the Council[15] . According to Green (2008) creation of new districts preceded the Commission of Inquiry into the Local Government system instituted by president Museveni only months after assuming power in 1987. The Commission wrote as regards the number of local governmental units that, 'quite often, the response of governments to popular demands for a more responsive administration (e.g., better services) has been to create new and smaller units yet the multiplication of administrative units is a costly affair. Green indicates that While Museveni failed to pursue the review of existing districts

15 http://www.parliament.go.ug/new/index.php/about-parliament/history-of-parliament?showall=&start=2 Cited on 17th March 2014

The History of District Creation in Uganda		
Year	Number of Districts	Population per District
1959	16	443,000
1962	17	456,365
1968	18	513,711
1971	19	526,853
1974	37	292,211
1979	33	368,115
1990	34	513,412
1991	38	476,474
1994	39	514,256
1997	45	455,718
2000	56	427,786
2005	70	402,843
2006	79	383,071

Source: Green, E. (2008;5)

as recommended by the commission, he nonetheless withheld the creation of any new districts, only relenting on the case of Kalangala (comprising the Ssese islands in Lake Victoria) in 1990. The next year, however, he undertook the other three recommendations of the Commission and added another, the aforementioned district of Kiboga. The president continued to add districts in 1994, 1997 and 2000 before announcing the creation of 22 new districts in 2005, the largest ever increase in Uganda's history. Thus Uganda had 79 districts, more than twice as many as when Museveni took office and more than four times as many as when Amin took office in 1971. The hype for creation of new districts continued with a total registered number of districts clocking 112 by 2011.

5.6 Inadequate Gender Capacities of Women Political Leaders

Inadequate substantive knowledge on gender was identified as another inhibitor to women's effective participation in both local councils and the national parliament. Female participants during the study noted thus:

Our capacity to push for gender transformation is lacking. Women leaders may not necessarily have the requisite knowledge to push and sustain a gender equality agenda (Female participant).

Do these women and men understand what gender is or the laws/policies in place? Do the people know them? My answer is no, they do not know. The women and men who are supposed to project the voices on gender equality do not know so much about women and gender issues. When you know little or nothing about something, you cannot sustain an argument. If you are challenged, you are easy to break, you are easy to defeat, you are quick to join them, you are quick to see the light and drop your argument (Male participant).

Case: The Contestation on Leadership of Parliamentary Committees in the first half of the 9th Parliament

The Chief Whip of government and opposition presented the placing of chairpersons for committees and it turned out that all were male. All chairpersons for sessional committees (government) were men (12 committees). The speaker raised a point that none of the sides had made the 30% representation for women as chairpersons of committees. A female MP also supported the speaker by saying that women should stop accepting to be vice chairpersons. There were accusations and counter accusations. The chief Whips claimed that women had not applied for the posts of chairperson, but when women who had applied wanted to provide evidence they were apparently silenced. There were a total of 52 submissions, 21 by women all of whom strongly urged the House to look into the matter 'here and now'. Of the 31 submissions by men, only a few were out rightly opposed- and this was moving towards an amendment of the Rules of Procedure to make a provision of at least 30%. The chief Whips on both sides though seemed to be stuck on the position that change could possibly be made after the first half i.e. 2 and half years. The MP Ssembabule district moved a motion that leadership committees be constituted to conform to the constitution of the Republic of Uganda. Then a woman MP took the floor and this is what she said:

Thank you Madame Speaker. I would like, first of all to call upon the ladies in this parliament to appreciate what God has done for us. None of us ever knew that we would get a speaker who is a woman. Let us first of all, appreciate and thank God for what we have achieved so far. (Applause). Now, coming to parliament as a woman is also something else to thank God for. I have heard that you cannot quench fire by fire. The Hon Nasasira has been pushed to the wall and we are also pushing him very much, but he has still refused to act constitutionally.

Now I beg the honourable members of this House who are ladies to-I have heard that Rome was not built in one day. Let us be slow; let us not push for everything at this particular time. (Applause). …let us wait slowly by slowly we shall get where we want to be later (Applause).

Why do we fight God? Madam Speaker, this is my maiden presentation. God did not make women

to be equal with men 100 percent (interjections) I beg for your protection madam Speaker.… Ladies in this house, as you are here today, I know you will get where you want to be tomorrow. Take it slow; don't fight to be there; time will come when this country will even have a woman president. So I beg you to wait. If you are not designated to be a chairperson and you are a lady, you won't die, will you? So wait; our time is coming. Thank you, Madam Speaker (Applause).

Accordingly, the Hon member effectively killed the debate. The Speaker ruled- to refer the matter to the committee on Rules, Privileges and Discipline, meaning that parliamentary business would take off with the position as presented by the party chief Whips16 .

According to those who were pushing for the issue, the debate was moving towards an amendment but the woman MP diverted and halted the momentum. This is an indication of capacity gaps even on the perception of issues. Several issues come to the fore through this case;

1. A clear manifestation of patriarchy within the institution of parliament and its processes.
2. A wide knowledge gap on issues of gender equality among men but most especially women ("why are we fighting GOD?")
3. Lack of a common gender sensitive legislative agenda among women legislators (even amidst a gender sensitive constitution)
4. The Female colleague's maiden speech point to her "gratefulness" that all other women ought to embrace for being "accepted" to be in parliament. It is indeed a voice that alludes to a spirit of tokenism that women are being reminded of even if it means coming from their own.
5. It also points to what Tamale (2013 interview) alluded to that "being a woman does not necessarily mean that one will be aware of gender".

Women members of parliament, during the national validation dialogue of this study, also decried this limited capacity in gender knowledge and skills of engagement among members of parliament. The capacity to push for gender transformation was arguably lacking which had a bigger impact on what the women political leaders can achieve. As one of the key informants observed, the inadequate knowledge was even worse in a political space that is patriarchal - You are someone who does not understand gender issues in a patriarchal setting. It is very easy to get lost therein. Respondents consistently pointed to key aspects that would be contrary to feminist political leadership e.g. the unconsciousness about gender issues, lack of sustainability of feminist argument, trivializing gender issues as no issues at all and above all a broader context of patriarchy. These ultimately contribute to women's silence in avenues where they ought to have a mark.

16 Source: The Hansard : Parliamentary Session on July 29, 2011, Rt, Hon Rebecca Kadaga in the Chair

5.7 The Cost of dismantling Patriarchy

Challenging the above systematic inhibitions entails challenging the deep-rooted patriarchal system that nurtures and allocates different social capital to women and men. Attempts by women to confront these aspects of male domination, coercion, intimidation, manipulation and other aspects of exploitation have left women political leaders placed between a hard place and a rock. Challenging a system that 'makes' them was widely described by many as an attempt to 'rock their own boat'. Many women political leaders have in the end had to make choices either to stand to be independent influential political actors, at the expense of their 'prescribed family roles, socio-cultural subordinate positions or opposing the powers that be". Effective women politicians have had to endure essentialist criticisms of going against their cultures (culture of subordination, silence, domesticity, 'party culture') and nature, with many of them losing their political constituency positions to their opponents in an attempt to challenge the patriarchal nature of politics, be it within or outside party politics.

Case: "Do as I say, or else"

> A senior woman MP was considered too strong for her party because she would take on the male leaders where they went wrong contrary to the party culture where the leaders are only supposed to be worshiped. In the wake of the general elections, party structures were heavily deployed to fight her. Another woman was secretly identified and provided with money and other logistical support to contest against her. During the campaigns, the senior member of the party secretary camped in her constituency for over 5 days to campaign for her opponent. She lost in the party preliminaries, she feels very let down by the party for which she had previously worked very hard to win support for both in her constituency and beyond. The big lesson according to this former MP, was that the current party practice only supports women who tend to sing praises for the leaders. The moment one thinks independently and pursues what is right, that person is looking for a humiliating defeat (July 2013).

The above case of a woman MP is not a lone case. At LC levels, effective women political leaders are nick-named, arrogantly accused of sexual misconduct or consistently distracted in council proceedings. Although such a cost of being an effective political leader may also be paid by male legislators, women who are predominantly seen as newcomers in the political space whose rules and norms hardly give them a leverage to effectively engage, suffer the biggest burden. In Agago district for instance, women councilors were repeatedly reminded that "women do not participate in the Otole dance".

According to a female respondent;

> *Otole Dance is a war dance from Acholi in Northern Uganda. In this dance, men dance while holding spears, Women also dance but from behind. If there is a lion in front, it's the man to face it. This also defines who qualifies for leadership* (Beatrice Atim, Gender officer Agago District).

Women who want to effectively engage in public politics are viewed in demeaning ways, "what kind of a woman is this?", "she looks like a man"; "she is a widow", and many other negative identities. Some have also had their families especially husbands (in case the married), bear the public shame of failing to tame them, or denying them from political participation. It was also observed that for women to be elected, they have to cautiously tread a path of contradictions especially if they are going to champion gender issues. They do not have to rock their own boats for they do not need to offset the already established standards. This limits their appreciation and ultimate pursuance of critical gender concerns that challenge the established norm. All these costs have made it additionally strenuous for women MPs and LCs to sustainably engage in effective political participation.

6.0 Above all, what is the Expressed Agenda of Women Political leaders?

At the dialogue with Women MPs, the conversation was kicked off by recording three (3) major aspects they raised in their electoral campaign; their legislative agenda; and the strategies for achieving that agenda. Below are the responses.

Table 7: Women MPs responses on campaign messages, Legislative Agenda and Strategic Actions

Issues raised in campaign	Legislative agenda	Strategies used to achieve the agenda
· No drugs and medical personnel in health centers · Women denied access to land · Domestic Violence · Deal with poverty in my constituency · Form women groups · Preach/ sensitize parents against early marriages · Social services e.g education and health · Women for income generation · Road network which was poor · Safe motherhood · Accountable leadership · Oversight role · Lobby and mobilize socio-economic programmes for women and other marginalized groups	· Working with children and women in reproductive ages, maternal health, girl child education · To bring to parliament my voters' issues · Get adequate data on health and education to influence policy · Assist communities get out of poverty · Ensure that all legislations are gender sensitive · Ensure the implementation of the enacted laws · Supervise the delivery of service to the poor · Strengthening UPE and USE · Ensure that I address issues	· More networking · More civil society involvement · Capacity building · Conduct research to guide in parliamentary discussions, set priorities, re-strategising for gender issues · Sensitizing women to form groups, chairing road committees at the district, following up ministries · Meeting youth groups, women groups, lobbying for support from government and NGOs · Make sure budget for NAADS, Ministry of Water and SACCOs is increased, mainstreaming girl child education · Consultations, lobbying and participation · Advocating for rights of children, capacity building for women

Source: High Level consultative dialogue with Women Members of Parliament, July 12, 2013

Although some of the issues could be categorized as gender concerns, most raised concerns remained generic, with no corresponding strategies to achieve them. They portray an unsystematic approach of dealing with a systemic nature of political inequality. Even the women's concerns were raised in apolitical ways. The wakeup call here is that a feminist agenda does not happen by wishing for it. A feminist agenda cannot be akin to the biblical stance of Ask and you will receive. A feminist agenda is a political project and this is why the question of the role and strength of the women's movement becomes central.

The women MPs' outline of issues they raised in their political campaigns, their legislative agendas and the strategies identified indicate a simplistic inclusionary approach to political participation. In this view, the most stable interest that cuts across the range of issues women MPs pointed out; portray women as political outsiders or second-class citizens, whose entry into the public sphere is either obsolete and short-term, or conditional upon their maternal social roles. Here the emphasis is on women's interest in accessing arenas of public power, and less on debating the policy outcomes of such engagements.

The responses point to 1), an individualized approach to addressing women's interests in the legislature, 2), a clear lack of feminist legislative agenda, and 3), an adhoc manner with which pro-women legislations are likely to be dealt with in parliament. Women political leaders' responses speak volumes in terms of the nature of organisation of women as a social constituency, their gender capacities and readiness to confront a historically patriarchal institution of parliament, as well as their capacities to account, but also to be held accountable in gender sensitive legislation. Citing key ingredients in the analysis of political institutions, Goetz (2003) raises similar points of concern on women's abilities to challenge inequalities in political structures – the collective voice to hold political leaders accountable and the gender capacity of institutions (institutional actors) to sustainably push for gender equality outcomes. The focus on responses from the women members of parliament falls short of a collective and cohesive voice on women's interests (feminist agenda) and gender capacities to take advantage of their numerical presence to make a difference. The responses also indicate the lack of a conscious process to shape and or influence a gender legislative agenda, or sustainably shape ideas around women's political participation thus providing a shaky foundation, one that can be easily and repeatedly manipulated through politics of patronage and tokenism. This study strongly argues that having no gender sensitive legislative agenda (or no agenda of any form at all) is a key detracting factor to women making a difference in politics. As one female MP indicated; "what we respond to is what the electorate ask for and if gender is not part of the request then we cannot focus on it". What we need to appreciate is that having a legislative agenda, and more so a gender sensitive legislative agenda is a political choice, a choice of a feminist nature rather than a case of being a good politician or a female political leader.

6.1 'And the Larger Picture is...': The Nexus between Women Political Leaders and the Women's Movement

A collective understanding between women MPs and councilors, and women's movement on women's interests is upheld by diverse feminist scholars who argue that women's interests are best defined through collective processes of interest articulation (Celis, et al; 2007). This collective articulation of women interests has worked to some extent in Uganda through efforts that usually bring women political leaders and the women's movement together. According to the findings in this study, some of these collective efforts include women organisations identifying and supporting women to aspire for elective political positions, running programmes on gender and civic education, democracy, designing mechanisms of accountability and gender capacity building workshops where women MPs and councilors are invited. Despite these numerous engagements, there still remains a sense of frustration that there aren't much substantive political engagements by female political leadership. The frustration stems from a realization that despite the promulgation of the Constitution and the signing and ratification of various regional and international instruments that paved way for increased physical presence of women in political leadership, gender inequalities have persisted and major obstacles to the advancement of women still remain. One of the inhibitions to this effectiveness remains the lack of consistent, formal and systematic relationship between women political leaders and the women's movement that would have brought these actors together for effective substantive representation. Findings from this study indicate a much more complex relationship between the two.

In Uganda, this nexus is substantively about women NGOs. The ways in which this relationship has been expressed has been mainly through capacity building workshops. One of the ways in reflecting the relationship between women MPs and women NGOs has been the training of women to stand for electoral office and induction programmes for newly elected women MPs and local councilors. ACFODE, UWONET, FOWODE, FIDA-U, CEWIGO, Isis-WICCE and NAWOU have all run different programmes in the pre and post- election periods to train women, provide skills for running for public office and seeking to enhance their leadership skills in different contexts including those to do with situations in post conflict reconstruction.
In one of the induction programmes of the new women members of parliament, the Women's Democracy Network (WDN), a global initiative to enhance women's participation in democracy; together with UWOPA facilitated a dialogue on how women can make a difference in parliament. In the resulting handbook titled "Women making a difference in parliament; a simplified guide for newly elected women members of parliament" the induction highlighted key aspects that can enable women MPs effectively deliver on their roles. Some of these included; understanding the functions of parliament, advocating on issues that affect constituents e.g. Maternal and Children's health services, aspiring for influential positions in parliamentary committees, having a goal, making use of available

How can Parliament and CSOs working on women issues benefit from each other?

- Similar perception or opinion on an issue can sway public opinion.
- Working together enales both parties to have evidence based information
- Parliament acts as a link for CSOs o government
- Both parties can make a contribution to issues of interest that affect the electorate/ public
- Both parties can provide a platform for feedback to constituents
- MPs can lobby for resources from CSOs for constituent programs
- Both parties connect grassroot voices to National level for debate and prompt action
- CSOs can provide free publicity for MPs and their work

Source: UWOPA(2011) Women Making a Difference in Parliament; A Simplified Guide for Newly Elected Women MPs

opportunities for networking such as the Uganda Women's Parliamentary Association (UWOPA) and engaging civil society organisation on women related issues, among others. In an induction that highlighted the centrality of women MPs and women's movement need to network, MPs noted that Civil Society remains an arena for collective action around shared interests, purposes and values through which they (Women MPs) can make a difference. This was further reflected in a framework on how Parliament and CSOs working on women issues benefit from each other.

There have also been attempts at creating a shared agenda. A shared women's agenda, according to FOWODE (2010), brings to the forefront unique gender dimensions that ought to be addressed by various actors if real and meaningful development for the total empowerment of women and girls is to be achieved. The Production of the Uganda Women's Agenda is part of a journey that the women of Uganda and the Women's Movement have taken since 1996 when women made history as pioneers of the first highly successful "People's Manifesto 1996" followed by "The Women's Manifesto 2001". On Uganda's return to pluralism in 2005, the women consulted nationally and developed a position paper on Government's White paper on opening up multipartism as well as a set of demands. These demands came to be known as "Women's Minimum Demands to Political Parties and Organizations". This was subsequently followed by "The Women's Manifesto 2006". In preparation for the 2011 general elections, FOWODE facilitated a process of putting together a women's agenda codenamed "Equal by Right", which was supposed to guide the women's movement.

What exists on the ground despite various efforts, is a very loose and informal connection between the women's movement and the women political leaders. Attesting to this loose connection, Tamale indicates that,

> *The women's movement and the women politicians may have overlapping interests and goals because if you do something for women, you will be re-elected in a political office. But most of these women members of parliament do not consciously set out to address gender issues in the women's agenda* (Sylvia Tamale, July 2013)

This argument was further re-echoed in other avenues of consultations where respondents felt that women political leaders and the women's movement were not consciously working together on a common women's agenda but rather operated on an individualized basis. Asked whether the women's movement shared a common agenda with women leaders, a male key informant noted that;

> *We are singing different songs. Many of our organizations which make the bulk of the women's movement have different visions, there is no uniformity. This is why many people tend to trivialize serious issues. It is therefore difficult to promote gender equality. Sometimes, we could be moving in the same direction but at different speeds. We need to speak with the same voice to make the desired change in gender equality* (Justice David Batema, July 2013).

Through a series of observations in this study, it became apparent that efforts of CSOs remained scattered, informal, Individualized, unpredictable and largely un-coordinated. Consider, for example the following observation:

> *As CSOs, in 2008, we organized training sessions for new women MPs and facilitated them with knowledge on how to approach politics. We collaborated with the American embassy and gave them regional training, brought 2 women politicians from America to talk to them and for others we even coached them on how to present themselves. Our trainings were on the basis of empowering them and some of them made it through... We invited them after the swearing in and talked to them. But we did not get very far with them. We only did it once and then retreated to our own plans of action* (Participant, Women NGO dialogue, August 2013).

Civil Society Organisations were also noted to focus on achievements of women leaders' participation at individual organisation level rather than women organisations as a whole. According to the above and many other responses, the informal and loose nature of the nexus between women leaders and the women's movement originates from the unsound assumption that because women members of parliament are in parliament, they will front a women's agenda. Respondents also cautioned about misleading assumptions that every woman is knowledgeable on gender issues and is a feminist.

> *A women's agenda is a feminist agenda with a focus on eliminating marginalization of women and this takes gender awareness to realise. We should not assume that because these are women, they are gender sensitive* (Sylvia Tamale, July 2013).

Some other reflections on the nexus produced more questions than answers. The reflections questioned the extent to which there existed a common agenda for women in Uganda. According to participants in the CSOs dialogue, women had developed a coalition to demand accountability from women members of parliament (COPAW) but the coalition did not take long because women politicians started criticizing it. One woman MP was cited as saying: "what money did you give me to ask for

What has the Women's Movement done for Women Political Leaders?

- We did Research that kicked off COPAW
- We Partnered with the American Embassy and invited Women Politicians from America to talk to MPs
- We identified some women and encouraged them to join politics. We trained them, for others it was a real coaching on how to conduct themselves in politics
- We (quietly and individually) provided financial support to some women and they succeeded during elections. This was at a personal level.
- We invited them after the swearing in and talked to them
- We shared with them Copies of the women's agenda

Source: Discussions during the CSOs Dialogue August 2013

accountability from me?"

According to the Women MPs, critical fault lines seemed to focus on a number of questions such as; how COPAW was formed, who formed it, and how it sought to harmonize the interests of women's movement and the women political leaders? What form of accountability (financial, social transformation in the lives of citizens?) were the women MPs expected of? What was the basis upon which women MPs would provide the accountability? The inadequate conceptualization of the coalition as a structure to demand accountability from women MPs rather than from the political system, the form of accountability that the coalition expected from the women political leaders as well as lack of a shared understanding between the coalition and the women leaders led to the collapse of COPAW and it barely saw the light of day. This inadequacy is also reflected in what the CSOs feel they have contributed to the Women MPs.

Critical observations from the above perceived contributions indicate that CSOs contributions to women political leaders have not been consistent and systematic. Yet, "to deal with a system, you have to be systematic". For example, leaders of women focused CSOs observed: "At the moment we work as NGOs and take credit as individual organisations rather than as a women's movement" (CSOs Dialogue, August 2013). Some of the contributions also portray women political leaders as non-actors in shaping women interests. It is constructed in missionary terms e.g. the language of "sharing a copy of the women's agenda with Women MPs", "We invited and talked to them after swearing in", "we coached them". Such an approach is more instructive and othering than building a collective force of equal actors for a common cause. The language in the above scenarios positions women in CSOs as the 'self' and the Women Political leaders as "the Other" with ultimate implications of lack of a shared agenda. Indeed in a reflection, one of the leaders of a women's NGO had this to say:

> *We have continued to work with women MPs who are here but who defines the interests of women – Women's movement or the constituency? How do we work with the constituency to create demand for women's interests?* (CSOs Dialogue, August 2013).

The conversation with MPs and other key informants revealed that the NGO approach has fragmented the women's movement and the ways change is pursued or expected to happen. Many noted that there is a tendency to have adhoc programmes which overwhelm especially the women MPs. "Today UWONET invites us, tomorrow it is CEWIGO and the other day it is Isis-WICCE or FOWODE', the MPs said. The workshoping culture also goes along with what they termed as whole sale advocacy, dealing with women MPs as if it were one person - what was termed as the "en mass" approach. To the MPs, this approach merely sucks up their energies with very little in the direction of enhancing their ability to pursue the gender equality agenda.

Furthermore, women MPs and women councilors are elected in council and parliament with a given geographical constituency. And many often argue that they are voted by women and men and so they represent all people in their geographical constituency. From the perspective of the women's movement women leaders are also expected to represent an additional social constituency –women's interests. And because there has never been a conscious process to harmonize the interests of these two constituencies, women councilors and MPs find themselves unexpectedly overwhelmed by interests of different constituencies. As a result, an unnecessary disconnect arises, animated by accusations and counter accusations. Ultimately, lack of a shared agenda for women has implications in terms of how effective women political leaders can be in political deliberations for gender equality.

There is also the question of women's survival as politicians. The demands and interests of the electorate are hardly driven by the need to attain gender equality. Comparing women leaders with other interest groups on pursuing women issues, a key informant at a district level noted that;

> *There are many interest groups that is, the people with disabilities, the youths and the women. Among these, the representatives of the youths and the people with disabilities easily follow their agendas but women get lost in many issues. Other interest groups keep referring to what brought them in the council but not the women. It is the same with women MPs. The expectations of women members of parliament are not specific- tailored to women but general. To a larger extent, women MPs pursue general issues not specific issues compared to other MPs representing interest groups. You will find people asking women MPs general things while campaigning and are voted as women MPs, they do not serve only the interests of women* (Mr. Okwir Robert, Chief Administrative Officer, Pader).

The conversation around the women's movement ultimately points to movement building as one of the central issues for consideration if we are to see gender transformation in substantive ways. Several actors saw the critical problem as unclear sense of direction. The lack of a clear sense of direction has in effect meant two things. One is that the women's movement has largely been issue-based. It is reactive as opposed to being proactive. The second and perhaps a more serious one is that because there is no direction it has not been possible to consolidate the gains, own them and create formidable political leverage. Consequently, the women movement is fast losing its constituency. On the point of

being issue-based, it is realized that the voices of the movement only pop up in response to specific issues. There is lack of a holistic approach to the whole question of women's rights. 'We only come up in response to specific issues and we don't sustain the pressure even on those specific ones'. 'We are dealing with a long-term issue yet employing short-term strategies. It cannot work'. It is a silver bullet, crisis approach rather than a sustained continuous social movement (Tamale, 2003). Without a long-term thread that pulls the issues together, it is not possible to 'work towards women's substantive citizenship. This is what some observers have termed as ADHOCACY (Action Aid, 2006).

The wakeup call is that the women's movement has as of necessity to re - energise its political agenda in which, women leaders can only to be one of the key actors as opposed to being spot lighted. This kind of movement building, as it was expressed by the leaders of women's NGOs, is neither a project nor an event, but rather a long term process, purposively powered with strategic alliances and social mobilization.

7.0 Towards a Feminist Action Agenda

> *There is no way how the women political leaders and women's movement will continue doing the same old things and expect new results*
> (Female Participant in the Isis-WICCE Think Tank)

What remains outright conclusive in this study is that the desire for women political leaders to make a difference in politics should not be seen or judged out of the existing contexts. As widely illustrated through key observations by all sets of participants, the political context in Uganda 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. As one of the participants strongly pointed out, the challenges women political leaders face are structural in nature yet the approaches they use remain individualistic. Similar arguments along the study noted that the concerns that women political leaders have cannot be addressed by strategies that are not only fearful of challenging the root causes but also remain adhoc, one-off events and un-coordinated. The challenges are largely described as qualitative and ever changing yet the actors continue to look up to the quantitative/numerical strengths of women to deliver qualitative solutions. It became ultimately clear that there is no way how the women political leaders and women's movement will continue doing the same old things and expect new results. But rather to devise new measures that are ready to sustainably confront and transform the nature of politics[17] . According

17 Politics that is embedded in patriarchal notions of the state and its functions as masculine; militarism, sexual pacification, inadequacy in articulating gender sensitive legislative agendas and a wide gap between and among different women political actors (especially women political leaders and the women's movement)

to several participants in the study, these are measures that will foster feminist consciousness about the predicament of women political leaders, strategic alliances – the nexus between women political leaders and the women's movement, as well as building gender capacities to ensure the sustainability of the struggle for women to make a difference in the politics of Uganda. So what is it that women as a social and political constituency need to do?

1. Feminist Political Agenda
   In developing a feminist Political Agenda, what do we want to achieve- beyond the numbers? What is the nature of the context we are working in? What is the nature of the blockages? What should be the nature of our political strategies given the context at hand? All these questions point to the need for a conscious process that is geared towards moving beyond struggles where women are only seen as contributors, whose role is supplementary rather than being the core of political transformation. Developing a feminist political agenda necessitates:

   a. Raising gender awareness of all the political actors since the study illustrated clearly that being a woman in a local council or parliament does not necessarily translate into being gender sensitive during legislative deliberations. This can be done through gender-specific trainings including orientations for women political leaders when they come into office

   b. Institutionalise the practice of doing research to inform legislative agendas. This research can involve civil society organisations and women politicians to come up with issues of national importance to deliberate in parliament and local councils or to provide evidence to support particular motions in parliament. Institutionalised practices of gender sensitive research can be drawn on to assess the nature and contexts of political participation and design context-specific actions to address them.

   c. Building synergies between political actors to have a common platform through which women Political interests can be nurtured and a common women's agenda developed, shared and pursued.

   d. Develop follow-up strategies to ensure that policies and laws passed with the intention of delivering gender outcomes are implemented. Goetz (1997) intimates that gender redistributive policies have characteristics which tend to create resistance and opposition within organizational and broader institutional environment. Deep-seated resistance may include inadequate allocation of resource for policy implementation. Focus therefore has to include understanding the politics of how institutions regulate and coordinate societies, how people's needs are interpreted by policy-makers, how resources are allocated to ensure gender equity outcomes.

e. Build consciousness on the political agenda: A political consciousness, as many actors observed, will involve liberating the women's movement from the slavery of the logical framework with its debilitating disease of "ticking boxes". The bitter fact is, that, the women's movements cannot afford to lament from the outside. We have to get our "hands dirty, so to speak. (They say politics is a dirty game).

f. Momentum and capacity enhancement: When we talk about the nexus between the women leaders and the women's movement, one thing that comes across is the issue of capacity building. The women's movement should invest into bringing people up and targeting them for leadership rather than waiting for chance to happen. Whether in parliament or at political party, waiting that automatically women will emerge and take on leadership will not build synergy. Women politicians may emerge but they will not be the women who are grounded into the agenda, which the women's movement want to advance. Again such an approach will lead to suspicion that the women's movement want to convert women political leaders into women advocates for their personal goals. This, however, is one of the costs women political actors have to pay for challenging structures of power. In her analysis of Getting Institutions Right for women in Development, Goetz noted that the business of expanding women's access to and control aver resources, and of revaluing their roles in the rural economy, disrupts traditional interpretations of gendered need and worth upon which patterns of female exclusion and denial are based. Unsurprisingly, Goetz (1997) warns that such policies can attract significant hostility from target communities.

g. Build Strategic alliance with men as actors but also as gatekeepers of patriarchy, as manifested in militarism, and sexual pacification.

CASE: Nurturing a Feminist political agenda; A case of Zimbabwe Women's Movement

Tracing the process of an emerging women's movement in Zimbabwe, Shereen Essof (2005[18]) maps out an important trajectory with multiple lessons that any women's movement in Africa would be able to learn from. This study draws key insights from her feature article to form an illustrative case study as a guide towards forging a sustainable feminist action agenda for the Uganda women's movement.

Shereen Essof highlights key events in Zimbabwe's women's movement. Some of these are;

a. The Operation Clean-Up which was against repeated attempts to undermine Legal age of majority act, 1982 (LAMA), and to deny property and inheritance rights to women under customary law. These and

18 In her feature article in the Journal of Feminist Africa, Gender Institute, Cape Town; Shereen Essof wrote about She-murenga: Challenges, Opportunities and Setbacks of the Women's Movement in Zimbabwe

other outrages were met with direct and concerted action by women from all walks of life. Operation Clean-Up was dramatic enough to provoke a change in Zimbabwean women's consciousness. As activists realized how little room state patronage allowed for the advancement of women's rights, a different kind of women's mobilizing began to take shape. This "new" activism now took place outside the state (although still engaging with it), bringing together women from all sectors of Zimbabwe's still divided society around gender interests for the first time.

b. Shereen notes the Women's Action Group (WAG), set up in 1983, in the wake of public meetings to discuss the abuses of Operation Clean-Up. A core group of forty to fifty Harare-based women engaged in advocacy work. Growing consciousness and recognition of the continuing injustices faced by women meant that WAG was joined by a plethora of organisations over the next decade. These (at least initially) saw Zimbabwean women of all races working together to challenge the patriarchal precepts of a society that tolerated the abuse of women by men, and the increasing invocation of tradition to validate discriminatory behaviour.

c. By 1995, there were over 25 registered women's organisations addressing various aspects of Zimbabwean women's lives in urban and rural areas, and spanning a range of practical and strategic gender interests. They reflected a conceptual unevenness in understandings and articulations of gender as a political struggle, with some overtly feminist in orientation, and others more mainstream or conservative in their approach. Nevertheless, by the 1990s, they were all contributing towards redefining the private and public sphere, and demanding full citizens' rights for women. They invoked international instruments and channeled energy into both claiming and protecting women's rights with regard to land, marriage, sexual harassment and gender-based violence, property and inheritance, and full political and economic participation.

d. Shereen strongly argues that during the years 1995–1998, Zimbabwean women's organisations redefined traditional strategies for engaging the state and civil society action. Instead, theirs was a strategy that saw the organisational base, its rural networks and concerned individuals coming together in various issue-driven configurations and strategic coalitions, forming and disbanding and reforming again as needed. After years of organizing with somewhat fragile gains, women activists turned to the Constitutional reform process as the ultimate forum for enshrining gender equality and entrenching Zimbabwean women's rights. It was during this process that the power of collective organizing was recognized and strategically refined, as well as challenged.

e. In her analysis of the struggle for constitutionalism, Shereen indicates that as constitutionalism came to the fore, the state urgently needed to be seen to be responsive. It thus established the Constitutional Commission of Zimbabwe (CCZ) and appointed approximately 400 commissioners to gather people's submissions. The results were used as a basis for drafting a "homegrown" constitution. But this process was unrepresentative and flawed from the outset, and the contents of the draft were not only "contrary to what people said, but also not good for Zimbabwe." The CCZ was problematic not only in terms of transparency and accountability; it showed no particular commitment to gender equity. Women constituted only thirteen per cent of those on the commission, and despite the outcry concerning the low level of representation, no redress was forthcoming.

f. The women's network soon realized that in the context of a national debate in which women's voices

were likely to be marginalized, they needed to protect their own interests. Women's organisations came together to carve out their own space. In so doing, they were informed by years of experience of coalition advocacy. It was felt that most of the discrimination women faced was based on customary law or culture. The constitutional reform process was therefore seen as a vital window of opportunity for women.

g. So the Women's Coalition on the Constitution was born, comprised of a network of about 66 women activists, researchers, academics and representatives from a wide range of 30 women's and human rights organisations. This was launched in June 1999. The Coalition aimed to inform and unite women around the Constitutional reform process. From the outset, members pooled resources and complemented each other in order to sustain a process that did not necessarily fall within their particular organisational ambits. However, the participants were united in their understanding of the Coalition as a space in which a women's agenda could be developed and pursued.

Whose interests?

During the latter 1990s, the whole civic process was in the hands of the women's movement, through the Coalition and our presence in the National constitutional assembly. The media would call us the group of thirteen because we were the thirteen biggest women's organisations. This "double militancy" meant that women were involved in both democratic and women's struggles: "It felt schizophrenic, we were all juggling so many hats, but we were clear that when it came to the Coalition it was about women, women, and women first

(Shereen Essof, 2005)

h. To a large extent during the latter 1990s, the whole civic process was in the hands of the women's movement, through the Coalition and our presence in the National constitutional assembly. The media would call us the group of thirteen because we were the thirteen biggest women's organisations. This "double militancy" meant that women were involved in both democratic and women's struggles: "It felt schizophrenic, we were all juggling so many hats, but we were clear that when it came to the Coalition it was about women, women, and women first.

i. This is not all that Shereen's case presents but just a few incites shared herein are an inspiration to the Uganda's women's movement and all the women political leaders in the country. Essof (2005) consistently reflects on the need for collective action amongst women political actors, consciousness about the nature of political resistance and women's predicament as well as the need to have common gender interests despite differences in race, class, age and other variations. Above all, she earmarks the importance of the power of collective organizing as strategically important to the cohesion of women political actors and ultimately, their ability to make a difference in politics.

2. Build synergy between Women Political Leaders and the Women's Movement

While there are enormous inhibitions that block women's sustained efforts to make a difference in the political leadership in Uganda today, there are a range of possible actions for the women's movement and women political leaders to turn around the situation. There is need for a clear political agenda – an agenda that takes on the broad issues of governance and their gendered nature

in a more consistent manner. With full appreciation of the current governance challenges, the action agenda must as of necessity be frames in a long haul fashion. This is necessary so as not only to avoid burn out when change does not happen as fast as we wish but also to ensure a purposive building of the women's movement as a strong social movement in Uganda. As a social movement, the women's movement has to make concrete plans for successes and failures as learning from Gorin states thus;

> *The hard part of a dedicated social movement involvement lies in the recognition that it is the persistent tapping – sometimes a hammer, sometimes a feather– that leaves a mark. And it is through a series of marks that a new cultural reality is born* (Gorin, cited in Ryan1992:161).

a. Make it 'risky' for anybody to ignore the Women's agenda: The daunting task is to legitimize the feminist cause and consequently make it risky for anybody to ignore the women's agenda. To achieve the above, there is need to build a vibrant, unified women's movement that is functional, routinely planned, and well-coordinated as a social movement , with stronger leadership and feedback mechanisms to act as a collective not as individual NGOs/CSOs. This requires planning together on how to deal with patriarchal power.

b. There is an urgent need for UWOPA and the women's movement to strengthen linkages. These partnerships can be through: Research and using findings to influence parliamentary actions. Women MPs should use research to see what the problem is, and also use the information to consult the electorate and keep in touch with the constituency. Working together should also be done through retreats, quiet lobbying, writing position papers and talking points on breakfast meetings or in parliament. It is also noted that there is need to create a vertical relationship between district councils and the national level parliamentarians for mentorship; solidarity and presentation of common issues that affect women. This requires a directed effort to build a conscious political agenda.

c. Reflect on institutional mandates, skills and knowledge of different actors in politics, create an alternative system to build a critical mass of the women's movement that is interested in political debates and holding regular meetings among women movement actors to discuss and strategize together.

3. Create an alternative system to achieve a critical mass/Identification of potential key women leaders

   According to majority actors, there is need to nurture, pick the talent that is there, and package it and by the time it gets to parliament or LC, it has been shaped in a certain direction. This is about women empowerment, women's agenda, democracy; constitutionalism in this country so that there is a sense of ownership. The women's movement actors have the capacity to identify,

nurture women who will make a difference towards gender equality agenda through;

a. Developing and implementing mentoring programmes for young women who want to join leadership. As part of the social movement, mentoring creates leadership capacities and keeps the supply of leaders replenished Mentoring should not be a separate project but rather should be within the normal scheme or rhythm of things. The mentors should be a shoulder to lean on without creating a dependency syndrome in a formal manner.

b. Joint investment (by the women NGOs) into feminist political academy or internship placements of young women within organisations with leadership programmes.

c. Taking stock of women political leaders' achievements by listening through their political journeys and using such testimonies to inspire women in political leadership

4. Mapping Gender Capacities

Among the urgent actions is the mapping of the women MPs, LCs and existing competencies across the country. This would enable coordinated engagement and promote the harmonization of competencies to not only create greater impact but to also validate and energise women leaders and the women's movement actors alike. This would involve;

a. Developing capacities in mobilising and supporting women political leaders. Cultural stereotyping of women remained a problem particularly at the local levels. In many countries, the notion of a female political leader was met with resistance (IPU, 2010) However, Women need to be reminded that being in politics is not just a favor but rather their right.

b. Developing context-specific approaches to advocacy – e.g. Combining 'whole sale' with 'retail' advocacy approaches: The en mass approach to women political leaders was seen to be othering and vindictive. This approach also described as the whole sale approach where leaders are viewed as if they are one big mass, was seen to be one of the factors underlying the weak links with women political leaders. There is need for a much more nuanced perspective that is inclusive of varied approaches, such as one-on-one, breakfast meetings and/or conglomerates around key issues. With the synergy created, then women political leaders will need and appreciate belonging to social constituency in the women's movement. The women's movement gives support or social capital. For effectiveness of women political leaders, they should be rooted in the women's movement, work hand in hand with the women's movement and pay allegiance to the women's movement. For any women leaders to make a substantive contribution to the gender agenda she should have the passion and strong root in the women's movement and CSOs.

c. At the local level, advocacy can be as issue-based as seeking to get local governments to enforce the legal provisions which allow for use of local languages since English has often been used as a tool for "othering" and distancing women's citizenship. Exchange visits for women councilors around the country, is also seen as one of the ways for creating synergy but also getting new learning experience and more exposure to the public.

5. Leverage resources and financial literacy
   The need for resources has tended to block the bigger picture. There is need to leverage the existing resources in a more coordinated manner but also focus on financial literacy as a key need for women. This entails;
   a. Resource Mobilisation for women Political leaders
   b. Learning financial discipline and finding a way where one can create impact by 'using the mouth more than the pocket'
   c. Integrating civic education/citizenship into institutional regular programmes to increase on reach and impact.

6. Feedback channels and Evaluation mechanisms:
   There must be clear channels of feedback. Get voters to know that their legislator is not addressing their needs. Where there is something contentious, a serious back up from civil society and other actors is necessary. There should be a situation where CSOs are keeping the matter in the public domain as partners of women leaders. The media becomes a key institution in this case and therefore needs to be engendered because;
   - The contribution which the media can make towards the promotion of awareness is undoubtedly crucial. They can help to instill among the public the idea that women's participation in political life is an essential part of democracy. They can also take care to avoid giving negative or minimizing images of women and their determination and capacity to participate in politics, stressing the importance of women's role in economic and social life and in the development process in general. Any stereotyped presentation of the image of women by any media should be prohibited by law.
   - The media can play an important role in such endeavors as removing discrimination and prejudice against women and encouraging them to improve their personal qualities and actively participate in management and decision-making. They should widely publicize the contributions that women have made in politics, introduce to the public positive images of women's characters, encourage women to build confidence, raise women's participation awareness and deplore discrimination and any other conduct detrimental to women's interests.

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Appendix I: At a Glance: Toward an Action Agenda

Focus	Strategy	Actor(s)
Mapping	· Identify the MPs, Local councilors willing to work to advance the gender agenda. · Unite women's movement as a vibrant, functional, geographically defined, routinely planned and coordinated to act as a collective. · Strategically pick and nurture the talented women leaders even before they get to parliament and create a sense of belonging and ownership.	Women's movement
Capacity enhancement and mentoring	· Mentoring to create leadership capacities but done within the normal scheme of rhythm of things-improve the capacity of young generation of women. · Organize dialogues with women leaders to harmonize the gender agenda, discuss the possibility of a shared gender agenda. · Identity any capacity building programmes and share them with women leaders at national and local level · Identify the gender training needs of the women leaders and agree on how to improve their capacities through tailor made-training. · Create a terrain that promotes voluntarism and passion in pursuing gender agenda	Women's movement
Building consciousness on the political agenda	· Reflect on institutional mandates, skills and knowledge · Create an alternative system to build a critical mass of the women's movement that interested in political debates. · Regular meetings among women movement actors to discuss and strategize together.	Women's movement actors

Focus	Strategy	Actor(s)
Policy effectiveness	· Possess legislative agenda and strategies to achieve them- make consultations upscale the legislative agenda. · Form caucuses in parliament and even at local council levels like women did during the CA · Mobilize and lobby male legislators, make it their business to support the gender sensitive legislations and policies. · Be issue based, pursue issues and read widely to articulate issues from an informed point of view- · Endeavour to have a constituency in the women's movement-be rooted in the women's movement. · Pursue the provision in the Local Governments Act (1997) on use of local language at the local council · Exchange study visit to enable women leaders learn best political practices	Women MPs and women local councilors
Synergy and movement building	· Follow up supported local council programmes and projects · Planning together on how to deal with power, militarism, tokenism, and sexual baiting, and patronage that affect women in political leadership · Sensitize the public through joint organized gender debates on radios and TV, public lectures. · Strengthen linkages through sharing research findings on critical gender issues such as reproductive health, GBV, gender insensitive legislations and policies. · Unity in diversity-setting aside the party, religious and ethnic differences.	UWOPA & the Women's movement actors
Resource mobilization/ Resource leverage	· Learning financial discipline and finding a way where one can create impact by ' use the mouth more than the pocket' · Integrating civic education/citizenship into institutional regular programmes to cut on the costs.	Women's movement and the women in political leadership.

Appendix II: Women Chairpersons of Standing Committees of Parliament: 1996-2013[19] .

No.	Name	Position	Portfolio
		Sixth Parliament (1996-2001)	
1	Akech-Okullu Betty Grace	Commissions, Statutory Authority & Parastatals/ State Enterprises	Vice Chairperson
2	Amongin Aporu Christine	Government Assurance	Vice Chairperson
3	Bitamazire N. Geraldine	Social Service	Chairperson
		Seventh Parliament (2001-2006)	
1	Bintu Lukumu Julia	Commissions, Statutory Authority &Parastatals/ State Enterprises	Vice Chairperson
2	Bigirwa Bernadette	Government Assurance	Chairperson
3	Byenkya Nyakaisiki Beatrice	Local Gov't & Public Service	Chairperson
4	Hyuha Samali Dorothy	Social Services	Chairperson
5	Kabakumba Masiko Labwoni Princess	National Economy	Vice Chairperson
6	Kiraso Birungi Beatrice	Budget	Chairperson
7	Hajat. Mugerwa Sauda K.N.	Tourism, Trade and Industry	Vice Chairperson
8	Prof. Mwaka Nakiboneka Victoria	Agriculture, Animals Industry and Fisheries	Vice Chairperson
9	Zziwa Nantongo Margaret	President & Foreign Affairs	Vice Chairperson
		Ninth Parliament (2011-2013)	
1	Alitwala Rebecca Kadaga	Appointments Committee	Chairperson
2	Amero Susan	Rules, Discipline and Privileges	Vice Chairperson
3	Amongi Betty Ongom	Appointments Committee	Vice Chairperson
4	Baba Diri Margaret	Gender, Labour and Social Development	Vice Chairperson
5	Babirye Veronica Kadogo	East African Community Affairs	Vice Chairperson
6	Bangirana Anifa Kawooya	Equal Opportunities	Chairperson
7	Egunyu Nantume Janepher	Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries	Vice Chairperson

19 Data on the 8th Parliament could not be accessed.

No.	Name	Position	Portfolio
8	Iriama Rose	Health	Vice Chairperson
9	Kamateeka Jovah	Human Rights Affairs	Chairperson
10	Mwebaza Sarah Wenene	East African Community Affairs	Chairperson
11	Naggayi Nabilah Sempala	Government Assurance	Vice Chairperson
12	Najjemba Rosemary Muyinda	HIV/AIDS and Related Matters	Chairperson
13	Nalule Safia Juuko	Human Rights Affairs	Vice Chairperson
14	Namayanja Florence	Local Government Accounts	Vice Chairperson
15	Osegge Angelline	Commissions, Statutory Authorities and State Enterprises	Vice Chairperson
16	Ssinabulya Sylivia Namabidde	Education and Sports	Chairperson
17	Tete Chelangat Everline	Tourism, Trade and Industry	Vice Chairperson
18	Turyahikayo Kebirungi Mary Paula	Information and Communication Technology	Chairperson

Appendix 3: Research Participants

1. PARLIAMENT OF UGANDA

1a) Current Members of Parliament

Hon. Alaso Alice Asianut
Woman Representative (Serere)

Hon. Ssemujju Nganda
(Kyadondo East)

Hon. Osegge Angelline
Woman Representative (Soroti)

Hon. Nalubega Mariam Patience
Woman Representative (Butambala)

Hon. Makhoha Margaret
Woman Representative (Namayingo)

Hon. Ajok Lucy
Woman Representative (Apac)

Hon. Namayanja Florence
MP Bukoto County East (Masaka)

Hon. Kase-Mubanda Freda Nanzira
Woman Representative (Masaka)

Hon. Kwiyucwiny Grace Freedom
Woman Representative (Zombo)

Hon. Khainza Justine
Woman Representative (Bududa)

Hon. Byarugaba Grace Isingoma
Woman Representative (Isingiro)

Hon. Akello Judith Franca
Woman Representative (Agago)

Hon. Taaka Kevinah Wanaha Wandera
Busia Municipality

Hon. Auru Anne
Woman Representative (Moyo)

Hon. Auma Juliana Modest
Woman Representative (Abim)

Hon. Boona Emma
Woman Representative (Mbarara)

Hon. Kamateeka Jovah
Woman Representative (Mitooma)

Hon. Mbabazi Betty Ahimbisibwe
Woman Representative (Rubirizi)

Hon. Bako Christine Abia
Woman Representative (Arua)

Hon. Kabakumba Masiko Labwoni Princess
MP Bujenje County (Masindi)

Hon. Nalubega Mary Tuunde
Workers' Representative

Hon. Mpairwe Beatrice
Woman Representative (Buliisa)

Hon. Nshaija Dorothy Kabaraitsya
Woman Representative (Kamwenge)

Hon. Nabulya Theopista Ssentongo
Workers' Representative

Hon. Barumba Beatrice Rusaniya Namala
Woman Representative (Kiruhura)

Hon. Oleru Huda Abason
Woman Representative (Yumbe)

Hon. Iriama Margaret
Woman Representative (Moroto)

Hon. Nabirye Agnes
Woman Representative (Jinja)

Hon. Chekwel Lydia
Woman Representative (Kween)

Hon. Naggayi Nabilah Sempala
Woman Representative (Kampala)

Hon. Sempala Mbuga
MP Nakaseke South

Hon. Mujungu Jennifer K.
Woman Representative (Ntoroko)

Hon. Acheng Joy Ruth
Woman Representative (Kole)

Hon. Baba Diri Margaret
Woman Representative (Koboko)

Hon. Namara Grace
Woman Representative (Lyantonde)

Hon. Nakato Kyabangi Katusiime
Woman Representative (Gomba)

Hon. Alum Santa Ogwang
Woman Representative (Oyam)

Hon. Chemutai Phyllis
Woman Representative (Kapchorwa)

Hon. Mpiima Dorothy Christine
Woman Representative (Buikwe)

Hon. Nalule Safia Juuko
National MP PWD

Hon. Karungi Elizabeth
Woman Representative (Kanungu)

Hon. Nakabira Gertrude Lubega
Woman Representative (Lwengo)

Hon. Nakawunde Sarah Temulanda
Woman Representative (Mpigi)

Hon. Kabasharira Naome
Woman Representative (Ntungamo)

Hon. Nanyondo Birungi Carolyn
Woman Representative (Kalangala)

Hon. Ekwau Ibi Florence
Woman Representative (Kaberamaido)

Hon. Lematia Ruth Molly Ondoru
Woman Representative (Maracha)

Capt Susan Lakot
UPDF

Hon. Tete Chelangat Everline
Woman Representative (Bukwo)

Hon. Amongi Betty Ongom
MP Oyam County South (Oyam)

Hon. Ntabazi Harriet
Woman Representative (Bundibugyo)

Hon. Chemutai Phyllis
Woman Representative (Kapchorwa)

Hon. Obua Denis H.
MP Ajuri County

Hon. Namaganda Susan
Woman Representative
(Bukomansimbi)

Hon. Nshaija Dorothy Kabaraitsya
Woman Representative (Kamwenge)

Hon. Mbabazi Betty Ahimbisibwe
Woman Representative (Rubirizi)

Hon. Nyakecho Okwenye Annet
Woman Representative (Otuke)

Hon. Kamateeka Jovah
Woman Representative (Mitooma)

Hon. Okot John Amos
MP Agago

Hon. Katoto Hatwib
MP Bunyaruguru

Hon. Ssemugaba Samuel
MP Kyankwanzi

1B) Former Members of Parliament

Hon. Wandera Martin
Hon. Kuka Francis
Prof. Victoria Mwaka
Hon. David Pulkol

Dr. Miria Matembe
Hon. Alisemera Jane
Hon. John Kazoora
Hon. Nampijja Susan

1C) Staff - Parliament

Mr. Aeneas Tandekwire,
(Former Clerk to Parliament)

Ms. Sarah Namusoga
(Editor; Hansard)

1D) Staff – Uganda Women Parliamentary Association (UWOPA)

Ms. Lamunu Mary
Ms. Tanghaya Irene
Ms. Robinson Alice
Ms. Ankunda Mariam
Ms. Iyamurenye Betty
Ms. Agripinner Nandhego

2. JUDICIARY
Justice David Batema

3. ACADEMIA
Dr. Sylvia Tamale

4. LOCAL GOVERNMENT
4a) AGAGO DISTRICT – Councilors and Local Leaders

Mr. Oweka John Bostify
(District speaker)

Ms. Regine Okullo
(District Gender Officer)

Mr. Ocan James Oyaro
(Vice Chairperson LC V)

Mr. Okot Emmanuel
(Sub-County Chief)

Mr. Okidi J. Ottoo
(Ag. Chief Administrative Officer)

Hon. Asaba Innocent
Deputy Chief Administrative Officer

Hon. Angeyo Keren Okinyo
Lira Palwo Sub-County

Hon. Anek Sumilla
Parabongo Sub-County

Hon. Ilako Prisca
Parabongo Sub-County

Hon. Ladwar Filder
Lira Palwo Sub-County

Hon. Hellen Otim
Omot/Arum Sub-County

Hon. Abalo Sosia
Omot Sub-County

Hon. Anyango Susan Owili
Adilang/Lapono Sub-County

Hon. Akot Vento Scovia
Patongo Town Council

Hon. Lalam Susan
Patongo Town Council

Hon. Akot Rose
Agago Town Council

Hon. Apio Innocent Odinga
Lokole/ Agago Town Council

Hon. Akoli Grace
Kotomor Sub-County

Hon. Alaro Nighty Olwoch
Patongo/ Kotomor

Hon. Adong Alice
Lamiyo Sub-County

Hon. Lalam Hellen
Lira Palwo Sub-County

Hon. Arach Irene Ocan
Kalongo Town Council

Hon. Apio Hellen Rose
Paimol Sub-County

Hon. Lamunu Florence Komakech
Lamiyo/ Lira Palwo

Hon. Atim Beatrice
Omiya Pacwa/ Paimol

Hon. Akot Hellen
Lira Palwo Sub-County

Hon. Akullo Grace Regina
ADLA/ Gender officer

Hon. Apoto Gladys
WOL/ Deputy speaker

Hon. Achan Florence
KTC

Hon. Ajilang Jennifer Rose
WOL Sub-County

Hon. Atto Rose
WOL Sub-County

Hon. Anek Christine
Lira Palwo

Hon. Onying Margret
Lira Palwo

Hon. Okello Gabriel
Lamiyo

Hon. Apio Jane
Pamol

Hon. Aporo Mary
Lamiyo

Hon. Okello Franco
Lamiyo

Hon. Labanya Kenneth
Lamiyo

Hon. Ojok Geoffrey
CDO

Hon. Akidi Mary
Lamiyo

Hon. Otim Charles
Lamiyo

Hon. Alur Auj
Lira Palwo

Hon. Okwera Simon Peter
Lira Palwo

Hon. Angeyo Karen Okanyo
Lira Palwo

Hon. Mwaka Santo A.
Lira Palwo

Hon. Ongwech Daniel
Disability Lira Palwo

Hon. Layoo Charles
Lira Palwo

Hon. Labeja Churchill
Lira Palwo

Hon. Opek Tom Mboya
Lamiyo

Hon. Mwaka David
GISO

Hon. Onyach Charles
Lira Palwo

Hon. Odok George Otwari
Lira Palwo

Hon. Arop James
Lira Palwo

Hon. Oyaka Kenneth
CDO

Hon. Akello Grace
Lamiyo

Hon. Ojok John Baptist
Speaker Lamiyo

Hon. Odong Jimmy
Youth

Hon. Ojok David
DYC

Hon. Acaa Beatrice Okidi
Lira Palwo

Mr. Adong Paska
Ag Sub-County Chief

Mr. Oboke Washington
Sub-County Chief

Mr. Ongom Kamilo
OP Leader

Mr. Okot Michael
Adilang

Mr. Komakech Patrick
Youth Leader, NRM

4B) PADER DISTRICT; COUNCILORS AND LOCAL LEADERS

Hon. Akena Alfred
Local Council V Chairperson

Ms. Aceng Hellen
Deputy Speaker

Hon. Ottobe Wellborn O.
LCV Vice Chairperson

Hon. Adoch Santa Odong
Awere Sub-County

Mr. Okwir Robert
(CAO)

Hon. Abalo Leonora Okello
Ogom Sub-County

Hon. Komakech Robert
Speaker

Hon. Akello Margaret
Laguti Sub-County

Hon. Lakot Grace
Lapul Sub-County

Hon. Lato Rose Mwaka
Pajule/Lapul Sub-County

Hon. Anena Grace
Pader/Ogom Sub-County

Hon. Aloyo Margret Okwera
Pajule Sub-County

Hon. Lalam Grace
PTC Sub-County

Hon. Aciro Janet Peace

Hon. Aketo Corine

Hon. Aciro Christine Okioi

Hon. Ogaba Sidonia - PWD

Hon Oringa Largo G.

Hon. Aciro Doreen
V. Chair Pajule Sub-County

Hon. Onyango Concy
Latanya

Hon. Obua Patrick
Puranga

Hon. Okot Agwess
Acholi-bur Sub-County

Hon. Adyero Santa
Vice Chair Acholi-bur Sub-County

Hon. Labongo Vento
Pajule Sub-County

Hon. Lawino Nancy
District Councilor V

Hon. Otika Maureen
Latanya Sub-County

Hon. Ojara Owera Christopher

Mr. Nyeko Michael Omonya
Chairperson LCIII Puranga

Hon. Komakech Jackson

Hon. Toolit Francis

Hon. Acayo Polline

Hon. Komakech Richard
Disability

Hon. Obwona Eclive

Hon. Akena Katumwa
Youth

Hon. Akello Joyce O.
Puranga Sub-County

Hon. Winy Gilbert
Diso

Hon. Adoch Santa Odong

Hon. Lawoho Felix

Hon. Akully Betty
Ogom

Hon. Oringo L. Ponsiano
Councilor LCV

Hon. Aciro Poline
Puranga

Hon. Atto Balbina Odwa
Latanya

Hon. Kanyeru James Oyo
Awere

Hon. Tabu Santo Bono

Mr. Kilama Patrick

Mr. Atuke Livingstone
LCIII Agagura

Mr. Otto Charles
LC III Ogom

Mr. Lam Kenneth
Chairperson LC III Lagut

Mr. Omona Joseph Lapit
LCIII Pader Town Council

Mr. Oringa Qunito
Vice Chairperson LC III

Mr. Odongkara David
LC III Chairperson Latanya

Mr. Lanyero Nighty
LC III Chairperson Atanga

Ms. Akullu Susan
Secretary LCV

Mr. Onyango Bosco

Ms. Amito Lucy
Gender Officer

Mr. Oyat Vincent L.
Vice Chairperson LC III Lapul

Mr. Kilama David
LC III Lapul

Ms. Adyero Santa
Vice Chairperson LC III

Mr. Oyet Charles
V. chairperson Ogom

Mr. Omona Aifonse Lokilamoi
Chairperson LC III Pajule

Mr. Okot Charles

Ms. Hellen Okot
V. Chair II PTC

Ms. Atto Pamela
V. Chair LC III Awere

Mr. Okot Jimmy Katumba
Youth

Mr. Okello Walter
Secretary for Health

Mr. Oguti Emmanuel

Mr. Oweka Robert
LCIII Chairperson Kilak

Mr. Lotada Peter
Chairperson Disability

Hon. Apoto Dorine
Latanya Sub-County (Former)

5. CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS

5a)CSO Leaders Kampala

Ms. Nanyonga Dorothy
(Uganda Media Women Association)

Ms. Nabagabe Flavia Kalule
(FOWODE)

Ms. Patricia Munabi Babiiha
(FOWODE)

Ms. Atukwasa Rita
(Institute for Social Transformation)

Ms. Monica Emiru Enyou
(NAWOU)

Ms. Regina Bafaki
(ACFODE)

Ms. Jessica Nkuuhe

Ms. Robinah Rubimbwa
(CEWIGO)

Ms. Solome Mukisa
(UCOBAC)

Ms. Tina Musuya
(CEDOVIP)

Ms. Irene Ovonji Odida
(FIDA-U)

Ms. Nabadda Elizabeth
(Reproductive Health - HSEP)

Ms. Ntakalimaze Margaret
(Hope After Rape)

Ms. Iris Naggudi
(Women's Democracy Network)

Ms. Joy Mukisa
(CEWIGO)

Mr. Bwire Patrick
(CECORE)

Ms. Diane Gardsbane
(Independent researcher)

Ms. Naleba Hadijah
(MIFUMI)

Ms. Lillian Mpabulungi
(CARE International)

Ms. Gladys Kisitu
UPFYA

Ms. Dorothy Kanduhukye
(Uganda Women Entreprenuers Association Limited – UWEAL)

Ms. Robinah Ndikuwera
(Independent Gender Specialist)
Ms. Sarah Nakame
(MEMPROW)

Mr. Ronald Kitanda
(Development worker)

Ms. Ritah Barungi
(Reach the Youth)

Mr. Abel Mwebembezi
(Reach the Youth Uganda)

5B) CSO Leaders - Agago District

Ms. Watmon Jennifer
(Forum for Kalongo Parish Women Association - FOKAPAWA)

Ms. Amony Filder
WOL Sub-County

Ms. Acen Lily
(Kot Omor Sub-County)

Ms. Ladwar Filder
(Humanistic Opportunity for People Progressive Empowerment-HOPE)

Ms. Tooyen Justine
(Faithful House Support group)

Ms. Olanya Baptist Wishky
(Konye Keni Women's group)

Ms. Amito Nighty
(Adeg Anii Women group)

Ms. Arach Christine
(Agago Women Forum group)

Mrs. Veronica Ochan
(Lira Palwo Women Association -LIPAWA)

Mr. Owiny Michael
NAADS

Mr. Komekech David
LIPAWA

Ms. Acan Susan Ojok
LIPAWA

Mr. Bala Patrick

Mr. Okia Felix Ikuruwi
Atimkikoma Youth group

5c) CSO Leaders - Pader

Ms. Anek Nighty
Adong-Kena Women group

Ms. Lalam Dorine
Ribe Ber

Ms. Achola Dorine
Roco Paco

Ms. Amato Susan
Lacan tute

Ms. Lamunu Christine
Pader GBV Network

Mr. Okello Ogaba Richard

Mr, Otto Ben Adol
ARID

Ms. Ajok Lilly

Mr. George Odong Otto
PNF

Mr. Darius Ahuma
ACFODE

Ms. Apoko Cecilia
WORUDET

Mr. Ayella Anthony
NUDIPU

Ms. Achola Dorine
(ROCO PACO)

Ms. Joy Oyado
(Invisible Children)

Mr. Obooma Paul
(ARLIPI)

Ms. Otika Maureen
(Latanya)

Mr, Achilla Godfrey
(SIDAPO)

Mr. Okidi Stephen Otto

Mr. Onyabo Nichola
(VEDCO/HPI)

Mr. Gilbert Odero
(PANASO)

Ms. Florence Okio
(ZOA)

Ms. Nansamba Novicis
(WORUDET)

Mr. Bilal Jacob
(WORUDET)

Mr. Oryem Andrew
(CCF)

Ms. Ocora Christine
(Action Aid)

6. GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS

Ms. Candiru Josephine
(Ministry of Gender)

Ms. Violet Akurut
(Uganda Human Rights Commission)

Ms. Atuhairwe Christine
(Equal Opportunities Commission)

7. YOUTH

7a) Kyambogo University

Ms. Namungeni Hajarah

Mr. Otim Felix

Ms. Kyomugisha Immaculate

Ms. Nassozi Mary

Ms. Nankya Catherine

Ms. Najjosi Catherine

Ms. Lule Winnie

Ms. Najjuko Catherine

Mr. Mutagombya Hassan

Ms. Atukunda Martha

Mr. Watson Atukwasa

Ms. Agaba Brenda

Ms. Ponny Betty

Ms. Betty Asiimwe

Ms. Harriet Awori

Mr. Gerald Kasigazi

Mr. Kasim Buwembo

Mr. Mugisha Roger

Ms. Merab Alexis

Mr. Lubeng Gordon

Mr. Ivan Lule

Ms. Ephrance Nyafwono Claire

Mr. Paul Lukumu

Ms. Naliange Sandra

Ms. Rebecca Namutebi

Ms. Aida Nakalembe

Mr. Isaac Guma

Ms. Ritah Kobugabe

Mr. Alex Ssali

Mr. Kasiko Eric Joel

7b) Makerere University Business School, Nakawa

Ms. Apio Eunice

Ms. Nalule Shakira

Ms. Namatovu Kevina

Ms. Ayebazibwe Ritah

Ms. Nafula Brenda

Mr. Mugabe Samuel

Ms. Nyangoma Aisha

Mr. Paul Mpunga

Ms. Bukenya Rachael

Mr. Kizito Daniel

Ms. Ayebazibwe Ritah

Mr. Peter Bol

Ms. Namaje Faridah

Mr. John Davis

Ms. Hellen Mbogo

Mr. Luyombya Godfrey

Ms. Akao Patricia

Mr. Atuhirwe Joseph

7C) Nakawa Vocational Institute

Mr. Bare Vincent

Mr. Vincent Nyosoro

7D) Young Men's Christian Association

Bogere Moses Wanyama Lugara (Teacher)

7E) Makerere University

Mr. Masaba Yunus

Ms. Akello Mary

Mr. Sam Tumwesingire

Ms. Namatovu Aida

Mr. Muwanguzi Matthew

Ms. Penny Kobusinge

Ms. Kobusinge Alice

Ms. Kyakuhaire Brenda

Ms. Najjuka Margaret

Ms. Musemba Patricia Nakato

8. MEDIA

8A) Media; Kampala

Ms. Nalugo Mercy
Daily Monitor

Ms. Joyce Namutebi
New Vision

Ms. Prossy Kizza
Eddoboozi

Mr. Kasozi Ephraim
Daily Monitor

Mr. Lukandwa D.
Photographer

Mr. Tyaba S. Abu
NBS TV

Ms. Abuusa Aminah
Radio Bilal

Mr. Muwafu Brian
Namirembe FM

8b) Media Agago

Mr. Oboke Sam – New Vision

8c) Media Pader

Mr. Benekazi Ogaba

Mr. Cere Daniel
Luo FM

Mr. Okii Norbert

Mr. Owot Robert
Daily monitor

Mr. Ojok Vicent
Rapa FM

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