



GENDER TRANSFORMATION & EMPOWERMENT

Politics for a Purpose: Changing the face of Uganda's Politics 2011 and beyond

A report on rapid Gender Audit of
Political Party Manifestos
for 2011 General Elections

With support from:
Dan Church Aid



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Electoral Process. A practical guide to address gender barriers that hinder women from actively participating in Leadership and Decision making.
Kampala

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FOREWORD

As Uganda prepares for the 2011 Presidential and Parliamentary elections, political parties and aspiring candidates have pledges and promises to deliver to the people of Uganda. Uganda Women's Network (UWONET) embarked on an audit of gender considerations of the political party manifestos for the 2011 – 2016. This involved an analysis of the political party manifestos vis-a-vis the women's concerns and critical issues as spelt out in the Women's Agenda.

The gender audit therefore provides an analysis of key issues in the political party manifestos and those in the Women's Agenda. The Women's Agenda clearly articulates women's demands and was specifically developed as a tool to inform political parties about the concerns of women in Uganda for national development.

The gender audit further highlights the opportunities and challenges to women's participation in politics, the comparative analysis of 2006 and 2011 political party manifestos, a gender audit of the political party manifestos and a monitoring tool for future engagement with political parties, a tool that will monitor the gender sensitivity and implementation of the women's concerns committed to in the manifesto.

UWONET hopes that the gender audit will be a useful advocacy tool that will be used to have women's voices heard and to hold the government and political parties accountable with regard to their commitments.

Together we can change the face of Ugandan politics 2011 and beyond.

Rita Aciro Lakor
Executive Director
UWONET

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List of Acronyms

AIDS	Acquired Immuno Deficiency Syndrome
AU	African Union
BTVET	Business, Technical and Vocational Training
CA	Constituent Assembly
CP	Conservative Party
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
DP	Democratic Party
EC	Electoral Commission
FAL	Functional Adult Literacy
FDC	Forum for Democratic Change
FGM	Female Genital Mutilation
FHRI	Foundation for Human Rights Initiative
FIL	Forum for Integrity in Leadership
FOWODE	Forum for Women in Democracy
H.E.	His Excellency
HIV	Human Immuno Virus
ICT	Information Communication Technology
IPC	Inter Party Cooperation
JEEMA	Justice Forum
KY	Kabaka Yeka
LDT	Liberal Democratic Transparency
MGLSD	Ministry of Gender, Labour & Social Development
MP	Member of Parliament
MTC	Mother-to-Child
NCC	National Consultative Council
NDP	National Development Plan
NRA	National Resistance Army
NRC	National Resistance Council
NRM	National Resistance Movement
PDP	People's Development Party
PPP	People's Progressive Party
PRDP	Peace Recovery Development Plan
PWDs	Persons with Disability
SDP	Social Democratic Party
UCC	Uganda Communications Commission
UFA	Uganda Federal Alliance
UN	United Nations
UNC	Uganda National Congress
UPC	Uganda People's Congress
UPM	Uganda Patriotic Movement
UWONET	Uganda Women's Network

Appendix 7: STRUCTURE OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT UNITS

LOCAL COUNCIL V	DISTRICT COUNCIL		CITY COUNCIL
LOCAL COUNCIL IV		MUNICIPAL COUNCIL	
LOCAL COUNCIL III	SUB COUNTY COUNCIL	MUNICIPAL DIVISION COUNCIL	CITY DIVISION COUNCIL
LOCAL COUNCIL II	PARISH COMMITTEE	WARD COMMITTEE	WARD COMMITTEE
LOCAL COUNCIL I	VILLAGE COMMITTEE	ZONE COMMITTEE	ZONE COMMITTEE

Presidential elections 2006

Candidates - nominating parties	Votes	%
Yoweri Museveni - National Resistance Movement	4,109,449	59.26
Kizza Besigye - Forum for Democratic Change	2,592,954	37.39
John Ssebaana Kizito - Democratic Party	109,583	1.58
Abed Bwanika - Independent	65,874	0.95
Miria Obote - Uganda People's Congress	57,071	0.82
Total	6,934,931	100.00

Source: New Vision newspaper, Electoral Commission of Uganda

1. INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND**1.1 Introduction**

Women constitute slightly more than half of the world's population. Their contribution to the social and economic development of societies is also more than half as compared to that of men by virtue of their dual roles in the productive and reproductive spheres. Yet their participation in formal political structures and processes, where decisions regarding the use of societal resources generated by both men and women are made, remains insignificant.

The campaign to promote women in decision-making positions worldwide gained impetus as a result of a series of international conferences particularly the 4th World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995. The Beijing Conference called for at least 30% representation by women in national governments. In September 2000, at the UN Millennium Summit in New York, as they adopted the Millennium Development goals, world leaders pledged to "promote gender equality and the empowerment of women as an effective way to combat poverty, hunger and disease and to stimulate development that is truly sustainable." Kofi Annan who was the UN Secretary General at the time noted that, "Study after study has shown that there is no effective development strategy in which women do not play a central role". He noted that when women are fully involved, the benefits are immediate - families are healthier and better fed and their income, savings and investments go up. "And what is true of families is also true of communities and, in the long run, of whole countries."

"Success without democracy is improbable; democracy without women is impossible."

— Madeleine K. Albright, NDI Chairperson

In line with international trends, Uganda promulgated a national Constitution in 1995 which requires "the state to ensure gender balance and fair representation of marginalised groups on all constitutional and other bodies."¹ The Constitution further provides that "women shall have the right to equal treatment with men and that right shall include equal opportunities in political, economic and social activities ..." ² and that "without prejudice to Article 32 of this Constitution, women shall have the right to affirmative action for the purpose of redressing the imbalances created by history, tradition or custom."³ Since then, there are more women in politics in Uganda today than in many more developed democracies. This significant achievement owes to explicit affirmative action interventions in political institutions and processes to favour women's participation. However, this does not mean that women in politics in Uganda do not face serious

¹Article VI of National Objectives and Directive Principles of State Policy

²Article 33 (4) of the Constitution

³Article 33 (5) of the Constitution

challenges that adversely affect their participation in the political arena. These challenges are even more significant in the current multiparty dispensation. These challenges are dealt with in detail in the subsequent chapters.

1.2 Background to Multiparty Politics in Uganda

The first ever direct elections in Uganda were organised by the Colonial Government in 1961. Two (2) political parties, namely, the Democratic Party (DP) and the Uganda Peoples' Congress (UPC) contested in the election, leading to the formation of the first ever internal self-government, headed by the Chief Minister, H.E. Benedict Kiwanuka (DP). In 1962, the Colonial Government organized elections and DP got the majority in Parliament. However, UPC and Kabaka Yeka (KY) merged to become UPC-KY, the majority hence formed the government, headed by the first Prime Minister, Apollo Milton Obote. The Late Professor Mugaju calls Uganda's first attempt at multi-party politics 'pseudo multiparty politics' and argues that:

The rise of political parties in the 1950's and 1960's did not automatically lead to the practice of multiparty democracy. In the first place, the political parties were more interested in issues that had nothing to do with democracy. The UNC was more interested in 'self governance now', with or without multipartyism. The main concern of DP what the Roman Catholics saw as decades of Protestant hegemony and to contain the spread of communism in Uganda. The UPC which started as an anti-Buganda platform was determined to gain power at any cost and the KY which represented the forces of neotraditionalism did not conceal its hostility to any manifestation of multipartyism in Uganda. Despite democratic sloganeering, their prime inspiration was the pursuit of power as an end, rather than a means to an end.

In 1971, when Idi Amin took power in a coup d'état. Political party activities were banned and no elections were held until 1980 after his overthrow in 1979. However, Uganda was governed by the National Consultative Council (NCC) which comprised of 156 members with two women members. In 1980, four political parties participated in the national elections namely, the Democratic Party (DP), the Uganda Peoples' Congress (UPC), the Uganda Patriotic Movement (UPM) and the Conservative Party (CP). The Uganda Peoples' Congress (UPC) won the elections with contested results. The then Presidential Candidate of the Uganda Patriotic Movement (UPM), Yoweri K. Museveni, decided to wage a guerrilla war against the UPC government.

The contentious 1980 election marked the beginning of the National Resistance

Appendix 6: RESULTS OF PAST ELECTIONS

General elections December 1980

Party	Seats
Uganda People's Congress	73
Democratic Party	52
Uganda Patriotic Movement	1
Conservative Party	0
Total seats	126

Source: Uganda, 1979-85: Leadership in Transition (1988), Jimmy K. Tindigarukayo

Presidential elections 1996

Candidate	Percentage
Yoweri Museveni	75.5%
Paul Kawanga Ssemogerere	22.3%
Muhammad Kibirige Mayanja	2.2%
Turnout	72.6%

Source: The Electoral Commission of Uganda: Presidential Elections Results 1996

Presidential elections 2001

Candidate	Number of votes	Percentage
Yoweri Museveni	5,123,360	69.4%
Kizza Besigye	2,055,795	27.7%
Aggrey Awori	103,915	1.4%
Muhammad Kibirige Mayanja	73,790	1.0%
Francis Bwengye	22,751	0.3%
Karuhanga Chapaa	10,080	0.1%
Turnout	7,511,606	69.7%

Source: The Electoral Commission of Uganda: Uganda Presidential Elections March 2001

Multiparty referendum 2005

"Do you agree to open up the political space to allow those who wish to join different organisations/ parties to do so to compete for political power?"

Option	Number of votes	Percentage
Yes	3,643,223	92.4%
No	297,865	7.6%
Turnout	3,941,088	47.3%

Source: The Electoral Commission of Uganda

Appendix 5: WOMEN NOMINATED FOR THE OPEN PARLIAMENTARY SEAT BY VARIOUS POLITICAL PARTIES IN 2011 GENERAL ELECTIONS

No.	District	Constituency	Candidate's Name	Political Party
1.	Arua	Arua Municipality	Atako A. F. Amina	FDC
2.	Bundibugyo	Bwamba County	Vivian Simolli	Independent
3.	Iganga	Iganga Municipality	Kaudha Grace	Independent
4.	Jinja	Butembe County	Grace Wanzala	FDC
5.	Kibuku	Kibuku County	Rainer Juliet Kafire	DP
6.	Kampala	Makindye Division East	Sarah Sebagala	Independent
7.	Kampala	Makindye Division East	Kimbugwe Hanifa	Independent
8.	Kampala	Makindye Division East	Nampijja Susan Lukyamuzi	CP
9.	Kampala	Makindye Division West	Nalubega Sarah Zaina	UFA
10.	Kampala	Rubaga Division North	Kisige Allen	Independent
11.	Kampala	Rubaga Division North	Nakibuuka Maxencia Takirambule	DP
12.	Kampala	Rubaga Division South	Mayanja Mpiima Faridah	NRM
13.	Kamuli	Bugabula County South	Salaam Musumba Proscovia	FDC
14.	Kasese	Bukonjo County West	Biira Kabanyoro Lucy	FDC
15.	Kibaale	Bugangaizi East County	Agaba Aisa	Independent
16.	Kibaale	Bugangaizi East County	Bakeine Mabel Lillian Komugisha	NRM
17.	Kibaale	Buyaga West County	Kugonza Sylvia	FDC
18.	Luwero	Katikamu County North	Nabukenya Brenda	DP
19.	Luwero	Katikamu County South	Kijjambu Susan	Independent
20.	Masaka	Bukoto County East	Namayanja Florence	DP
21.	Mpigi	Mawokota County North	Kyambadde Amelia Anne	NRM
22.	Mubende	Kassanda County North	Nakazibwe Annet	Independent
23.	Mukono	Mukono Municipality	Bakireke Nambooze Betty	DP
24.	Mukono	Mukono Municipality	Nakawesi Lillian	Independent
25.	Mukono	Mukono Municipality	Yiga Beatrice Nakaggwa	NRM
26.	Ntungamo	Ruhama County	Kataaha Janet Museveni	NRM
27.	Rukungiri	Rubabo County	Turyahikayo Kebirungi Mary Paula	NRM
28.	Tororo	West Budama County South	Ochola Grace Mary	UPC
29.	Busia	Busia Municipality	Taaka Kevinah Wanaha Wandera	FDC
30.	Kamwenge	Kitagwenda County	Byamukama Nulu	NRM
31.	Kamwenge	Kitagwenda County	Karungi Allen	Independent
32.	Mayuge	Bunya County East	Nakawuma Irene	UPC
33.	Pader	Aruu County	Odong Justine	Independent
34.	Sironko	Budadiri County West	Wabudeya Beatrice Mukaye	NRM
35.	Wakiso	Busiro County South	Kayondo Grace	NRM
36.	Wakiso	Kyadondo County North	Bakitte Regina	Independent
37.	Nakapiripirit	Chekwi County (Kadam)	Nacha Lorika Rose	Independent
38.	Ibanda	Ibanda County South	Abenitwe Allen	UPC
39.	Ibanda	Ibanda County South	Kasande Margaret Baryaharwego	FDC
40.	Isingiro	Isingiro County South	Kakwenza Grace Asimwe	Independent
41.	Lyantonde	Kabula County	Nakamoga Scovia	UFA
42.	Buikwe	Buikwe County North	Nakaatya Nsamba Kasumba Doreen	DP
43.	Alebtong	Ajuri County	Abongo O. Elizabeth	FDC
44.	Kyankwanzi	Kiboga West County	Kasiye Nalunga Ruth	Independent
45.	Namayingo	Bukooli Island County	Nakyema Sarah	Independent

Movement (NRM) and its armed wing known as the National Resistance Army (NRA). The NRM/NRA took power in a coup d'état in 1985 and once again political party activity was banned. Consequently no direct elections were held for 14 years. Between 1986 and 1992, Uganda's legislative functions were carried out by the National Resistance Council (NRC). In 1990, a process of making a new constitution was commenced resulting in a draft prepared by the Constitutional Commission headed by Justice Benjamin Odoki. In 1992 elections were held for the Constituent Assembly which was mandated to discuss and promulgate a new Constitution for Uganda.

In 1995, a new Constitution was promulgated and the subsequent elections held in 1996 under the "movement" system where all candidates were deemed to belong to the movement system. Only two (2) candidates run for president, Mr. Yoweri K. Museveni (for the NRM) and Paul Kawanga Semwogere (President General of the Democratic Party for the opposition).

In 2001, national elections were held under the movement system of government whereby six (6) candidates run for president, Mr. Museveni (for NRM), Col. Dr. Kizza Besigye, Aggrey Awori, Chapaa Karuhanga, Mohammed Kibirige and Francis Bwengye.

In July 2005, Ugandans voted in a referendum to determine whether to return to multiparty governance or to retain the Movement system. The results were overwhelming in favour of a return to multi party system of governance but in its report on the 2006 Presidential and Parliamentary Elections, the Foundation for Human Rights Initiative observed that "the return to multipartyism was received with a lot of excitement but without much preparation or understanding. Most people were registered as members of one political party or the other without a clear understanding of what party membership entailed. The vast majority of Ugandans went to the polls and voted not out of party loyalty, but they voted for individuals, which is explained by the fact that most Ugandans still only understand the principle of individual merit."⁵ Thus in 2006 Uganda held its first multiparty elections since 1980. In this election the NRM presented Yoweri K. Museveni as its presidential candidate, the Uganda Peoples' Congress presented Miria Kalule Obote, the Democratic Party presented Ssebaana John Kizito, the Forum for Democratic Change presented Dr. Kizza Besigye and there was one independent candidate Dr. Abed Bwanika.

⁴ Justus Mugaju, An Historical Background to Uganda's No-Party Democracy, in No Party Democracy in Uganda, Myths and Realities (Eds: Justus Mugaju and J. Oloka Onyango). 2000 at pg 16 and 18

⁵ Foundation for Human rights Initiative (FHRI) Uganda, Presidential and Parliamentary Elections 2006: Counting the Gains, at pg vii

Uganda is set to go to the polls in another multi party election in 2011 with 7 political parties presenting presidential candidates and one independent candidate.

Nominated Presidential Candidates for 2011 Elections

1.3 Objectives of the Study

Mr Yoweri K Museveni, National Resistance Movement [NRM]	Mr Jaberu Bidandi Ssali, People's Progressive Party [PPP]
Dr Kizza Besigye, Forum for Democratic Change [FDC]	Ms Beti Olive Kanya, Uganda Federal Alliance [UFA]
Mr Norbert Mao, Democratic Party [DP]	Dr Abed Bwanika, People's Development Party [PDP]
Mr Olara Otunnu , Uganda People's Congress [UPC]	Mr Samuel Lubega, Independent

This study has been undertaken as part of a project to advance effective and efficient participation and representation of women in leadership and decision making to contribute to a strong women's movement and accelerated gender equality in Uganda. The main objective of the study is "to create a basis for information exchange and learning about the various issues specifically those that have implications for gender and women's rights in political party agendas."

The specific objective are:

- To analyse whether the manifestos from the 7 major political parties (NRM, UPC, DP, FDC/IPC, PPP, PDP and UFA) meet the needs of women and are gender responsive;
- To compare the current manifestos (2011 – 2016) and the previous manifestos (2006 – 2011) highlighting progress made by the different political parties (for the political parties that had manifestos in 2006);
- Drawing from the analysis, to highlight the critical issues the parties should have addressed as a must in their manifestos to protect women's rights and promote gender equality in the next five years;
- To develop a simple monitoring indicator for CSOs on each of the political party manifestos for longer term engagement.

1.4 Methodology

Due to time constraints the study has been limited to reviewing existing literature, particularly political party manifestos and a few writings on women's

Appendix 4: WOMEN NOMINATED FOR THE OPEN PARLIAMENTARY SEAT BY VARIOUS POLITICAL PARTIES IN 2006 GENERAL ELECTIONS

No.	District	Constituency	Candidate's Name	Political Party	Status
1.	Apac	Oyam County South	Alele Gladys Opio	UPC	Lost
2.	Arua	Ayivu County	Angufiru Margaret	Independent	Winner
3.	Arua	Ayivu County	Bakoko Bakoru Zoe	NRM	Lost
4.	Arua	Vurra County	Popo Rita Drania	Independent	Lost
5.	Jinja	Jinja Municipality West	Muja Anna Rutebuka	NRM	Lost
6.	Kampala	Makindye Division East	Kanyike Sarah Sebagala	DP	Lost
7.	Kampala	Rubaga Division North	Kanya Beti Olive Namisango	FDC	Winner
8.	Kampala	Rubaga Division South	Nampijja Lukyamuzi Susan	CP	Winner
9.	Kibaale	Bugangaizi County	Bakeine Mabel Lillian Komugisha	NRM	Winner
10.	Kumi	Ngora County	Egunyu Asemo Fiona Lucy Baguma	NRM	Lost
11.	Lira	Lira Municipality	Atim Ogwal Cecilia	Independent	Lost
12.	Mbarara	Mbarara Municipality	Kabateraine B. Semambo	FDC	Lost
13.	Moyo	West Moyo County	Kareyo Clare	Independent	Lost
14.	Mpigi	Gomba County	Najjemba Rosemary Muyinda	NRM	Winner
15.	Mpigi	Mawokota County North	Tiisa Susan Mugwanya	Independent	Lost
16.	Mukono	Mukono County South	Mukwaya Balunzi Janat	NRM	Winner
17.	Mukono	Mukono County North	Namboze Betty Bakireke	DP	Winner*
18.	Ntungamo	Ruhaama County	Magambo Amanda J.	Independent	Lost
19.	Ntungamo	Ruhaama County	Museveni Janet Kataha	NRM	Winner
20.	Pallisa	Budaka County	Kiryapawo Loi Kageni	NRM	Winner
21.	Pallisa	Kibuku County	Rainer Kafire Juliet	DP	Lost
22.	Rukungiri	Rubabo County	Turyahikayo Kebirungi Mary Paula	NRM	Winner
23.	Kayunga	Ntenjeru County North	Nabayego Alia	DP	Lost
24.	Kayunga	Ntenjeru County North	Nyombi Nansubuga Sarah	NRM	Winner
25.	Wakiso	Busiro County East	Nabukeera Sophia Kizza	JEEMA	Lost
26.	Wakiso	Busiro County East	Nakawuki Susan	FDC	Winner
27.	Wakiso	Busiro County South	Mubanda Freda Nanziri Kase	NRM	Lost
28.	Wakiso	Kyadondo County North	Bakitte Regina	DP	Lost
29.	Amuria	Kapelebyong County	Adio Winfred Aiko	UPC	Lost
30.	Kiruhura	Nyabushozi County	Mugyenye Rutamwebwa Mary	NRM	Winner

*won after by election

"	Tonga	11 2010	26	0	0.0%	---	---		---	---
"	Tuvalu	9 2010	15	0	0.0%	---	---		---	---
?	Colombia	3 2010	166	?	?	3 2010	102		?	?
?	Egypt	11 2010	518	?	?	6 2010	264		?	?
?	Haiti	11 2010	99	?	?	11 2010	30		?	?
?	Myanmar	11 2010	0	?	?	11 2010	0		---	---
?	Republic of Moldova	11 2010	101	?	?	---	---		---	---
?	United Republic of Tanzania	10 2010	357	?	?	---	---		---	---
?	Venezuela	9 2010	165	?	?	---	---		---	---

* Figures correspond to the number of seats currently filled in Parliament

Guinea: The parliament was dissolved following the December 2008 coup

1 - South Africa: The figures on the distribution of seats in the Upper House do not include the 36 special rotating delegates appointed on an ad hoc basis, and all percentages given are therefore calculated on the basis of the 54 permanent seats.

2 - United States of America: The total refers to all voting members of the House.

Source: <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm> (accessed January 2011)

Appendix 3: **TOTAL NUMBER OF WOMEN NOMINATED FOR PARLIAMENT BY VARIOUS POLITICAL PARTIES**

Political Party	Woman MP	Direct MP	Total
NRM	109	9	118
DP	17	6	23
FDC	81	8	89
UPC	29	3	32
CP	1	1	2
JEEMA	2	-	2
PPP	6	-	6
PDP	2		2
UFA	8	2	10
LDT	1	-	1
Independents	187	16	203
TOTAL	443	45	488

participation in politics but specifically their participation in multi-party politics in Uganda.

1.5 Limitations of the Study

The study was limited to studying the manifestos of the 7 major political parties participating in the 2011 General Election in Uganda. It should be noted that there was an independent candidate participating in the Presidential race whose manifesto was not included in the terms of reference of this study. It should be further noted that due to time limitations the study did not explore the following issues surrounding the development of political party manifestos (who prepares the manifestos; what process is employed in identification of issues and the position the party takes on the identified issues; and when the process of manifesto development begins) yet these issues could explain the observations arrived at in the study.

It is also worth noting that most political party manifestos could only be availed to the public after being launched. Consequently, this delayed the study with one party, Democratic Party which launched its manifesto mid-January 2011 when the elections were to take place in February.

Gender disaggregated data remains a challenge. Most data that is available from the Uganda Electoral Commission is not disaggregated according to gender. The study was therefore unable to establish how many women contested for various positions in 2006 and how many have been nominated for the various elective positions in the upcoming elections. It is however, interesting to note that the available data on nominated candidates has been sorted according to the number of candidates nominated by each political party.

Whereas Uganda has a total of 39 registered political parties (see Appendix 1), only 7 presented candidates for president and hence had manifestos that formed the basis of this study. Social Democratic Party (SDP), Justice Forum (JEEMA), Liberal Democratic Transparency (LDT), Forum for Integrity in Leadership (FIL), and the Conservative Party (CP) are among the other registered parties that presented candidates at the lower levels but did not have manifestos.

2. OPPORTUNITIES FOR AND CHALLENGES TO WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS IN UGANDA

2.1 Women participation in politics in Uganda – A Background

Elections specifically for women in Uganda can be traced back to the establishment of the National Resistance Council (NRC) in 1989. In this election, affirmative action measures for women were introduced, and 34 women were

elected to “women’s seats”. Some women were also elected on the “regular” seats and in total women constituted 17% of the NRC (41 seats). During the 6th Parliament (1996-2001) there were 39 districts in Uganda, accordingly 39 women were elected as women district MPs. When the current 7th Parliament (2001-2006) was elected, Uganda had introduced 17 new districts, securing women with at least 56 seats in Parliament.

Women’s numerical presence in Parliament has had some positive effects in Uganda. First, it has led to one of the most gender sensitive constitutions in the world in the sense that it contains articles directly affecting women in particular. Second, together with the Civil Society, the women in Parliament have been important in passing legislation important for women for example the Land (Amendment) Act, the Domestic Violence Act, etc.

In 1994, when the Constituent Assembly (CA) was elected to draft a new Ugandan Constitution, the women elected formed a women’s caucus to better enhance the interests of women. Out of 286 delegates, 52 (18%) were women – and most of them participated in the women’s caucus. The women’s caucus turned out to be effective and the women were able to talk with one voice and raise common objectives, turning the women’s caucus into the most coherent caucus. The women’s caucus did not take a stand on the debate on the country’s political system, since it was non-partisan. It did not establish a relationship with the multiparty caucus called The National Caucus for Democracy. The support the CA delegates got from the women’s movement was important, in the process of fighting for the provisions in the Constitution concerning the status and participation of women in Uganda.

The actual role the women’s movement played in initiating the affirmative action seats for women in Parliament seems to be ignored or forgotten, both by the NRM leadership and some of the women themselves. Instead, it is replaced by a belief that NRM has been the sole promoter in launching the reserved seats. Hence, it is not surprising that a large number of women beneficiaries of affirmative action, not only feel obligated to the NRM government, but also dare not challenge the status quo. They find it easier to fit into, rather than transform systems, cultures and structures that have marginalised them, which is the intended purpose of providing for affirmative action in the Constitution

In the 2006 General Election, the Uganda People’s Congress (UPC) became the first political party to present a woman for the position of Presidential candidate Mrs. Miria Kalule Obote. For the 2011 General Elections, Uganda Federal Alliance is presenting Ms. Betty Olive Namisango Kamya as its candidate for President. Uganda is set to see more women aspiring for the highest office in the land.

Suriname	5 2010	51	5	9.8%	---	---	---	---
Central African Republic	3 2005	104	10	9.6%	---	---	---	---
Armenia	5 2007	131	12	9.2%	---	---	---	---
Hungary	4 2010	386	35	9.1%	---	---	---	---
Turkey	7 2007	549	50	9.1%	---	---	---	---
Cote d'Ivoire	12 2000	203	18	8.9%	---	---	---	---
Malta	3 2008	69	6	8.7%	---	---	---	---
Brazil	10 2010	513	44	8.6%	10 2010	81	13	16.0%
Bhutan	3 2008	47	4	8.5%	12 2007	25	6	24.0%
Panama	5 2009	71	6	8.5%	---	---	---	---
Democratic Republic of the Congo	7 2006	500	42	8.4%	1 2007	108	5	4.6%
Ghana	12 2008	230	19	8.3%	---	---	---	---
Samoa	3 2006	49	4	8.2%	---	---	---	---
Ukraine	9 2007	450	36	8.0%	---	---	---	---
Botswana	10 2009	63	5	7.9%	---	---	---	---
Algeria	5 2007	389	30	7.7%	12 2009	136	7	5.1%
Kuwait	5 2009	65	5	7.7%	---	---	---	---
Libyan Arab Jamahiriya	3 2009	468	36	7.7%	---	---	---	---
Gambia	1 2002	53	4	7.5%	---	---	---	---
Congo	6 2007	137	10	7.3%	8 2008	70	9	12.9%
Nigeria	4 2007	358	25	7.0%	4 2007	109	9	8.3%
Somalia	8 2004	546	37	6.8%	---	---	---	---
Saint Kitts and Nevis	1 2010	15	1	6.7%	---	---	---	---
Georgia	5 2008	138	9	6.5%	---	---	---	---
Maldives	5 2009	77	5	6.5%	---	---	---	---
Sri Lanka	4 2010	225	12	5.3%	---	---	---	---
Chad	4 2002	155	8	5.2%	---	---	---	---
Kiribati	8 2007	46	2	4.3%	---	---	---	---
Mongolia	6 2008	76	3	3.9%	---	---	---	---
Vanuatu	9 2008	52	2	3.8%	---	---	---	---
Lebanon	6 2009	128	4	3.1%	---	---	---	---
Comoros	12 2009	33	1	3.0%	---	---	---	---
Marshall Islands	11 2007	33	1	3.0%	---	---	---	---
Iran (Islamic Republic of)	3 2008	290	8	2.8%	---	---	---	---
Bahrain	10 2010	40	1	2.5%	11 2010	40	11	27.5%
Papua New Guinea	6 2007	109	1	0.9%	---	---	---	---
Yemen	4 2003	301	1	0.3%	4 2001	111	2	1.8%
Belize	2 2008	32	0	0.0%	3 2008	13	5	38.5%
Micronesia (Federated States of)	3 2009	14	0	0.0%	---	---	---	---
Nauru	6 2010	18	0	0.0%	---	---	---	---
Oman	10 2007	84	0	0.0%	11 2007	72	14	19.4%
Palau	11 2008	16	0	0.0%	11 2008	13	2	15.4%
Qatar	7 2010	35	0	0.0%	---	---	---	---
Saudi Arabia	2 2009	150	0	0.0%	---	---	---	---
Solomon Islands	8 2010	50	0	0.0%	---	---	---	---

Eng. Dr. Badru M. Kiggundu, Implementing the mandates in the new Constitutional Order. A paper presented at a Workshop on the Constitutional Amendment Bill.

73	Turkmenistan	12 2008	125	21	16.8%	---	---	---	---
74	Bosnia and Herzegovina	10 2010	42	7	16.7%	3 2007	15	2	13.3%
"	San Marino	11 2008	60	10	16.7%	---	---	---	---
75	Albania	6 2009	140	23	16.4%	---	---	---	---
76	Azerbaijan	11 2010	125	20	16.0%	---	---	---	---
77	Democratic People's Republic of Korea	3 2009	687	107	15.6%	---	---	---	---
78	Burkina Faso	5 2007	111	17	15.3%	---	---	---	---
"	Slovakia	6 2010	150	23	15.3%	---	---	---	---
79	Uruguay	10 2009	99	15	15.2%	10 2009	31	4	12.9%
80	Zimbabwe	3 2008	214	32	15.0%	3 2008	99	24	24.2%
81	Gabon	1 2009	116	17	14.7%	1 2009	102	18	17.6%
"	Republic of Korea	4 2008	299	44	14.7%	---	---	---	---
82	Slovenia	9 2008	90	13	14.4%	11 2007	40	1	2.5%
83	Chile	12 2009	120	17	14.2%	12 2009	38	5	13.2%
84	Russian Federation	12 2007	450	63	14.0%	N.A.	169	8	4.7%
"	Zambia	9 2006	157	22	14.0%	---	---	---	---
85	Cameroon	7 2007	180	25	13.9%	---	---	---	---
"	Ireland	5 2007	165	23	13.9%	7 2007	59	13	22.0%
86	Djibouti	2 2008	65	9	13.8%	---	---	---	---
87	Swaziland	9 2008	66	9	13.6%	10 2008	30	12	40.0%
88	Grenada	7 2008	15	2	13.3%	8 2008	13	4	30.8%
"	Jamaica	9 2007	60	8	13.3%	9 2007	21	3	14.3%
"	Thailand	12 2007	473	63	13.3%	3 2008	150	24	16.0%
89	Sierra Leone	8 2007	121	16	13.2%	---	---	---	---
90	Cyprus	5 2006	56	7	12.5%	---	---	---	---
"	Liberia	10 2005	64	8	12.5%	10 2005	30	5	16.7%
"	Madagascar	10 2010	256	32	12.5%	10 2010	90	10	11.1%
"	Paraguay	4 2008	80	10	12.5%	4 2008	45	7	15.6%
91	Syrian Arab Republic	4 2007	250	31	12.4%	---	---	---	---
92	Bahamas	5 2007	41	5	12.2%	5 2007	15	5	33.3%
93	Guatemala	9 2007	158	19	12.0%	---	---	---	---
94	Romania	11 2008	334	38	11.4%	11 2008	137	8	5.8%
95	Japan	8 2009	480	54	11.3%	7 2010	242	44	18.2%
96	Montenegro	3 2009	81	9	11.1%	---	---	---	---
"	Saint Lucia	12 2006	18	2	11.1%	1 2007	11	4	36.4%
"	Togo	10 2007	81	9	11.1%	---	---	---	---
97	Benin	3 2003	83	9	10.8%	---	---	---	---
"	India	4 2009	545	59	10.8%	7 2008	233	21	9.0%
"	Jordan	11 2010	120	13	10.8%	11 2010	60	9	15.0%
98	Antigua and Barbuda	3 2009	19	2	10.5%	4 2009	17	5	29.4%
"	Morocco	9 2007	325	34	10.5%	10 2009	270	6	2.2%
99	Mali	7 2007	147	15	10.2%	---	---	---	---
100	Barbados	1 2008	30	3	10.0%	2 2008	21	7	33.3%
"	Equatorial Guinea	5 2008	100	10	10.0%	---	---	---	---
"	Guinea-Bissau	11 2008	100	10	10.0%	---	---	---	---
101	Malaysia	3 2008	222	22	9.9%	N.A.	64	18	28.1%

Women Representation in Uganda's Legislative Bodies (1958 to-date)

Legislative Body (date)	Total	Men	Women	% Women
Legislative Council (pre-1958)	51	49	2	3.9%
Legislative Council (post 1958)	55	49	6	10.9%
Parliament (1962 – 1971)	92	90	2	2%
National Consultative Council (1979 – 1980)	156	154	2	0.01%
National Consultative Council (1980 – 1985)	126	125	1	0.008%
National Resistance Council (1986 – 1992)	280	230	50	18%
Constituent Assembly (1992 – 1995)	286	236	50	17%
Parliament (1996)	270	219	51	19%
Parliament (2001)	305	230	75	25%
Parliament (2006)	313	212	102	32.2%

2.2 Opportunities for women's participation in politics in Uganda

The women of Uganda have more opportunities to occupy elective political office in the 2011 General Elections than ever before. In 2006, Uganda had a total of 945,351 elective positions from President to Village Committees⁶. A more in-depth study is required to establish how many women presented themselves for these positions and how many women did each political party nominate. Below is a table of available elective offices in 2006 compared to what is available in 2011.

	Elective Position	No. available 2006	No. Available 2011
1.	President	1	1
2.	Member of Parliament (open seat)	215	238
3.	Member of Parliament (woman)	69	112
4.	Member of Parliament (workers)	5	5
5.	Member of Parliament (Youth)	5	5
6.	Member of Parliament (PWDs)	5	5
7.	Member of Parliament (Army)	10	10
8.	District/City Chairpersons	69	112
9.	District/City Councillors (open seat)	998	1,338
10.	District/City Councillors (woman)	653	920
11.	Sub County/Town/Municipal Division Chairpersons	970	1,323
12.	Sub County/Town/Municipal Councillors (open seat)	5,590	7,329
13.	Sub County/Town/Municipal Councillors (woman)	4,976	6,595
14.	Municipality / Division Chairpersons	18	27
15.	Municipality Councillors (open seat)	267	385
16.	Municipality Councillors (woman)	171	249
	TOTAL	14,022	18,654

Note: This table does not include the positions for Youth and PWD Councillors at the various Local Government Levels and the Village/Zone/ Ward Committees positions.

⁶ Eng. Dr. Badru M. Kiggundu, Implementing the mandates in the new Constitutional Order. A paper presented at a Workshop on the Constitutional Amendment Bill. The Transition to a Multiparty Political System of Governance in Uganda (2005) accessible at: <http://www.ec.or.ug/Archives/Paper%20for%20Workshop%20on%20the%20Constitutional%20Amendment%20Bill.pdf>

The political and legislative environment is also more conducive for women to participate but much more remains to be done if the number of women seeking elective office is to increase. Below the study highlights the barriers that continue to pose a challenge to women is participation in politics in Uganda.

2.3 Challenges to Women's participation in politics in Uganda

Women's participation and access to formal political power structures vary across countries but there is a steady upward trend in women's political participation and representation in developing countries. Uganda is currently ranked 23rd in the whole world in terms of women's representation in Parliament (see Appendix 2). However, the structural and functional constraints faced by women continue to be shaped by social and political relations in our society. The common pattern of women's political exclusion stem from (a) social and political discourses (b) political structures and institutions (c) the socio-cultural and functional constraints that put limits on women's individual and collective agency. Below, the study highlights some of the more critical factors that hinder women's participation in politics.

Ideological Factors

Patriarchy as a system of male domination shapes women's relationship in politics. It transforms male and females into men and women and construct the hierarchy of gender relations where men are privileged. Andrienne Rich defines patriarchy as: *"A familial-social, ideological, political system in which men by force, direct pressure or through ritual, tradition, law, and language, customs etiquette, education, and the division of labor, determine what part women shall or shall not play in which the female is everywhere subsumed under the male."*⁷

The gender role ideology is used as an ideological tool by patriarchy to place women within the private arena of home as mothers and wives and men in the public sphere. This is one of the vital factors that shape the level of women's political participation globally. However, this ideological divide is not reflective of the reality. The boundaries between public and private are often blurred in the daily lives of women. Nonetheless, domestic domain continues to be perceived as the legitimate space for women while public space is associated with men. Women have to negotiate their entry into and claim public space according to the discursive and material opportunities available in a given culture and society. Although the gender role ideology is not static rather remained in a flux while intersecting with economic, social and political systems of a particular society, women continue to be defined as private which resulted in their exclusion from politics. Tamale makes the following observation:

Electoral Commission, 2001, Report on the Presidential Election March 2001

40	Australia	8 2010	150	37	24.7%	8 2010	76	?	?
41	Namibia	11 2009	78	19	24.4%	11 2010	26	?	?
42	Lesotho	2 2007	120	29	24.2%	3 2007	33	6	18.2%
43	Liechtenstein	2 2009	25	6	24.0%	---	---	---	---
44	Croatia	11 2007	153	36	23.5%	---	---	---	---
"	Seychelles	5 2007	34	8	23.5%	---	---	---	---
45	Singapore	5 2006	94	22	23.4%	---	---	---	---
46	Kyrgyzstan	10 2010	120	28	23.3%	---	---	---	---
47	Estonia	3 2007	101	23	22.8%	---	---	---	---
48	Senegal	6 2007	150	34	22.7%	8 2007	100	40	40.0%
49	United Arab Emirates	12 2006	40	9	22.5%	---	---	---	---
50	Pakistan	2 2008	342	76	22.2%	3 2009	100	17	17.0%
51	Canada	10 2008	308	68	22.1%	N.A.	93	32	34.4%
"	Mauritania	11 2006	95	21	22.1%	11 2009	56	8	14.3%
52	Czech Republic	5 2010	200	44	22.0%	10 2010	81	15	18.5%
"	Eritrea	2 1994	150	33	22.0%	---	---	---	---
"	United Kingdom	5 2010	650	143	22.0%	N.A.	733	147	20.1%
"	Uzbekistan	12 2009	150	33	22.0%	1 2010	100	15	15.0%
53	Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	12 2005	23	5	21.7%	---	---	---	---
54	Serbia	5 2008	250	54	21.6%	---	---	---	---
55	Philippines	5 2010	229	49	21.4%	5 2010	23	3	13.0%
56	China	3 2008	2987	637	21.3%	---	---	---	---
"	Italy	4 2008	630	134	21.3%	4 2008	322	59	18.3%
57	Cambodia	7 2008	123	26	21.1%	1 2006	61	9	14.8%
58	Bulgaria	7 2009	240	50	20.8%	---	---	---	---
"	Dominican Republic	5 2010	183	38	20.8%	5 2010	32	3	9.4%
"	Malawi	5 2009	192	40	20.8%	---	---	---	---
59	Nicaragua	11 2006	92	19	20.7%	---	---	---	---
60	Latvia	10 2010	100	20	20.0%	---	---	---	---
"	Luxembourg	6 2009	60	12	20.0%	---	---	---	---
"	Poland	10 2007	460	92	20.0%	10 2007	100	8	8.0%
61	Dominica	12 2009	26	5	19.2%	---	---	---	---
"	Israel	2 2009	120	23	19.2%	---	---	---	---
62	Lithuania	10 2008	141	27	19.1%	---	---	---	---
63	El Salvador	1 2009	84	16	19.0%	---	---	---	---
"	Tajikistan	2 2010	63	12	19.0%	3 2010	34	5	14.7%
64	France	6 2007	577	109	18.9%	9 2008	343	75	21.9%
65	Mauritius	5 2010	69	13	18.8%	---	---	---	---
66	Bangladesh	12 2008	345	64	18.6%	---	---	---	---
67	Sao Tome and Principe	8 2010	55	10	18.2%	---	---	---	---
68	Cape Verde	1 2006	72	13	18.1%	---	---	---	---
69	Honduras	11 2009	128	23	18.0%	---	---	---	---
"	Indonesia	4 2009	560	101	18.0%	---	---	---	---
70	Kazakhstan	8 2007	107	19	17.8%	10 2008	47	2	4.3%
71	Greece	10 2009	300	52	17.3%	---	---	---	---
72	United States of America ²	11 2010	433	73	16.9%	11 2010	100	17	17.0%

⁷ Eisenstein, Z (1984) Contemporary Feminist Thought, Unwin, London

Appendix 2: World Classification of Women Representation in National Parliaments

WORLD CLASSIFICATION									
Rank	Country	Lower or single House				Upper House or Senate			
		Elections	Seats*	Women	% W	Elections	Seats*	Women	% W
1	Rwanda	9 2008	80	45	56.3%	10 2003	26	9	34.6%
2	Sweden	9 2010	349	157	45.0%	---	---	---	---
3	South Africa ¹	4 2009	400	178	44.5%	4 2009	54	16	29.6%
4	Cuba	1 2008	614	265	43.2%	---	---	---	---
5	Iceland	4 2009	63	27	42.9%	---	---	---	---
6	Netherlands	6 2010	150	61	40.7%	5 2007	75	26	34.7%
7	Finland	3 2007	200	80	40.0%	---	---	---	---
8	Norway	9 2009	169	67	39.6%	---	---	---	---
9	Belgium	6 2010	150	59	39.3%	6 2010	40	17	42.5%
10	Mozambique	10 2009	250	98	39.2%	---	---	---	---
11	Angola	9 2008	220	85	38.6%	---	---	---	---
"	Costa Rica	2 2010	57	22	38.6%	---	---	---	---
12	Argentina	6 2009	257	99	38.5%	6 2009	71	25	35.2%
13	Denmark	11 2007	179	68	38.0%	---	---	---	---
14	Spain	3 2008	350	128	36.6%	3 2008	263	81	30.8%
15	Andorra	4 2009	28	10	35.7%	---	---	---	---
16	New Zealand	11 2008	122	41	33.6%	---	---	---	---
17	Nepal	4 2008	594	197	33.2%	---	---	---	---
18	Germany	9 2009	622	204	32.8%	N.A.	69	15	21.7%
19	The F.Y.R. of Macedonia	6 2008	120	39	32.5%	---	---	---	---
20	Ecuador	4 2009	124	40	32.3%	---	---	---	---
21	Burundi	7 2010	106	34	32.1%	7 2010	41	19	46.3%
22	Belarus	9 2008	110	35	31.8%	7 2008	58	19	32.8%
23	Uganda	2 2006	324	102	31.5%	---	---	---	---
24	Guyana	8 2006	70	21	30.0%	---	---	---	---
25	Timor-Leste	6 2007	65	19	29.2%	---	---	---	---
26	Switzerland	10 2007	200	58	29.0%	10 2007	46	10	21.7%
27	Trinidad and Tobago	5 2010	42	12	28.6%	6 2010	31	8	25.8%
28	Austria	9 2008	183	51	27.9%	N.A.	61	18	29.5%
29	Ethiopia	5 2010	547	152	27.8%	5 2010	135	22	16.3%
30	Afghanistan	9 2010	249	69	27.7%	2 2010	102	28	27.5%
31	Tunisia	10 2009	214	59	27.6%	8 2008	112	17	15.2%
32	Peru	4 2006	120	33	27.5%	---	---	---	---
33	Portugal	9 2009	230	63	27.4%	---	---	---	---
34	Mexico	7 2009	500	131	26.2%	7 2006	128	25	19.5%
35	Monaco	2 2008	23	6	26.1%	---	---	---	---
36	Viet Nam	5 2007	493	127	25.8%	---	---	---	---
37	Sudan	4 2010	446	114	25.6%	5 2010	46	5	10.9%
38	Bolivia	12 2009	130	33	25.4%	12 2009	36	17	47.2%
39	Iraq	3 2010	325	82	25.2%	---	---	---	---
"	Lao People's Democratic Republic	4 2006	115	29	25.2%	---	---	---	---

“Regardless of what political system is in control of the state, and regardless of the lofty rhetoric, when Ugandan women lift the veil off the face of the state, they see nothing but deeply entrenched norms of male privilege and power embedded therein. We see a patriarchal state whose number one agenda is to sustain and defend such power; an institution by men and for men. Ugandan women are more interested in taking the state to task to account for its soft-peddling on actualising women’s democratic rights as enshrined in the constitution. We are more interested, for example, in quick explanations from the state as to why it is meddling with the land co-ownership clause; why it is sitting on the Domestic Relations Bill; why it is deferring the establishment of the Equal Opportunities Commission? Ugandan women are acutely aware that the majority of men agitating for political power, whether clothed in movement or party colours, have traditional patriarchal mind-sets that readily justify women’s subordination and exploitation. In rhetoric, they include issues of democracy and even gender equality in their political manifestos, but in practice they have come up with contradictory practices. Indeed, most do not practice democracy in their own homes and families. They are not willing to address issues of sex discrimination, domestic violence, sexual violence, gender equity and often dismiss out of hand all that women say.” ⁸

Political Factors

The nature of politics is an important factor for the inclusion or exclusion of women in politics. Vicky Randall ⁹ defines politics as an “articulation, or working out of relationships within an already given power structure”, which is in contrast with the traditional view of politics. The traditional view defines politics as an activity, a conscious, deliberate participation in the process by which resources are allocated among citizens. This conception of politics restricts political activity only in public arena and the private sphere of family life is rendered as apolitical. This public-private dichotomy in traditional definition of politics is used to exclude women from public political sphere and even when women are brought into politics they are entered as mothers and wives. This explains why many women in politics in Uganda today have male “godfathers” who sponsor them into politics and navigate their political path.

Male domination of politics, political parties and culture of formal political structures is another factor that hinders women’s political participation. Often male dominated political parties have a male perspective on issues of national

⁹ Randall, V. (1987) Women and Politics: an International Perspective Basingstoke: Macmillan 2nd Edition 1994

importance that disillusions women as their perspective is often ignored and not reflected in the politics of their parties. Also women are usually not elected at the position of power within party structures because of gender biases of male leadership. Meetings of Councils or Parliamentary sessions are held in odd timings conflicting with women's domestic responsibilities.

The larger democratic framework and level of democratization also impact on women's political participation. In Uganda the level of decentralisation has created more space for women to participate in elective politics because there are "open seats", women's seats and seats for various other special interest groups such as youth and PWDs where legislation requires some to be competed for by women.

Socio-Cultural Factors

The subordinate status of women vis-à-vis men is a universal phenomenon, though with a difference in the nature and extent of subordination across countries. Gender role ideology does not only create duality of femininity and masculinity, it also places them in hierarchal fashion in which female sex is generally valued less than male sex because of their socially ascribed roles in reproductive sphere. The gender status quo is maintained through low resource allocation to women's human development by the state, society and the family. This is reflected in the social indicators which reflect varying degrees of gender disparities in education, health, employment, ownership of productive resources and politics. Additionally gender is mediated through class, caste and ethnicity that structure access to resources and opportunities. The socio-cultural dependence of women is one of the key detrimental factors to their political participation in public political domain.

Women also find it hard to participate in politics due to limited time available to them because of their dual roles in the productive and reproductive spheres. With their primary roles as mothers and wives and competing domestic responsibilities, they are left with little time to participate in politics.

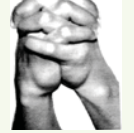
Economic Factors

Politics is increasingly becoming commercialized. More and more money is needed to participate in politics. Women lack access to and ownership of productive resources, limiting the scope of their political work. This is a hardship for women who compete for the affirmative action seats because their electoral area is always larger than that of the "open seats".

Lack of Social Capital and Political Capacities

Women often lack social capital because they are often not head of communities,

31. Society for Peace and Development [SPD]	06.02.2006		Harshim Mwenyi / Deograteous Matovu, P. O. Box 27126 Kampala or P. O. Box 795 Mbale
32. Uganda Economic Party [UEP]	15.12.2004		Watentena James Plot 14 William Street, Kirimira Towers, P. O. Box 374, Mukono
33. Uganda Mandate Party [UMP]	22.03.2005		Mulunga Wanjala W. / Amos Kisambira P. O. Box 63 Tororo
34. Uganda Patriotic Movement [UPM]	18.04.2005		Lubega Byayi / Bukenya Miridah Busabala Home Clinic P.O. Box 2083 Kampala
35. Uganda People's Congress [UPC]	22.03.2005		Miria Kalule Obote / Peter Walubiri Uganda House Plot 10 Kampala Rd. P. O. Box 9206 Kampala www.upcparty.net
36. Uganda People's Party [UPP]	22.03.2005		Sulaiman Masaba / John Ssenkumba Plot 6, Entebbe Road. P. O. Box 11009 Kampala
37. Green Partisan Party (GPP)	19.07.2010		Jamil Saali/Sentongo Muzafar P. O. Box 35596, Kampala
38. Uganda Federal Alliance (UFA)	19.07.2010		Betty O. Kanya P. O. Box 14196, Kampala

20. National Youth Revolutionary Organisation [NYRO]	28.07.2006		Moses Kankiriho / Ssewanyana Hussein P. O. Box 8254 Kampala Tel: 0485 22554 0485 22554
21. New Order Democracy [NOD]	13.10.2005		Epajjar Ojulu Stephen Kyebando, Bukoto Rd, Semwogerere Zone, Bukoto I Parish P. O. Box 11652, Kampala
22. People's Development Party (PDP)	10.09.2007		Dr. Abed Bwanika / Nathan Kabunga / Isaac Baliruno Makerere Hill Rd. Relief Bldg(Opp. LDC) P. O. Box 25765 Kampala
23. People's Independent Party [PIP]	07.04.2004		Yahaya Kamulegeya / Ssalongo T. Ssenoga Plot 30, Luwum Street, P. O. Box 5350, Kampala
24. People's Progressive Party [PPP]	07.04.2004		Jaberi Bidandi Ssali / Joseph Kakooza Plot 6, Commercial Street, Luzira, P. O. Box 9252, Kampala Tel 0414 505178 0414 505178
25. People's United Movement [PUM]	07.10.2005		Ogemba Shadrack / Sam Ssewagudde P. O. Box 72605 Kampala
26. Popular People's Democracy [PPD]	19.07.2005		Webster Lukwiya P. O. Box 24206, Kampala
27. Progressive Alliance Party [PAP]	13.04.2005		Kibirige Bernard P. O. Box 33770 Kampala
28. Reform Party [RP]	22.03.2005		Ndyomugenyi Robert / George Byamukama / Katabazi H. Water House, 2nd Floor, Plot 688, Entebbe Rd. Kampala
29. Republican Women and Youth Party [RWYP]	20.04.2004		Stella Nambuya / Jackson Mulumba Plot 12, Johnson Street P. O. Box 7590 Kampala
30. Social Democratic Party[SDP]	01.04.2005		Farouk Ntege/Henry Lubowa Plot 63, Mutesa I Rd Katwe P. O. Box 21782 Kampala www.sdu.africacentral.net

tribes or kinship groups, resulting in the absence of constituency base for them and means of political participation such as political skills, economic resources, education, training and access to information.

3. Comparative analysis of 2006 and 2011 Political Party Manifestos

3.1 DEMOCRATIC PARTY

DEMOCRATIC PARTY (DP)	
2006 Manifesto Commitments	2011 Manifesto Commitments
DP will: - Take special care of the needs of the girl child. - Lower Mother-To-Child (MTC) HIV/AIDS infection rates by guaranteeing anti-viral medications to all expectant mothers who voluntarily take the HIV/AIDS test. - Legislate and implement strategies to eliminate both structural and attitudinal barriers against all oppressed and marginalized groups in society, in the pursuit of equality in all aspects of women's lives. - Address laws and practices that oppress women with regard to ownership and succession of family land and other property. - Commit to improving women's economic autonomy and well-being, by promoting the valuation of paid and unpaid work performed by women. - Encourage women's equitable participation in the paid and unpaid labour force, and the equitable sharing of work and family responsibilities between women and men. - Promote women entrepreneurship and ensure the economic security and well-being of women. Provide access to beneficial funding from both mainstream and micro finance sources for women. - Commemorate women's diverse contributions to Uganda's history. Improve women's access to the means of cultural expression; promote their participation in cultural life and support the realistic and positive portrayal of women in the popular culture and in the mass media. - Emphasize gender equality to mean that women and men have equal conditions for realizing their full human rights and potential and to contribute to national political, economic, social and cultural development. Recognize that equality is essential for human development and peace. - Close the gender gaps in medical and health care by appreciating women not only as consumers, but also as contributors to public policies and to the public treasury. - Work toward the 50 percent participation by women in both Party and national leadership structures by the year 2011. - Implement the Equal Opportunities Commission envisaged by the Constitution of Uganda, to track and ensure compliance.	- Institute and enforce policies that promote gender equality - Increase the quota for 23 women seats from 30% to 40% in public elective positions - Promote women in math and science to increase professional women in employment - Institute heavy punishments for perpetrators of gender-based violence and prosecute any acts that promote early marriage - Review the Domestic Rights Bill with a view to discarding cultural practices and strengthening property rights - Introduce civic awareness courses in schools and programs for the general public to promote awareness and enjoyment of basic rights, emphasis on the rights of the minority - Provide adequate training resources for marginalised areas for persons who are mentally and physically challenged

The 2006 Manifesto of the Democratic Party had more commitments to women than the 2011 Manifesto. Due to time limitations, the researcher did not have time to interview party officials to establish why this is so.

3.2 UGANDA PEOPLES' CONGRESS

UGANDA PEOPLE'S CONGRESS (UPC)	
2006 Manifesto Commitments	2011 Manifesto Commitments
- Everything in this Manifesto applies with equal effect to all in our society – men, women and children. UPC however recognises the important and special role played by women in our society and supports all efforts towards obtaining gender balance and equality in all spheres, opportunities and efforts in life. - UPC will support financially and materially all legitimate women organisations that work towards achievement of equal opportunities in homes, politics, social life, public service, private employment, education, health etc. We shall support their efforts in nation building, raising awareness among womenfolk on their rights and standards in all fields of human endeavour. - UPC shall pursue policies that give women acceptable levels of representation in the Party, Government and other organs of governance and shall pay particular attention to women's rights and participation in decision-making processes at all levels. - We shall intensify public education against negative socio-cultural practices together with all procedures, pronouncements and records that are in gender-sensitive language that discriminate against women and will work to safeguard the dignity of women. - We shall encourage women organisations to be inclusive such that the rural and the underprivileged are offered equal opportunities to participate in their affairs and ensure that a section of women are not catered for at the expense of the other. - We shall work towards improvement of the conditions of rural women. Our policy focus shall therefore be on effective economic, political and social empowerment of women in a sustainable manner.	- Ensure that women are appointed to 50% of all national leadership positions; these include cabinet ministers, permanent secretaries, commissioners, heads of statutory bodies, and ambassadors - Introduce a law to resolve once and for all the question of free and fair elections. - Demonstrate leadership by example, from the President, cabinet ministers, military and other security leaders, and senior civil servants. - Establish independent and non-political anti-corruption enforcement agency. - Create National Assets Recovery Commission to review status and sales of former national assets and take action where fraud and corruption are detected. - Work closely with spiritual and community leaders to revive the moral fabric, responsibility and conscience of the nation. - Increase support to rural farmers and small and medium enterprises where women predominate, to significantly improve their standard of living. - Review, formulate and implement a community development policy to educate, train and empower women. - Promote policy and measures to increase women access to land ownership and inheritance. - Immediately working women will be guaranteed three (3) months paid maternity leave, and another three (3) months unpaid parental leave, increasing to six (6) months paid and six (6) months unpaid maternity and parental leave respectively by 2021, without the risk of losing their jobs. - Develop special programmes for girls and young women targeting employability, business start-ups, life skills, and social diseases such as HIV/AIDS. - Vigorously pursue a policy of zero tolerance to violence against women; strengthen the law and sensitize the population about this problem. - Rehabilitate and expand all the girls' schools built by UPC Government, and provide the necessary inputs for quality girl child education within 3 years. - Rehabilitate and re-establish Community Development Centres to benefit women.

10. Justice Forum [JEEMA]	22.03.2005		Hussein Kyanjo Silman P. O. Box 3999 Kampala
11. Liberal Democratic Transparency [LDT]	15.02.2005		Ssempebwa Hood / Mukasa Zaidi 2nd Floor, Room 21 Sunset Arcade, Wilson Road, P. O. Box 33235 Kampala
12. Movement for Democratic Change [MDC]	28.07.2004		Mutiibwa Johnson / Robert Kityo Balintuma Road, Nakulabye, P. O. Box 70952, Kampala
13. Movement Volunteer Mobilisers Organization [MVMO]	22.03.2005		Nyabwongo Apollo Oyo P. O. Box 28640 Kampala
14. National Convention for Democracy [NCD]	28.12.2004		Degaulle Kawuma / William Kagimu Plot 86 Jjunju Road P. O. Box 25351 Kampala
15. National Peasants' Party [NPP]	20.04.2004		Sseguja Wamala Erias / Wanaba Luqman Plot 123, Katwe Rd, Sapoba Hse, P. O. Box 20692, Kampala
16. Ecological Party of Uganda (EPU)	28.12.2004		Jjagwe /Bbale Charles/Mukasa Michael Namugera Building, Mirim Rd Ndeje (Off Entebbe Rd) P. O. Box 25645 Kampala Email: napouganda@yahoo.com
17. National Redemption Party [NRP]	14.12.2005		Bizimungu Charles / Cosma Kateeba, P. O. Box 27947 Kampala
18. National Resistance Movement [NRM]	30.10.2003		Musa Kigongo / Amama Mbabazi Plot 10 Kyadondo Rd. P. O. Box 7778, Kampala www.nrm.ug
19. National Unity, Reconciliation and Development [NURP]	28.12.2004		Sekabembe Patrick / George Odoch Plot 79, Buganda Rd. P. O. Box 10107, Kampala

Appendix 1 Registered Political Parties in Uganda as at December 2010

Name	Date of Registration	Symbol	Promoters / Address
1. Action Party [AP]	15.12.2004		Ochege Nelson P. O. Box 8401, Kampala
2. Activist Party	22.10.2007		Ssebugwao Muyingo / Bampigga Stephen P. O. Box 224780 Mengo, Kampala
3. Bridge Party [BP]	13.10.2005		Kasule Med Leon / Opoka Jane Plot 6 Cement Corporation Building P. O. Box 31252 Kampala
4. Congress Service Volunteers Organisation (COSEVO)	10.09.2007		Saddam Bisase / Moussa Mudiba P. O. Box 22061 Kampala
5. Conservative Party [CP]	22.03.2005		Mubiru Ali / John Ken Lukyamuzi / Dr. Nyeko P. O. Box 5145 & 1604, Kampala
6. Democratic Party [DP]	13.07.2005		Paul Kawanga Ssemogerere / Ssebaana Kizito/Dr. Ebil Otto Plot 3 William Street P. O. Box 7098 Kampala Tel: 041232704
7. Farmers' Party of Uganda [FPU]	28.12.2004		Bombokka Nsiko / Lubega Shafiq Plot 54, Naguru Drive, P. O. Box 33243 Kampala
8. Forum for Democratic Change [FDC]	16.12.2004		Jason Ntaro / Alice Alaso Plot 9, Entebbe Rd, Najjanankumbi, P. O. Box 26928 Kampala www.fdcuganda.org
9. Forum for Integrity in Leadership [FIL]	13.04.2004		Emmanuel Tumusiime/Enos Gerard Nabudere Plot 48B, Ntinda II Rd Naguru, P. O. Box 7606, Kampala

It is gratifying to note that the 2011 Manifesto of the Uganda People's Congress avoided the general statement that everything in the manifesto shall apply equally to men and women as had been stated in the 2006 Manifesto. When generalities are made on issues of equality, at implementation stage, the result may cause gender disparity. It is necessary to state commitments specifically to show that much effort has been put in identifying the problem and solution to ensure gender equality because sometimes differential treatment is necessary to bring about a situation of equality and equity. It is further commendable that the Uganda People's Congress has made more commitments to women in the 2011 Manifesto than it made in the 2006 Manifesto.

3.3 NATIONAL RESISTANCE MOVEMENT

NATIONAL RESISTANCE MOVEMENT (NRM)	
2006 Manifesto Commitments	2011 Manifesto Commitments
- NRM shall continue to support women, youths, People with Disabilities (PWDs), workers and the elderly to participate in policy and decision making at all levels. Affirmative Action shall be promoted in all organs of the NRM. Education of the girl child, Functional Adult Literacy (FAL) as one of the major areas of the Beijing Platform of Action shall be entrenched in the NRM policies. - NRM shall protect and promote human rights and freedoms as enshrined in the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda - The NRM shall defend and promote all human rights and freedoms as contained in the United Nations Conventions Covenants and Treaties and the regional human rights treaties which have been signed and ratified by Uganda - NRM shall work tirelessly to improve human rights, justice, law and order. In this regard, NRM shall continue to promote the independence of the Judiciary and the observance of constitutionalism	- NRM shall continue enhancing gender equity and equality - NRM will uphold all the affirmative action clauses in the Constitution of Uganda and enact laws that empower women in the political, economic and social sectors, especially the laws on the family, property, education and health - The NRM Government will expand the programmes for elimination of gender-based violence throughout the country - The NRM Government will continue to emphasize programmes aimed at reducing maternal and child mortality - Under PRDP, Government will provide psycho-social support and other related services to women and girls in post-conflict situations. In addition, special attention will be given to child-headed households

The 2011 Manifesto of the National Resistance Movement continues to make general statements without specific commitments to women as it did in its 2006 Manifesto. This makes implementation and monitoring difficult. These statements include: "NRM shall continue ..." or "NRM shall expand ..." and "special attention will be given ...". Such statements do not make specific commitments yet it is the ruling party and has had more experience in handling issues relating to women.

3.4 FORUM FOR DEMOCRATIC CHANGE

FORUM FOR DEMOCRATIC CHANGE (FDC)	
2006 Manifesto Commitments	2011 Manifesto Commitments
FDC will abide by the constitutional principles of affirmative action for women, youths, people with disabilities and other vulnerable groups. Affirmative action will be pursued in government contracting, credit schemes and other programs to benefit these groups.	- Increase the Land Fund reserves to compensate absent land lords or squatters, and to settle landless men, women and children - Promote respect and tolerance for each other irrespective of gender, tribe, religion or race - Reduce maternal mortality from the current 435 per 100,000 live births or 16 deaths of women per day – the ultimate goal of “letting no woman die in child birth”, through free and easily accessible antenatal and maternity services, effective referral and a motivated health work force - Avail family planning services that are easily accessible, easy to understand and use especially in rural areas, taking into account the special needs of the large teenage population in Uganda - Provide holistic treatment and support for persons living with HIV/AIDS, including children - Ensure greater participation of women at all levels in the planning, management and preservation of the environment and the sustainable use of natural resources. - Increase investment in the use of ICT in education, both formal and informal, and in the establishment of rural ICT centres, to promote accessibility and usage by women and the youth - Increase resource allocation to the Uganda Communications Commission Development Fund, so as to equip more rural populations, especially the youth and women with computers

Appendices

The 2011 Manifesto of the Forum for Democratic Change become more specific in its commitments to women. As was noted above in relation to the UPC Manifesto when generalities are made on issues of equality, implementation may lead to gender disparity. It is further commendable that the Forum for Democratic Change has made more commitments to women in the 2011 Manifesto than it made in the 2006 Manifesto. It is not clear whether this arose from its decision to move into a cooperation arrangement with other parties.

political and economic structural barriers at the national and international levels, the goal of gender equality or women's equal participation in politics and development will remain impossible to attain.

2. The nature of democracy and the level of democratization in society. The participative and decentralized form of governance creates greater space for citizens to participate in governance processes and structures. It also creates space for greater interaction between the state and the society. Human capacities are dependent on the availability of resources such as education, health and employment that build capabilities and enlarge human choices. Access to education, health and employment is directly linked with women's ability to create space for themselves in politics and development.
3. Women's consciousness of their political rights is another critical element for women's individual and collective agency. Political consciousness through building transformative communities is the sustainable way to transform politics and development. A strong women's movement and civil society is another factor that can influence the direction of politics and development in favour of women.
4. Triple roles of women in productive, reproductive and community management spheres must inform the efforts for creating supportive environment for women's political participation. Provision of childcare and care work is vital to enabling women to participate in the development processes.
5. Future engagement with political parties must be carefully structured after prior inquiry into who develops party agenda and how party positions are arrived at. Without this political party manifestos will continue to ignore issues of concern to women or limiting any attention to a few cursory issues that do not address the various factors that hinder women's participation in democratic and development processes.
6. Research, documentation and dissemination of women's experiences is needed to promote women's participation in politics and development. Critical to this effort is the need to encourage political parties and government to have gender disaggregated data.
7. Legislative measures should be introduced with regard to access to the public purse by political parties. Gender balance in party structures and gender equality as party values should form part of the criteria for access to public funds by political parties.

4. Gender audit of 2011 Political Party Manifestos

4.1 Introduction

With an increasing recognition among international community of women's historic exclusion from structures of power, a global commitment has been made to redress gender imbalance in politics. Women's enhanced participation in governance structures is viewed as the key to redress gender inequalities in societies. The global debate on the promotion of women's political participation/representation has been surrounded by intrinsic and instrumentalist argument. The former argues for equal participation of women in politics from the human rights perspective. Women constitute half of the world population and therefore, it is only fair that they should have equal participation and representation in world democracies. Instrumentalist argument pushed for women's greater participation on the essentialist ground that men and women are different. Women have different vision and concepts of politics owing to their sex and their gender roles as mothers. Therefore, it is assumed that women in politics will bring a special caring focus and female values to politics. There is an extensive research literature produced in support of the varied rationale or theoretical approaches to women's inclusion in politics.

In May 2010, the Women's Civil Society Organisations in Uganda developed the Women's Agenda 2010 – 2016 in which the concerns and demands of women were reduced into 11 critical pillars that would place women at the centre of political and development processes in Uganda. The thematic pillars are as follows:

1. Democracy and Governance
2. Economic Empowerment
3. Human Rights and the Law
4. Health
5. Education
6. Environment
7. Peace, Human Security and Dignity
8. Women with special needs
9. Information and Communication Technology

10. Institutional Mechanisms for the Achievement of Gender Equality
11. Uganda in the Regional and International Contexts

These 11 pillars are the basis of determining the issues that the women of Uganda want political parties to address in the upcoming General Election. They will therefore form the benchmarks by which the political party agendas/ manifestos should be measured. No further elaboration will be made on issues that should have been addressed by the political parties since they are clearly set out as the benchmarks from the Women's Agenda.

4.2 An audit of 2011 Political Party Manifestos vis-a-vis Equal by Right – The Uganda Women's Agenda

The Table below sets out issues of concern to women in the first column and then in the additional columns lays out what each political party has committed to under the laid out pillars from the Women's Agenda. The column is blank where there is no commitment.

1. Democracy and Governance

In summary under this pillar, women wanted to see

- gender parity (50:50) for all elective and appointive positions in the political parties, local government, parliament, the executive and other decision-making structures
- Free and Fair, violence free elections
- Councils for Women, Youth & PWDs re-aligned to multi-party system
- Review of legislation to regulate political parties towards gender parity and ethical considerations, women participation & ratification of relevant international conventions
- Resource & implement civic education
- Anti-Corruption legislation

On gender parity, DP pledged to increase the quota for women from 30% to 40%; UPC pledged 50:50 gender parity; NRM pledged to uphold Affirmative

Section 1 (to be applied to each party)

- 1.1 From the Party Constitution and other policy documents, how many women are supposed to comprise party leadership in the different structures and branches of the party?
- 1.2 How many women actually comprise party leadership in structures and branches of the party? (actual statistics should be provided if available)
- 1.3 Is gender equality one of the values of the party?
- 1.4 Are issues of gender equality and equity part and parcel of the policies and programs of the party? (elaborate)
- 1.5 Does the party have an autonomous mechanism or space for women to promote their issues e.g. a Women's Wing / League?
- 1.6 Does the party allocate funds for the programs and activities to promote gender equality?
- 1.7 Are women within and outside the party consulted in the development of party positions / agenda?
- 1.8 Does the party actively seek and nominate women for elective office within the party and at the various levels in national politics?

Section 2 (each party to be held accountable to its commitments as laid out in 2011 Manifesto)

(See tables under Gender Audit of Political Party Manifestos above pages 17 – 36)

5.2 Recommendations

1. The creation of an enabling environment for women's participation in politics and in development cannot be viewed only within the boundaries of a country. It must be linked with global factors. Thus, the responsibility to create supportive environment for gender equality and advancement of women as shared responsibility falls equally on the national and international communities. Interlocking layer of gender inequalities are rooted in the power structures at the national and international levels. Development and the globalization policies have led to increased poverty, exclusion and marginalization. Structural forces must be challenged and transform by linking them with the rights of people. Without changing socio-cultural,

out in the Uganda Women's Agenda. This general statement is insufficient to amount to a commitment. The only commitment made is to dialogue on the issues which women CSOs have been advocating on for many years. There is a need to show moves towards implementation not engagement.

This raises several questions:

- (a) Why was the Women's Agenda ignored by the drafters of the political party manifestos?
 - (b) Who develops the political party manifestos?
 - (c) Is the process of manifesto development consultative? If so who is consulted? Are women within and outside the political party consulted?
 - (d) Do the women in the various political parties have any influence in determining political party agendas? If they do, then are they gender sensitive enough to articulate issues of concern to women?
- 5) All political parties committed to a federal system of governance except NRM which insists on its Decentralisation policy but stopped short of making a firm commitment to gender parity in political and decision making in a multi-level government such as the federal system.
- 6) The 2011 General Election campaigns focussed on youth as the marginalised group to court for a block vote. This meant that less attention was paid to issues of importance to women.

5. The Way Forward

5.1 Monitoring Indicator for future engagement with Political Parties

A draft monitoring tool for future engagement with Political Parties has been developed. The tool takes the form of a questionnaire. It is divided into two sections: the first section is comprised of general questions that should be answered by each political party and the second section is specific to the political party and the commitments it made in its recent manifesto. It should however be noted that this is not exhaustive and UWONET will have several stakeholders review and refine the tool. It should be further noted that only the party that gets into power will have the opportunity to implement the policy proposals in its manifesto.

Action clauses in the Constitution and continue to promote gender equality and equity (no numbers are mentioned); IPC did not make any specific commitment to women with regard to representation; the PPP pledged to focus on policies that harness the vigour, energy, synergies and enthusiasms of women (among others) for their individual advancement and national development; the PDP pledged to ensure that policy formulation and implementation are gender sensitive; and the UFA promised to work with CSOs to formulate legislation and policies that promote equal opportunities for women especially with FOWODE to take the women's agenda forward.

On free, fair and violence free elections – NRM pledged to continue to work for legitimacy of government, based on the consent of those who are governed through free, fair, and regular elections; UPC's focus on free and fair elections is for an independent Electoral Commission that is acceptable to all stakeholders and a clean and verifiable national voters' register. The other parties focus on restoration of the Presidential Term Limit but do not address violence as a main concern of women.

On corruption – all political parties recognise the endemic problem of corruption and all pledge to adopt a "Zero tolerance to Corruption" Policy. In this way all have pledged to address this main concern of women.

2. Economic Empowerment

Women want to see:

- ❖ A macro-economic policy that is pro-women, pro-poor and equitable and that addresses horizontal and vertical poverty
- ❖ Adherence to gender sensitive planning, budgeting and M&E in all development plans and programs
- ❖ At least 10% budget allocation to programs focussed on women-specific needs
- ❖ Tax Waivers for private sector employers who employ at least 30% of women at all levels of their workforce.
- ❖ Female youth employment and address sexual harassment and abuse of young women in the work place

- ❖ Legislation on co-ownership of all matrimonial property by spouses
- ❖ Scale up formal & informal education and skills training
- ❖ Safe work environment for women and protection of their labour rights
- ❖ Affirmative Action for women in procurement processes

DP commits to promote women in math and science to increase professional women in employment.

The UPC Manifesto has a raft of measures to increase state support to economic sectors where women predominate to improve their standard of living; a community development policy to educate, train and empower women; promote measures to increase women's access to land ownership and inheritance; increase the number of days of maternity and parental leave; and develop special programs for girls and young women targeting employability, business start-ups, life skills and social diseases such as HIV/AIDS

NRM makes no special commitment towards the economic empowerment of women

IPC pledges to increase Land Fund reserves to compensate absent landlords or squatters to settle landless men, women and children.

PPP commits to collaborate with marginalised groups including women in developing policies to address issues that include access to affordable credit, skills and vocational training, assistance to form social and economic groups.

PDP pledges to establish a special desk for women business support targeting women entrepreneurs to promote their participation in national development; to engender the budget and allocating 30% of the National Budget as a women's budget; provide income tax refunds to companies and organisations who employ more than 40% women in the workforce; and establish under the Uganda Investment Authority a women's investment desk specifically to promote women in investment.

Observations

- 1) It is commendable to note that most political parties picked up on the issues of concern to women that CSOs have been advocating for over a long time. These issues include – gender based violence particularly domestic violence, maternal and child mortality issues, women's access to land and other productive resources etc.
- 2) There is a tendency in most party manifestos to make general statements with regard to women's issues without making specific commitments upon which the parties can be held accountable. For instance, the PPP manifesto pledged to "focus on policies that harness the vigour, energy, synergies and enthusiasms of the youth, women and people with special needs for their individual advancement and national development"; the UFA manifesto pledged to "work closely with civil society organisations involved in promoting fair and equal opportunities for women to formulate legislation and policies that match up to the task. A case in point is the recent launch of the Women's manifesto by Forum for Women in Democracy (FOWODE) through which they presented an eleven point program as their minimum requirement for any manifesto worth the name. UFA will work with FOWODE and other such organisations to move the women's agenda forward"; and the ruling party, NRM made broad statements such as: "NRM shall continue ..." or "NRM shall expand ..." and "special attention will be given ..." without making specific commitments. The other political party manifestos made similar statements thereby avoiding making specific commitments. This is why most parties cannot walk the talk.
- 3) A good number of the political party manifestos have a section on issues relating to marginalised groups including women. There is a need to mainstream women's concerns into the various policy proposals, for instance, economic policy should address issues of concern to women within economic sphere. A good example is the manifesto of the PDP which made a proposal that the Uganda Investment Authority should have a special desk to cater for women investors. However, this was the only proposal that was not compartmentalised into the section on women. The section focussing on women specific concerns should be limited to issues that cannot find a place in major policy proposals e.g. on the economy, on health, on education, on governance etc or where the problem requires special attention and cross-cutting measures.
- 4) Although the Women's Agenda was launched before many party manifestos all manifestos ignored it except the Uganda Federal Alliance which stated that it would engage FOWODE on the issues of concern to women as laid

11.

Whereas Agriculture and Oil are stressed by almost all political parties in their manifestos as economic development priority areas, no political parties mentions any policies or programs that will ensure women also participate in these economic development priority areas so as to contribute to national development and their economic empowerment.

Women want

- DP commits to instituting heavy punishments for perpetrators of gender-based violence; review the DRB to discard negative cultural practices and strengthen property rights; and introduce civic awareness courses in schools and for the general public with emphasis on minority rights.

NRM pledges to expand the programs on elimination of gender-based violence throughout the country.

The IPC and UFA Manifestos are silent on how to promote the rights of women

and what legislation should be enacted to promote the rights of women and protect them from gender-based violence.

PPP commits it's self , "to defend, protect, promote and respect the fundamental human rights for all the citizens of Uganda." Although women are part of the citizens of Uganda this statement is not specific on which rights women should expect to be defended, protected, promoted and respected. It is therefore gender blind.

PDP commits itself to review all legislation and policy initiatives to eliminate all forms of gender discrimination; to expand the emancipation agenda to include and benefit rural and less educated women; heavy punishments to protect women against sexual harassment and domestic violence; eliminate FGM through awareness and law enforcement; and to establish rehabilitation centres to provide support for victims of domestic violence and sexual harassment.

4. Health

Women want

- Allocation of sufficient resources for reduction of maternal mortality rates and maternal health
- Functional and accessible health services and improved remuneration of medical personnel
- Operationalisation the Public-Private Partnerships policy in health service provision
- Adoption and operationalisation of the national policy on disaster management.
- Integration SGBV in HIV counselling, care and support
- Increased funding for HIV/AIDS research, interventions for women controlled technologies, treatment, care and support

NRM commits to continuing to emphasize programs aimed at reducing maternal and child mortality; under PRDP, NRM pledges to provide psycho-social support and other related services to women and girls in post-conflict situations including child-headed households.

reproductive roles and the protection of children born in detention • Protection of girls in juvenile centres from sexual harassment • Retention and completion of school by the girl child with special needs • Enactment of enabling laws to operationalise article 33 of the Constitution of Uganda, so as to protect widows from cultures and traditions that are degrading and harmful • Concerns of women with special needs mainstreamed in all laws, policies and programmes, as well as provision of adequate funding to address these needs	Information and Communication Technology • Expansion of the Digital Science Teaching component of the Cyber Schools Technology Solutions Programme, supported by the Uganda Communications Commission (UCC), to promote increased and wider use of ICT in rural schools • Increased resource allocation to UCC's Rural Communications Development Fund, so as to equip more rural pupils with computers • Gender sensitive media policies developed, to ensure that media programmes do not promote gender stereotyping • Affirmative action policies developed to ensure gender equality, in the appointive positions on public ICT boards and heads of ICT institutions • Investment in the use of ICTs in education (formal and informal) and in the establishment of rural ICT Centres, to promote accessibility and usage by women • Self regulatory mechanisms developed for all media houses in order to address the exploitation of women's bodies for pornography and to promote the right of women's privacy, as well as respect for their bodily integrity and personhood	
9.		Institutional mechanisms for the achievement of gender equality • Decongestion of the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development (MGLSD) through institutional restructuring at Ministry level so as to make the MGLSD more effective • Establishment of the position of Gender Officers to ensure

				Provide 100% health care for all women with disabilities particularly maternal and gynaecological care
- Development of a policy and regulations to guide the creation of districts and administrative units, to limit sources of national tension and unrest - Establishment of a Reparations Fund for women with a special focus on mental health - Resourcing, implementation and monitoring of the Cessation of Hostilities Agreement 2006 - Review of the PRDP and its implementation to ensure that it is well resourced and that it prioritises women's concerns - Support to the provision of legal aid services to women in the Greater North - Assessment of the land question in the context of the war, taking cognizance among others of gender, poverty, culture, patriarchy and the communal land tenure system of ownership, prevalent in the Greater North - Development of an affirmative action policy to promote the education of the girl child from the Greater North, at all levels, including tertiary institutions - Promotion of non-violent forms of conflict resolution and integration of gender perspectives in the resolution of armed conflicts. Women being peacemakers and preservers of the social order must be included in peace keeping, conflict resolution, and management at all levels - Promotion and establishment of national reconstruction and reconciliation initiatives among people from all regions and of all political persuasions				8. Women with special needs - Investment in research to inform policy and legislation for the provision of functional social security for elderly women especially those outside the formal sector - Sign language interpreters mainstreamed in all forms of official communication - Expedient development of the Disability Policy and Operational Guidelines / Regulations for the implementation of the Disability Act - Women in detention at all levels supported to fulfil their

IPC commits to reduction of maternal mortality from 435 per 100,000 live births to the ultimate goal of “letting no woman die in child birth” by providing free and accessible antenatal and maternity services, effective referral and a motivated work force; avail accessible, easy to understand and use family planning services in rural areas and the teenage population; and provide holistic treatment and support for persons living with HIV/AIDS including children

The UFA Manifesto states that maternal and child health will be given attention through village/parish/sub county seminars and sensitisation programs on the implications of poor hygiene and sanitation; and a special budget will be allocated for maternal / child health care in all hospitals

PDP commits itself to several measures that include: re-energise the family planning program to encourage responsible parenthood and promote birth control options; provide 100% health coverage to all pregnant mothers (antenatal and post-natal treatment); provide supplementary feeds to pregnant mothers; ensure unrestricted access to maternal health facilities countrywide; and train sufficient midwives to cover the current gap.

DP, UPC and PPP do not make any specific commitments to women's health concerns

5. Education

Women want to see

- A review of the AA policy in the education sector to promote the enrolment of girls in Teacher Training Colleges and polytechnics
- Increased investment in polytechnics that cater for primary education drop outs, majority of whom are girls.
- Enforcement of laws and regulations that encourage girl's enrolment and retention in schools while addressing barriers to their education such as child sacrifice, sexual harassment, FGM, early marriages and lack of sanitary towels.
- Training curricula re-designed to make them gender responsive

- Improved conditions of service and incentives for teachers to ensure quality education and staff retention.
- Development of a gender responsive policy and implementation of regulations for effective implementation of the BTVET Act
- Increase resource allocation to Universal Secondary Education
- Increase resource allocation to FAL, finalise the draft Non-Formal Adult Education Policy to promote countrywide coverage of FAL

DP commits itself to aiming for a girl child transition rate of 80-90% from primary to secondary levels;

UPC commits to increasing the budget allocation to the sector from the current 12 per cent to 20 per cent to provide education facilities for children with special needs and provide free lunch for all primary school pupils. The practice of automatic promotion in UPE schools will be abolished. A total of 30,000 more secondary school classrooms will be constructed within five years; Government sponsorship at University level will be abolished and replaced with universal student loans for all who need them; to “abolish State House scholarships and re-establish the National Scholarship Board to manage scholarships for university education in Uganda and abroad. Scholarships will be awarded strictly on merit, on a 50/50 distribution between male and female students.”

The NRM party manifesto seeks to promote education for all policy by strengthening UPE, USE and vocational education by recruiting 20,000 teachers. More classrooms shall be constructed coupled with the improvement in the remuneration and welfare of teachers. Conditions of teachers will be improved through the progressive increment in their salaries and construction of living quarters. No specific commitments are made for the girl-child and women's access to education at all levels of the education system.

IPC seeks to raise the education standards in all schools and to improve teachers' welfare by paying them more than what they currently earn. IPC proposes to increase teachers pay to at least Shs. 400,000 per month compared to the Shs200,000 most teachers are earning currently. No specific commitments are made to increase access to education by women and girls.

• Development of a gender responsive policy and implementation of regulations, for the effective implementation of the Business, Technical and Vocational Training (BTVET) Act • Increased resource allocation to Universal Secondary Education, to ensure the provision of quality education • Increased resource allocation for Functional Adult Literacy (FAL) and finalisation of the draft Non-Formal Adult Education Policy, in order to streamline and promote the coverage of FAL countrywide	• Greater participation of women at all levels, in the planning, management and preservation of the environment and the sustainable use of natural resources • Increased investment in research on alternative and renewable energy sources and other appropriate technologies, while facilitating women's access to and participation in their control • Investment in the preparation of communities for disaster and the provision of disaster management interventions that are well resourced, timely and responsive to the specific needs of women • Mechanisms established and effective communication strategies developed for women and communities on issues of climate change and the environment • Set targets for women's groups to benefit from Carbon Credits and facilitation of their participation through training, allocation of land and resources • Protection of water sources from private ownership for public good and restriction on the leasing of sections of water bodies which makes them inaccessible to the people, particularly women	
6.	6. Environment	
7.	7. Peace, Human Security & Dignity	
	• Adequate resourcing and implementation of the UN 1820 and Goma Declarations and the integration of the UN Resolution 1325, with government policies and plans such as PRDP, NDP etc.	

	Government commitments made under the Abuja Declaration on Health, the AU Commitment on the Campaign on the Accelerated reduction of Maternal Mortality in Africa and the National Roadmap on Maternal Health - Increased funding to ensure functional and accessible health services, as well as improved remuneration of medical personnel - Support and operationalisation of the Public Private Partnerships (PPP) in healthcare service provision - Expedient adoption of the Uganda Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Policy (2009) and the operationalisation of the Central Coordination Institution / Centre on Disaster Management, so as to strengthen the country's preparedness for disasters and epidemics - Integration of components of advocacy against Sexual and Gender based violence in HIV Counselling, Care and Support - Increased support and funding to HIV research and interventions aimed at technologies controlled by women, such as microbicides studies and HIV vaccines - Renewed commitment to providing HIV treatment, care, support to address the challenge of HIV/AIDS countrywide		encourage responsible parenthood and rigorously promote birth control options - Engage in rigorous education and campaign especially in the rural areas on the benefits of family planning - Provide 100% health coverage to all pregnant mothers (antenatal and post-natal treatment) - Provide supplementary feeds to pregnant mothers - Ensure unrestricted access to maternal health facilities throughout the country - Train sufficient midwives to cover the current gap	through village / parish / sub county seminars and sensitization programs on the implications of poor hygiene and sanitation. A special budget will be allocated for maternal / child health care in all hospitals.
5.	Education - Review of Affirmative Action Policy in the education sector, to promote the enrolment of girls in teacher training colleges and polytechnics - Increased investment in polytechnics that cater for primary education drop outs, the majority of whom are girls - Enforcement of laws and regulations that encourage girls' enrolment and retention in schools, while addressing barriers to their education such as child sacrifice, sexual harassment, FGM, early marriages and the lack of sanitary towels - Re-designed training curriculums in all institutions of education to ensure that they are gender responsive - Improved conditions of service for teachers and provision of incentives to ensure quality education and the retention of staff		Establish compulsory school attendance for all children between age of 5 and 18 - Heavy punishments for men and families who persuade the girl child out of school by way of impregnating or forcing them into early marriages - Continue with the affirmative action towards the girl child as a means of emancipating the Ugandan women	

PPP's pledge is that Teacher's numbers and remuneration will increase along with scholastic materials and classrooms; and funding for higher institutions of learning will be boosted. No specific mention is made of improving access to formal, business, technical or vocational education for women and girls.

UFA states that it has education as a priority because it is the back bone of Uganda's human resource. UFA promises to overhaul the entire education system and the "mental orientation in order to Ugandanise or Africanise" people's minds and brains. Parents will be required to pay a small fee towards their children's welfare, especially meals. With increased funding to the local governments, teachers and students' welfare will be improved with quality of education". No specific commitments are made with regard to the girl-child and women's access to education at all levels of the education system.

PDP promises to improve education especially in rural areas because the quality of education offered is wanting and PDP is to ensure that poor students who are admitted to any university get grants to support their education and only pay back after securing employment.

6. Environment

Women want to see:

- More participation in the planning, management and preservation of the environment and sustainable use of natural resources at all levels
- Increased research in alternative and renewable energy levels and other appropriate technologies while facilitating women's access to and control
- Investment in the preparation of communities for disasters as well as timely and women-responsive interventions
- Mechanisms and communication strategies on climate change
- Women's groups' access to carbon credit programs through

- Protection of water bodies and improve access to women.

IPC manifesto commits itself to ensuring greater participation of women at all levels in the planning, management and preservation of the environment and the sustainable use of natural resources. Although it does not go into details it is the only party took gender into account in environmental policies and programs.

DP's commitments to natural resource management cover Oil, Power and Afforestation. DP pledges to promote the sustainable utilization of the natural resources for the current and future generations; to support the Environment Agency in the regular monitoring and the prosecution of environmental offences; to support the rural and urban population in the provision of alternative and cost effective sources of energy.

The NRM Manifesto pledges to pursuing policies to ensure a clean and healthy environment; enforcing a deliberate policy to effect afforestation on all bare hills in the country in a bid to protect the environment; biodiversity conservation including plants for medicinal purposes; restoration of degraded wetlands, river banks and lake shores.

UPC commits to permanent legal protection of Mabira Forest and similar national environmental patrimonies, so that they will never be sold or in any way destroyed; reviewing the land use policy to ensure prudent use; providing funding for continuous monitoring of land, forest, fisheries and water use at a national and district level; providing institutional support, authority and independence to environment conservation bodies e.g. the NFA, UWA etc. for effective environment and natural resource management; restoring public ecosystems that have been fraudulently appropriated through corrupt practices under the current NRM regime and carry out reforestation for destroyed forests within 48 months; and proposing the establishment of a multilateral Great Lakes Ecosystems Regional Environmental Authority / Framework (GLEMA/F) that brings together Uganda, Congo, Tanzania, Rwanda, Burundi, Sudan, in the sustainable management of the natural resources-water, fisheries, marine transport, forestry, etc-in the Great Lakes Watershed. Despite the progressive

- Establishment of clear, measurable and practical actions to address women's income and consumption poverty, access to credit, information and markets etc. - Tendering and procurement processes reviewed at local government level to take into account affirmative action and promote women's participation	To defend, protect, promote and respect the fundamental human rights for all the citizens of Uganda		
3. Human Rights & the Law - Expeditious enactment of gender legislation and development of policy - Amendment and repealing of laws declared null and void by the Constitutional Court in the recent past - Implementation of anti-gender violence legislation - Establishment of a policy on women's shelters and provision of 5 shelters nationally (at least 1 per region) to help women in distress - Capacity building and training in ethical and professional conduct for law enforcement agencies and officers so as to uphold justice and safeguard the dignity of victims of sexual offences - All laws of Uganda reviewed in line with the Constitution with regard to affirmative action policy and gender equality and equity for marginalised groups - Registration of Births and Deaths systems reinforced and updated to enhance the provision of reliable information on the age of girls thus protecting their sexual reproductive and health rights - Development of a comprehensive civic education program with particular focus on human rights and the rights of women, children, workers and persons with disabilities.		- Review all legislation and policy initiatives to eliminate all forms of gender discrimination and take action where necessary - Extend the emancipation agenda to include and benefit the grassroots women through special programmes that target rural and less educated women - Enact strict legislation to provide for protection against sexual harassment and elimination of domestic violence through heavy punishments - Completely eliminate genital manipulation among cultural settings in Uganda through awareness and enforcement of the law - Establish rehabilitation centres to provide support for victims of domestic violence and sexual harassment	Maternal and child health will be given attention
4. Health Allocation of sufficient resources for the implementation of		Re-energize the family planning programme to	

2.	Economic Empowerment • A macro-economic policy that is pro-poor and equitable and addresses horizontal and vertical poverty • Adherence to participatory gender sensitive planning, budgeting and monitoring and evaluation, in all development plans and programmes • At least 10% of all budget allocations to development programmes, allocated to programmes focussing on women's specific needs • Amendment of the Income Tax Act to provide incentives and tax waivers for private sector employers that have a minimum of 30% female employment at all levels of their organisational structures • Female youth employment prioritised as a key area of national concern, within the next five years and the progressive increment of funding for youth specific initiatives • Adoption of the draft policy on Youth Employment so as to address sexual harassment and the abuse of young women • Transparent and equitable distribution of funds derived from oil and other natural resources, with 10% allocation of these resources to sectors that directly benefit women • 50:50 gender parity in all decision making strictures that manage natural resources • Amendment of the Land (Amendment) Act and other relevant laws to provide for the co-ownership of matrimonial property by spouses • Development of policies and programmes to address the drivers of high fertility rates which adversely impact women's economic empowerment and national development • Increased opportunities for gainful and productive employment targeting women, through scaling up formal and informal education and skills training • Promotion and protection of women's labour rights • Adherence to national and international health and safety standards for the safety, security and mitigation of occupational hazards for women in all spheres of employment	• Genuine policies to address the issues of marginalised groups will be developed comprehensively with their genuine collaboration. These groups include women, youth, persons with different abilities and the elderly. These issues include among others; access to affordable credit, skills and vocational training, assistance to form social and economic groups, and gender equality and equity opportunities	• Establish a special desk for women business support with specific objective of targeting women entrepreneurs to promote their involvement in national development • Engender the budget with a view of achieving a tangible 30% of the National budget as women's budget • Provide income tax refunds for companies and organisations who employ more than 40% women in the workforce. • Establish under the Investment Authority a women investment desk specific on promotion of women in investment	
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proposal, there are no gender specific considerations.

UFA pledges to creating and funding a Department for environmental rehabilitation to aggressively begin the rehabilitation process with aggressive carbon trading policies, fish farming and water harvesting.

The PPP Manifesto commits to effective mechanisms, processes and systems for collection, management and utilisation of all natural resources.

All Political Parties Manifestos are all silent on involving women in environment conservation and management programs except for the IPC.

7. Peace, Human Security and Dignity

Under this Pillar, Women want to see:

- ❖ Adequate resourcing and implementation of UN resolutions 1820 and 1325 through integration in Government policies and plans such as the PRDP, NDP etc. which should prioritise women's concerns.
- ❖ Development of policy and regulations to guide creation of districts to limit tension and unrest.
- ❖ Establish a Reparations Fund for women focussing on mental health
- ❖ Legal Aid services to women in the Greater North
- ❖ Assess the land question in the context of the war taking gender considerations into account
- ❖ Affirmative Action for the girl-child from the Greater North
- ❖ Promote non-violent means of conflict resolution integrating gender perspectives in armed conflict resolution.
- ❖ National reconstruction and reconciliation initiatives among people from all regions and of all political persuasions

The DP manifesto makes commitments to rehabilitation of victims and people in war ravaged areas

The NRM manifesto includes measures for rehabilitation of war and conflict ravaged areas including providing psycho-social support and other related services to women and girls in post-conflict situations under PRDP.

UFA will establish the Ministry of Multicultural Integration, Reconciliation and Pacification which will intervene between conflicting communities, integrate, reconciles and pacify them. Government and Ugandans need to understand the reasons for conflict, how they can be addressed.

The UPC manifesto includes a post-conflict recovery plan for Karamoja, Luwero, and Northern Uganda and a National Project that addresses unresolved questions that may result in conflict, as well as Truth, Accountability and Reconciliation.

8. Women with special needs

Women want to see:

- Investment in research to inform national policy and legislation for provision of functional social security for elderly women especially those outside the formal sector.
- Mainstreaming of sign language interpreters in all official communication
- Expeditious development and implementation of the Disability Policy and Operational Guidelines/Regulations and Disability Act
- Support to women in detention to fulfil their reproductive roles and protection of children born in detention
- Protection of girls in juvenile centres from sexual harassment.
- Protection of women, especially widows from cultures and traditions that are degrading and harmful.
- Mainstream and provide funding for needs of women with special needs in all policies, laws and programs

NRM pledges to continue promoting the empowerment of older persons in the community; to rolling out the cash transfer program for older persons; and to enact a law on the establishment of a National Council for Older Persons.

POLITICAL PARTY MANIFESTO ANALYSIS VIS-A-VIS THE WOMEN'S AGENDA (continued)

No.	Women's Agenda Thematic Pillar & Benchmarks	People's Progressive Party (PPP)	People's Development Party (PDP)	Uganda Federal Alliance (UFA)
1.	Democracy & Governance - Gender parity (50/50) in parties, appointive & elective posts - Review electoral process with key stakeholders - Women, youth & PWDs councils re-aligned to multiparty system - Amend Political Parties & Organisations (Amendment) Act 2010 to ensure gender parity - Enact a code of conduct for political parties & organisations, integrating gender specific ethical issues - Resourcing & implementation of a comprehensive civic education program including democracy in a multiparty system and women's rights - Enact and implement existing laws to ensure a violence free political process - Implement punitive and compensatory measures to address perpetrators and victims of election violence - Adherence to law and human rights standards to ensure tolerance, dignity and respect when engaging women in the electoral processes and expeditious disbandment of paramilitary groups that undermine the rule of law - Ratification, domestications and implementation of the Protocol of the Court of Justice of the African Union 2003 and the African Union Convention for the elimination of Mercenaries in Africa 1977 - A comprehensive gender review of all electoral legislation and other relevant laws to ensure the promotion of women's full and meaningful participation - Enactment of the Whistleblowers Bill; the Witness Protection Bill and the Anti-Money Laundering Bill, to reinforce the fight against corruption.	Focus on policies that harness the vigour, energy, synergies and enthusiasms of the youth, women and people with special needs for their individual advancement and national development	Ensure that policy formulation and implementation are gender sensitive	UFA will work closely with civil society organisations involved in promoting fair and equal opportunities for women to formulate legislation and policies that match up to the task. A case in point is the recent launch of the Women's manifesto by Forum for Women in Democracy (FOWODE) through which they presented an eleven point program as their minimum requirement for any manifesto worth the name. UFA will work with FOWODE and other such organisations to move the women's agenda forward.

10. Institutional mechanisms for the achievement of gender equality • Decongestion of the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development (MGLSD) through institutional restructuring at Ministry level so as to make the MGLSD more effective • Establishment of the position of Gender Officers to ensure gender mainstreaming in all sectors and ministries • Increased financial support to the current MGLSD to enable it play its role effectively	
11. Uganda in the Regional and International Contexts • Constitution of an Inter-Ministerial Committee and the expeditious implementation and initiation of a process of integrating international conventions, standards and codes into policy and legislation • 50:50 gender parity in appointments and postings to strategic regional and international bodies • Adherence to periodic reporting as specified in the regional and international treaties and in such reports, capture and address women and gender specific concerns • Domestication of the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (Maputo Protocol) and allocation of sufficient resources for its implementation • Timely provision of information on available opportunities to women and link women's production areas to markets in the region	

The DP manifesto makes commitments to disability and special needs education; to elderly people. The Democratic Party recognizes the need to care, protect and provide for the aged as their rights. Democratic Party provide a pension that's enough to live on and fair treatment from government, public services and business alike; and building hospices in every district to promote social welfare for the elderly who lack support.

The NRM pledges to continue upholding the fundamental rights of PWDs; to sensitize the population to better appreciate PWDs; to progressively provide for PWDs components and slots in all Government programmes, including NAADS, PRDP, NUSAF, and Special Needs Education; to roll out the Special Disability Grant to all Districts to enhance job creation; and to construct the fourth Special Needs Education regional school.

UFA commits to creating opportunities for PWD and an environment that ensures their full enjoyment of rights in Uganda. Legislation will be enacted requiring all public facilities such as buildings, lifts, restrooms etc to demonstrate, through public notices, that they have provided for the comfort and convenience of PWD. Affirmative action legislation, motivating employers, investors, schools e.g. through tax holidays, rebates etc to increase the number of PWD employed / studying in their organizations will be enacted. A special scholarship scheme will be created for PWD to enable them access education at all levels of the education ladder

9. Information and Communication Technology

Women want to see:

- ⊙ Expansion of the Digital Science Teaching Component of the Cyber Schools Technology Solutions Program to promote increased and wider use of ICT in rural schools
- ⊙ Equip rural pupils with computers by increased resource allocation to UCC's Rural Communications Development Fund
- ⊙ Development of gender sensitive media policies to prevent the promotion of gender stereotyping
- ⊙ Affirmative Action extend to appointive positions in the ICT sector

- ⦿ Promote women's access to and usage of ICTs by women by investing in the use of ICTs in education (formal & informal) and establishment of rural ICT Centres
- ⦿ Develop self-regulatory mechanisms in media houses to address exploitation of women's bodies, promote the right of women to privacy and promote respect for women's bodily integrity and personhood

DP pledges to expand and modernize the information and communication sector so as to reach the huge Ugandan population that it has not yet reached; to extend internet connectivity to rural areas, especially to schools, training institutes and the informal sector of the urban economy to widen access to online information and communication services to enable traders, farmers, manufacturers and consumers to have easier access to markets; to develop e-government programs through expansion of the range of on-line public services to cut the cost of travel to government service outlets and save valuable time; to develop best practice e-commerce to expedite economic activities and open up opportunities for employment through online outsourcing of jobs for otherwise unemployed Ugandan professionals; to introduce computer and IT studies in all schools and colleges to ensure early development of computer and IT literate human resources.

NRM commits to Operationalisation and commercialization of the National Fibre Backbone and e-government infrastructure to enhance service delivery; Extend the National Fibre Backbone to all district headquarters; develop human capital and critical mass of ICT skills to compete in the global market; Develop a Telecommunication Resources Management Policy; Develop a National Postcode and Addressing System; Establish Information Technology parks for promoting ICT software and hardware development industry; Institutionalize the ICT function in Government by establishing ICT units in all Government bodies, and create common ICT cadre to enhance service delivery; Operationalize the migration of Analogue to Digital Television broadcasting; Extend Television and Radio signals to all districts; Promote electronic Commerce and online services delivery to ensure efficiency, cost effectiveness, transparency and accountability; Operationalize the National Information Security framework to protect national resources and systems from potential cyber attacks and associated risks such

	- reproductive roles and the protection of children born in detention - Protection of girls in juvenile centres from sexual harassment - Retention and completion of school by the girl child with special needs - Enactment of enabling laws to operationalise article 33 of the Constitution of Uganda, so as to protect widows from cultures and traditions that are degrading and harmful - Concerns of women with special needs mainstreamed in all laws, policies and programmes, as well as provision of adequate funding to address these needs				- Increase investment in the use of ICT in education, both formal and informal, and in the establishment of rural ICT centres, to promote accessibility and usage by women and the youth - Increase resource allocation to the Uganda Communications Commission Development Fund, so as to equip more rural populations, especially the youth and women with computers
9.	Information and Communication Technology - Expansion of the Digital Science Teaching component of the Cyber Schools Technology Solutions Programme, supported by the Uganda Communications Commission (UCC), to promote increased and wider use of ICT in rural schools - Increased resource allocation to UCC's Rural Communications Development Fund, so as to equip more rural pupils with computers - Gender sensitive media policies developed, to ensure that media programmes do not promote gender stereotyping - Affirmative action policies developed to ensure gender equality, in the appointive positions on public ICT boards and heads of ICT institutions - Investment in the use of ICTs in education (formal and informal) and in the establishment of rural ICT Centres, to promote accessibility and usage by women - Self regulatory mechanisms developed for all media houses in order to address the exploitation of women's bodies for pornography and to promote the right of women's privacy, as well as respect for their bodily integrity and personhood				

	Provide adequate training resources for marginalised areas for persons who are mentally and physically challenged
- Development of a policy and regulations to guide the creation of districts and administrative units, to limit sources of national tension and unrest - Establishment of a Reparations Fund for women with a special focus on mental health - Resourcing, implementation and monitoring of the Cessation of Hostilities Agreement 2006 - Review of the PRDP and its implementation to ensure that it is well resourced and that it prioritises women's concerns - Support to the provision of legal aid services to women in the Greater North - Assessment of the land question in the context of the war, taking cognizance among others of gender, poverty, culture, patriarchy and the communal land tenure system of ownership, prevalent in the Greater North - Development of an affirmative action policy to promote the education of the girl child from the Greater North, at all levels, including tertiary institutions - Promotion of non-violent forms of conflict resolution and integration of gender perspectives in the resolution of armed conflicts. Women being peacemakers and preservers of the social order must be included in peace keeping, conflict resolution, and management at all levels - Promotion and establishment of national reconstruction and reconciliation initiatives among people from all regions and of all political persuasions	- Investment in research to inform policy and legislation for the provision of functional social security for elderly women especially those outside the formal sector - Sign language interpreters mainstreamed in all forms of official communication - Expeditionary development of the Disability Policy and Operational Guidelines / Regulations for the implementation of the Disability Act - Women in detention at all levels supported to fulfil their
8.	Women with special needs - Investment in research to inform policy and legislation for the provision of functional social security for elderly women especially those outside the formal sector - Sign language interpreters mainstreamed in all forms of official communication - Expeditionary development of the Disability Policy and Operational Guidelines / Regulations for the implementation of the Disability Act - Women in detention at all levels supported to fulfil their

as cyber terrorism.

The IPC Manifesto committed to increasing investment in the use of ICT in education, both formal and informal; and to the establishment of rural ICT centres, to promote accessibility and usage by women and the youth; to increasing resource allocation to the Uganda Communications Commission Development Fund, so as to equip more rural populations, especially the youth and women with computers.

The PPP Manifesto makes no mention of any policy interventions in the area of ICTs

PDP pledges to strengthen and enforce the 'Access to Information Act' to ensure that the Ugandan public has easy access to official documents; to electronise archives and retrieval of information in government departments and agencies for speedy access; to strengthen and increase funding to the Uganda Broadcasting Corporation (UBC) as an independent but public broadcasting agency with the mandate to provide the public with information on the current affairs and public issues so as to keep the nation well informed; to expand the telecommunications infrastructure by laying a wide backbone network capable of transmitting existing and emerging media such as broadband and wireless networks all around Uganda; to invest in an international Call Centre to take advantage of Uganda's position between the two economic blocks (the West and the East) coupled with Uganda's added advantage of good and audible English and a well-educated young work-force which would create jobs especially for the young people through out-sourcing.

Only the IPC Manifesto includes a gender perspective on access to and use of ICTs by marginalise groups such as women.

Whereas the other manifestos make commitments in the area of ICT but do not make special provision for women and they do not mainstream gender concerns in their policy proposals and plans.

10. Institutional Mechanisms for the Achievement of Gender Equality

Women want to see:

- Decongestion of the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development (MGLSD) through institutional restructuring at Ministry level so as to make the MGLSD more effective
- Establishment of the position of Gender Officers to ensure gender mainstreaming in all sectors and ministries
- Increased financial support to the current MGLSD to enable it play its role effectively

No political party made any specific commitments to establishing institutional mechanisms for gender equality.

UFA and PDP list the Ministries and the Ministry of Gender is included

11. Uganda in the Regional and International Contexts

Women want to see

- constitution of an Inter-Ministerial Committee and the expeditious implementation and initiation of a process of integrating international conventions, standards and codes into policy and legislation
- 50:50 gender parity in appointments and postings to strategic regional and international bodies
- Adherence to periodic reporting as specified in the regional and international treaties and in such reports, capture and address women and gender specific concerns
- Domestication of the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (Maputo Protocol) and allocation of sufficient resources for its implementation
- Timely provision of information on available opportunities to women
- and link women's production areas to markets in the region

		Ensure greater participation of women at all levels in the planning, management and preservation of the environment and the sustainable use of natural resources.	
	implementation of regulations, for the effective implementation of the Business, Technical and Vocational Training (BTNET) Act • Increased resource allocation to Universal Secondary Education, to ensure the provision of quality education • Increased resource allocation for Functional Adult Literacy (FAL) and finalisation of the draft Non-Formal Adult Education Policy, in order to streamline and promote the coverage of FAL countrywide	Environment • Greater participation of women at all levels, in the planning, management and preservation of the environment and the sustainable use of natural resources • Increased investment in research on alternative and renewable energy sources and other appropriate technologies, while facilitating women's access to and participation in their control • Investment in the preparation of communities for disaster and the provision of disaster management interventions that are well resourced, timely and responsive to the specific needs of women • Mechanisms established and effective communication strategies developed for women and communities on issues of climate change and the environment • Set targets for women's groups to benefit from Carbon Credits and facilitation of their participation through training, allocation of land and resources • Protection of water sources from private ownership for public good and restriction on the leasing of sections of water bodies which makes them inaccessible to the people, particularly women	
6.			Peace, Human Security & Dignity • Adequate resourcing and implementation of the UN 1820 and Goma Declarations and the integration of the UN Resolution 1325, with government policies and plans such as PRDP, NDP etc.
7.			

	of the Central Coordination Institution / Centre on Disaster Management, so as to strengthen the country's preparedness for disasters and epidemics - Integration of components of advocacy against Sexual and Gender based violence in HIV Counselling, Care and Support - Increased support and funding to HIV research and interventions aimed at technologies controlled by women, such as microbicides studies and HIV vaccines - Renewed commitment to providing HIV treatment, care, support to address the challenge of HIV/AIDS countrywide			and girls in post-conflict situations. In addition, special attention will be given to child-headed households - and a motivated health work force - Avail family planning services that are easily accessible, easy to understand and use especially in rural areas, taking into account the special needs of the large teenage population in Uganda - Provide holistic treatment and support for persons living with HIV/AIDS, including children
5.	Education - Review of Affirmative Action Policy in the education sector, to promote the enrolment of girls in teacher training colleges and polytechnics - Increased investment in polytechnics that cater for primary education drop outs, the majority of whom are girls - Enforcement of laws and regulations that encourage girls' enrolment and retention in schools, while addressing barriers to their education such as child sacrifice, sexual harassment, FGM, early marriages and the lack of sanitary towels - Re-designed training curriculums in all institutions of education to ensure that they are gender responsive - Improved conditions of service for teachers and provision of incentives to ensure quality education and the retention of staff - Development of a gender responsive policy and		- Rehabilitate and expand all the girls' schools built by UPC Government, and provide the necessary inputs for quality girl child education within 3 years. - Rehabilitate and re-establish Community Development Centres to benefit women.	

All political parties made no commitments in line with the Women's Agenda with regard to this pillar

• Adoption of the draft policy on Youth Employment so as to address sexual harassment and the abuse of young women • Transparent and equitable distribution of funds derived from oil and other natural resources, with 10% allocation of these resources to sectors that directly benefit women • 50:50 gender parity in all decision making strictures that manage natural resources • Amendment of the Land (Amendment) Act and other relevant laws to provide for the co-ownership of matrimonial property by spouses • Development of policies and programmes to address the drivers of high fertility rates which adversely impact women's economic empowerment and national development • Increased opportunities for gainful and productive employment targeting women, through scaling up formal and informal education and skills training • Promotion and protection of women's labour rights • Adherence to national and international health and safety standards for the safety, security and mitigation of occupational hazards for women in all spheres of employment • Establishment of clear, measurable and practical actions to address women's income and consumption poverty, access to credit, information and markets etc. • Tendering and procurement processes reviewed at local government level to take into account affirmative action and promote women's participation			measures to increase women access to land ownership and inheritance. • Immediately working women will be guaranteed three (3) months paid maternity leave, and another three (3) months unpaid parental leave, increasing to six (6) months paid and six (6) months unpaid maternity and parental leave respectively by 2021, without the risk of losing their jobs. • Develop special programmes for girls and young women targeting women targeting employability, business start-ups, life skills, and social diseases such as HIV/AIDS.	
3. Human Rights & the Law • Expedient enactment of gender legislation and development of policy • Amendment and repealing of laws declared null and void by	• Institute heavy punishments for perpetrators of gender-based	• Vigorously pursue a policy of zero tolerance to violence against	• The NRM Government will expand the programmes for	

	- the Constitutional Court in the recent past - Implementation of anti-gender violence legislation - Establishment of a policy on women's shelters and provision of 5 shelters nationally (at least 1 per region) to help women in distress - Capacity building and training in ethical and professional conduct for law enforcement agencies and officers so as to uphold justice and safeguard the dignity of victims of sexual offences - All laws of Uganda reviewed in line with the Constitution with regard to affirmative action policy and gender equality and equity for marginalised groups - Registration of Births and Deaths systems reinforced and updated to enhance the provision of reliable information on the age of girls thus protecting their sexual reproductive and health rights - Development of a comprehensive civic education program with particular focus on human rights and the rights of women, children, workers and persons with disabilities.	- violence and prosecute any acts that promote early marriage - Review the Domestic Rights Bill with a view to discarding cultural practices and strengthening property rights - Introduce civic awareness courses in schools and programs for the general public to promote awareness and enjoyment of basic rights, emphasis on the rights of the minority	women; strengthen the law and sensitize the population about this problem.	elimination of gender-based violence throughout the country	- The NRM Government will continue to emphasize programmes aimed at reducing maternal and child mortality - Under PRDP, Government will provide psycho-social support and other related services to women	Reduce maternal mortality from the current 435 per 100,000 live births or 16 deaths of women per day – the ultimate goal of “letting no woman die in child birth”, through free and easily accessible antenatal and maternity services, effective referral
4.	Health - Allocation of sufficient resources for the implementation of Government commitments made under the Abuja Declaration on Health, the AU Commitment on the Campaign on the Accelerated reduction of Maternal Mortality in Africa and the National Roadmap on Maternal Health - Increased funding to ensure functional and accessible health services, as well as improved remuneration of medical personnel - Support and operationalisation of the Public Private Partnerships (PPP) in healthcare service provision - Expedient adoption of the Uganda Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Policy (2009) and the operationalisation					