



Gender Transformation &
Empowerment



FORUM FOR WOMEN IN DEMOCRACY



UNFINISHED BUSINESS

THE WOMEN'S MANIFESTO 2016 TO 2021

2016

A woman in a patterned headscarf is shown in profile, carrying a white bowl filled with white flowers on her head. The background is a blurred street scene with a sign that reads 'MUKURA GOLD'.

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INTRODUCTION

As 2016 approaches, Ugandans are once again gearing up for another general election. Elections themselves are a highly political process and women, by placing their demands to those that wish to stand for elective offices, are declaring that the Women's Manifesto is first and foremost a political document.

As a political document, the Women's Manifesto sets out the concerns of women in Uganda and the demands for accountability by political parties and candidates. The Women's Manifesto builds on similar processes undertaken by women and women's rights organizations in previous elections since 2000, when the first women's manifesto was developed. The Women's Manifesto builds on efforts, synergies and gaps documented during previous initiatives that need prioritization to advance women's rights and gender equality.

While women in Uganda have come a long way, at the same time, women still have quite a long way to go before they attain full dignity and equality with men in all spheres of their lives. Women in Uganda constitute over 51% of the population, it is therefore critical that issues affecting them are prioritized, if the laws, policies and regulations are to reflect the citizens' needs. The Women's Manifesto, beyond stating women's demands, is also a tool for holding leaders accountable for advancing gender equality because it is only when women and men in Uganda are truly equal, that our country will experience sustainable development. The Women's Manifesto aims at:

- Contributing to the legacy of good governance through providing a guide for voters, candidates and political actors towards prioritizing women's concerns, interests and aspirations;
- Persuading government, political parties and organizations as well as all stakeholders to prioritize people-centered democracy and the interests of women in the development process;
- Raising awareness about gender issues among the various political players;
- Mobilizing the electorate to actively participate in all processes that promote national democracy; and
- Providing a platform for negotiation between women and the various political candidates, parties and organisations.

The Process for Developing the Women's Manifesto

The Women's Manifesto was developed through a participatory process led by the Women's Democracy Group¹. Between November and December 2014, the Women's Democracy Group conducted² consultations in 50 districts with women councilors, civil society organizations (CSOs), political party officials, district technocrats, academicians, development partners, key opinion leaders from religious institutions, traditional institutions, private business practitioners, community mobilizers and the elderly, teachers, nurses, the women caucuses, women's leagues of six major political parties in Uganda³, senior women teachers, media, youth groups and organized women groups to reflect on issues that continue to affect women's rights and the advancement of gender equality. The consultations provided a platform to collect views and demands of women to inform the manifesto.

Beside the consultations, several documents were reviewed for a deeper understanding of development plans, policies and regulations of government, development partners, Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) and political parties' manifestos on their gender responsiveness.

A range of socio-cultural, economic and political concerns, issues, interests and aspirations of women across the country were collated during the process, however this manifesto presents only five major demands aggregated and agreed upon as the critical game changers towards achieving gender equality and empowerment of women in Uganda today.

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- 1 The Women's Democracy Group (WDG) is a coalition of women civil society organizations in Uganda established in 2009 with an aim of strengthening women's leadership and influencing gender responsiveness in democratic governance. It currently comprises of five women organizations including: Action for Development (ACFODE), Center for Women in Governance (CEWIGO), Forum for Women in Democracy (FOWODE), Women's Democracy Network–Uganda Chapter (WDN–U) and Uganda Women's Network (UWONET) as the coordinating agent.
 - 2 The consultations conducted by Center for Women in Governance drew participants from districts of; Ibanda, Isingiro, Kamwenge, Kiruhura, Mbarara, Bushenyi, Sheema, Kabarole, Kyenjonjo and Kasese. The consultations conducted by Uganda Women's Network drew participants from the regions of Teso, Karamoja and Busoga including the districts of; Kumi, Soroti, Katakwi, Amuria, Napak, Moroto, Nakapiripirit, Kaabong, Mayuge, Kamuli, Jinja, Bugiri, Iganga and Kaliro. The consultations by Action for Development drew women from the districts of Kanungu, Kisoro and Rukungiri (Western Region); Dokolo, Lira, Oyam and Amolatar (Northern Region); Rakai, Sembabule and Kalangala (Central Region). The consultations conducted by FOWODE drew women from the districts of Manafwa, Butaleja, Kapchorwa, Sironko, Mbale, Busia, Kiboga, Wakiso, Kampala, Mukono, Buikwe and Tororo. The consultations conducted by Women's Democracy Network–Uganda Chapter drew women from the districts of Arua, Yumbe, Koboko, Nebbi, Adjumani, Kumi and Masaka.
 - 3 Apart from district consultations supported by DGF, WDN–U and the national women league leaders of DP, FDC, JEEMA, NRM, PPP and UPC conducted four sub–county consultations in Masaka and Kumi districts in July 2014 with support from International Republican Institute in addition to the consultations supported by National Endowment for Democracy (NED) in West Nile region.



WOMEN'S HEALTH—A NATION'S WEALTH

The health of a mother impacts not just the family but the entire community. Her ability to access and receive necessary healthcare largely determines health outcomes for her children and entire family. Like many developing countries, the maternal mortality rates for Uganda has actually gone up from 435/100,000 live births to 438/100,000, this is worrying for women and the nation⁴.

The right to the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health is recognized in various international and regional human rights instruments to which Uganda is a signatory. At international level, Uganda is signatory to the Universal Declaration of Human rights, International Convention on Civil and Political Rights, Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination against Women, Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (1995). While at regional level, women's right to health are guaranteed by the protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Right on the Right of women in Africa and the Abuja Declaration which Uganda signed and ratified.

⁴ Uganda MDG Report, October 2013 at page 24

Although there is no substantive provision on the right to health under Uganda's Bill of Rights, the Constitution provides for several rights that are determinants of health. Article 33 (3) provides that the State shall protect women and their rights, taking into account their...maternal functions. Article 34 (3) states that no child shall be deprived by any person of medical treatment...by reason of religious or other beliefs and Article 39 provides for the right to a clean and healthy environment.

Direct provisions on health are found under the National Objectives and Directive Principles of State Policy (NODPSP) in the Preamble to the Constitution. Objective XIV (b) inter alia enjoins the State to ensure that all Ugandans enjoy access to health services, while objective XX provides that the State shall take all practical measures to ensure the provision of basic medical services to the population. Objectives XXI and XXII provide for clean and safe water, and food security and nutrition respectively, both of which are determinants of health.

The nature of the right to health requires active State intervention, and the State is not only legally responsible for violating or infringing the rights of individuals with its activities, but also for those violations that occur because it has not acted in the expected manner. Uganda has made progress in some indicators for maternal health. Between 2006 and 2011 there was a notable increase in the proportion of births assisted by trained health workers, from 42% to 58%⁵. There has also been an improvement in access to care after childbirth, with 33% of women receiving postnatal care within two days following delivery in 2011, compared to 27% in 2006⁶. The contraceptive prevalence rate has doubled from 15% in 1995 to 30% in 2011, which has lessened maternal and infant health risks by preventing unintended or closely spaced pregnancies and has helped to reduce the adolescent birth rate. As commented in the preamble maternal mortality ratio⁷ has gone up/risen indicating that the situation has worsened.

In spite of the progress noted above, Uganda is one of the ten countries globally with the highest rates of Maternal, Newborn and Child Mortality in the world. It is reported that at least 16 women in Uganda die every day from maternal related complications. A survey of 553 health facilities across Uganda found that hemorrhage accounts for 42% of maternal deaths, obstructed or prolonged labor 22% and complications from abortion 11%. Important indirect causes of maternal death included; malaria (which factor 36% maternal deaths recorded), anemia (11%) and HIV/AIDS (7%). According to the Maternal Perinatal Death Review (MPDR) committee Report, the most common underlying cause of death among expectant mothers between 2009 and 2011 was inadequate staff numbers (63%). The Report identified availability of midwives as the most important factor affecting obstetric care, with the potential to avert 80% of maternal fatalities

5 Ibid at page 24

6 Ibid 4

7 Ibid at page 24

occurring in health facilities.⁸ Uganda has a shortfall of 2,000 midwives; this is not because of lack of trained midwives, but due to the current government restrictions on recruitment of health workers⁹. Whereas health activists have for long been advocating for continuous increase in the sector budget, the health budget for many years has been falling short of the 15% Abuja Declaration that Uganda signed in April 2001. For example in the financial year (2013/2014), the health sector received 7.2% of the national budget of 13.1 trillion while in 2011/12 it received 7.6%.

Coverage of health interventions in Uganda is also inequitable. While approximately 94% of women giving birth received some antenatal care by a healthcare professional (doctors, nurses and midwives), in rural areas, only 36% of women delivered in a health facility compared to 79% in urban areas.¹⁰ This is partly attributed to the long distance that women have to travel to Health Centers, shortage of essential drugs, and high illiteracy. Women in Uganda with higher education are much more likely to deliver in a health facility than women with no education (75% vs. 25%). Restrictive abortion legislation also contributes substantially to maternal mortality and morbidity in Uganda¹¹.

Teenage pregnancies are high and infant mortality also remains a major problem. In addition, lack of power by women to make decisions on their reproductive health remains a major hindrance to family planning¹². Abortion and HIV/AIDS prevalence continue to affect progress that would have been made in addressing maternal mortality. Low male involvement in family planning has also affected the maternal health programs.

Given that health is a key concern for women, we demand as follow:

1. Enhance investment in the health sector by increasing budget allocations and monitoring of health performance in accordance with the Abuja declaration of 15% total budget allocation to health and ensure at least 5% allocation of the total health budget to maternal health services including emergency obstetric care services at all Health Centre HC III and VI in the country.
2. Ensure at least 6% of the health budget is allocated to primary health care to reduce disease prevalence and subsequently the overwhelming demand on health services.

⁸ Ibid 4

⁹ Maternal and Child Health: Uganda—a publication of The Inter-parliamentary Union, The Parliament of Uganda and The Partnership for Maternal, New Born and Child Health.

¹⁰ Ibid at page 26

¹¹ Ibid 10

¹² "Contribution to the National Women's Manifesto of Uganda Prior to the 2016 Elections"- Women's Democracy Network—Uganda Chapter Publication, April 2015

3. Prioritize availability of a variety of family planning services to improve on women's health and child spacing.¹³ Parties should among others have clear plans on how to work with stakeholders with strong influence on women's access to health services like religious and cultural leaders.
4. Increase payment of health workers to attract more female and male health workers particularly in hard to reach areas and to control brain drain; Women call for a clear policy position on how to address payment of health workers bearing in mind the current revenue sources of the country¹⁴.
5. Strengthen access to reproductive health services for young people to reduce incidences of teenage pregnancies and unsafe abortions.
6. Ensure the Ministry of Health develops clear plans and strategies to address attitudes and practices that play a big role in undermining the power of women to make decisions on their health rights.
7. Institute and enforce laws, policies and regulations that eliminate gender based violence and empower women including laws related to family welfare and health care such as the Marriage and Divorce Bill; Sexual Offences Bill and Domestic Violence Act.
8. Design programmes and strategies to empower women with appropriate information and improve their access to economic means and opportunities to improve on women's health seeking behavior.
9. Ensure the Ministry of Health has clear plans to intensify country wide massive awareness campaigns on maternal health issues geared towards involvement of men.

13 Ibid 11 page 26

14 Ibid 11 page 27



WOMEN'S LAND AND PROPERTY RIGHTS

"My husband rented out the land on which I usually grow the family food. My child did not sit examinations this term because I could not afford to pay the 2000 Uganda Shillings that was demanded by the school. In the home in which I was born, I do not own any land because I'm female. If I had land at my father's home, I would have grown food to feed my children and reserve some of the produce for sale. I'm destitute right now"... Female participant, Aroi sub-county, Arua district¹⁵

Land relations are critical for women's rights in Uganda. This is because of the centrality of land as a resource for the livelihoods of the majority of our population. Land is also an important source of food, water, fuel and medicinal plants. Those who control land and its resources also gain social and political power and authority¹⁶. As such, women's unequal land rights affect their access to other resources and their economic, social and political status.

¹⁵ Ibid 11 page 30

¹⁶ Ibid 11 page 19

At international and regional level, Uganda is signatory to two key instruments that spell out women's land rights, including the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW¹⁷) and the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights, on the Rights of Women (also known as the Maputo Protocol).

CEDAW specifically requires protection of the rights of rural women. Article 14 demands that States Parties shall take into account the particular problems faced by rural women and the significant roles which rural women play in the economic survival of their families, including their work in the non-monetized sectors of the economy, and shall take all appropriate measures to ensure the application of the provisions of the present Convention to women in rural areas. The article also requires States Parties to take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in rural areas in order to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women that they participate in and benefit from rural development.

The Maputo Protocol requires State Parties to combat all forms of discrimination against women. It recognizes the rights of married women to acquire their own property and administer and manage it freely. The Protocol calls for special protection of widows, elderly women and women with disabilities. It also requires State Parties to ensure the protection of poor women and women heads of families including women from marginalized population groups and provide an environment suitable to their condition and their special physical, economic and social needs.

There are Constitutional provisions that protect women's land rights in Uganda. Article 21 states that all persons are equal before and under the law in all spheres of political, economic, social and cultural life and shall enjoy equal protection of the law. The Constitution further states that no person shall be discriminated on any basis including sex and it authorizes Parliament to enact laws that redress imbalances between men and women in order to bring about equality.

The Constitution protects the property rights of all persons, and where that right is limited by compulsory acquisition, such persons are entitled to prompt payment of fair and adequate compensation. The Constitution guarantees equality in marriage between men and women, and such equality include decision making in the home. The Constitution also protects the rights of widows to inherit the property of their deceased spouses and to enjoy parental rights over their children.

The Constitution recognizes specific rights of women including the right to full and equal dignity with men as well as equal treatment with men, including the right to equal opportunities in all spheres-political, economic and social. In addition to the above, the Constitution guarantees the right of access to information in the possession of the State or any of its agencies, as well as the right to justice, including the right to a fair, speedy and public hearing before an independent and impartial court or tribunal.

17 Ibid 11 page 19

In Uganda currently, only 27% of registered land are owned by women¹⁸. Although 70% of the women are engaged in agriculture, less than 20% control outputs from their efforts¹⁹. Women comprise of the majority of labor force in the Agricultural Sector while men form the majority of the labor force in the Industry and Service Sectors. Female headed households comprise 80.5% of the agricultural subsistence workers compared to 67.5% of the male headed households²⁰. However, plots managed by women produce 17% less per acre on average than plots managed by men or jointly by other family members²¹.

Although Uganda's statutory laws grant men and women equal rights to land and other property regardless of their marital status, application of these laws has been mired by a number of factors. First, legal pluralism that stems from the recognition of both customary and statutory land tenure in the Constitution and the Land Act results in multiple conflicts between customary and statutory laws, which are often not mediated by statutory provisions as prescribed in the Constitution. The application of statutory laws is further complicated by a number of factors, including lack of knowledge of the laws and poor access to justice. The weak institutional capacity of the legal system, particularly in rural areas, also prevents effective enforcement and administration of the laws.

Women's lives and livelihoods, and those of their families, and ultimately the nations, are tied to land. Because of their gender roles in providing food and fuel for the family, it is very important that women's land rights are protected and promoted, and their tenure security assured. It is only in protecting women's land rights that women's productivity can increase, and in turn the health and wellbeing of the family will improve.

On land and propriety rights, women demand as follow:

1. Institute mechanisms through policy regulations and programmes to enhance observance of joint spousal co-ownership of family land and property as provided for the in the new land policy, 2013.
2. In addition, the Marriage and Divorce Bill, 2009 which proposes married persons and cohabitants to make arrangements as to how property will be owned at, during and after dissolution of marriage must be considered and passed.
3. Establish a land fund for women to enable them own and control land.
4. Engage cultural institutions to popularize the Land (Amendment) Act (2010) and to promote ownership and inheritance of land by women/girls.
5. Design specific policy and programme measures to protect widows from property and land grabbing predominately by in-laws and relatives.

¹⁸ See Draft National Development Plan of 3rd March, 2015, at page 69

¹⁹ Ibid 3 above

²⁰ Ibid 3 above

²¹ Ibid 3 above.

ISSUE 3



WOMEN AND EDUCATION

The Right to Education is guaranteed under the International Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR) and the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (ACRWC).

Uganda has been praised at international, regional and national levels for introducing positive policies and frameworks that promote education. Educational schemes such as the Functional Adult Literacy programmes, free Universal Primary Education (UPE), and free secondary education have indeed registered some successes over the years—including an increase in school enrolment rates countrywide, with girls and children from poor families benefiting in particular²².

The government should be commended for the Early Childhood Development Policy which increased the rate of enrollment from 289,862 in 2011 to 345,295 in 2012²³. In addition the government should be commended for introducing Universal

²² Economic and Social Rights Advocacy (ESRA) Brief, Beyond Statistics: How Can We Achieve Universal Basic Education of Acceptable Quality in Uganda? (A publication of the Initiative for SOCIAL AND Economic Rights (November 3rd, 2014), page 3

²³ Ibid 6 at page 8

Primary Education (UPE) program in 1997. As a result of UPE, there has been noted increase in the rate of enrolment of children from poor households from 8,089,000 in 2011 to 8,220,000 in 2012²⁴. This has partly contributed to reducing poverty gaps, increasing gender parity, resulting in an increase of pass rates for the Primary Leaving Examinations as well as improvements in infrastructural development in schools.

At Secondary school level, there was an increase in percentage of girls in terms of total enrolment from 635,527 girls in 2013 to 665,406 in 2014 compared to boys at 727,212 in 2013 to 709,140 in 2014²⁵. As a result of the Universal Secondary Education (USE) program, the percentage of females under the program in government schools increased from 43% in 2007 to 45% in 2011 but with a significant fall in enrolment of girls in 2014 (46,066 boys Vs 21,885 girls)²⁶. Completion rates for girls at secondary level five also increased from 43% in 2000 to 47.7% in 2011²⁷.

At Business, Technical Vocation Education and Training (BTJET): Female enrolment in BTJET increased from 1,463 in 2000 to 12,039 in 2011 but with low numbers of females at only 14% compared to 86% males 2,856 male and 449 female in 2013 headcount²⁸. Enrolment for girls in Primary Teachers Colleges (PTCs) increased from 6,594 in 2000 to 10,086 in 2011²⁹. At University level: As a result of the 1.5 points policy, enrolment of girls in public universities increased from 13,337 in 2000 to 42,733 in 2011³⁰.

Notwithstanding these successes, provision of basic primary education is not without challenges, which have the potential to undermine the quality of education offered and to erode the gains attained if remedial actions are not prioritized. The deteriorating quality of education has been documented in several studies, such as UWEZO (2014), and the Ministry of Education and Sports, together with the Stromme Foundation, Save the Children, UNICEF, and UNHCR (2014)³¹.

These gains registered by the government Programmes and Policies; however, do not apply to the same extent with respect to children in rural areas due to constraints and negative attitudes among local community members who consider education a waste of money. There are several other factors threatening UPE, including a high incidence of school drop-outs, particularly in rural areas, attributed in many instances to teacher absenteeism and the resultant deterioration in delivery and quality of education³².

24 Ibid 6 at page 9

25 Ibid 11 above

26 Ibid 11 above at page 7

27 Ibid 11 above at page 7

28 See above

29 See above at note 17

30 See above

31 Ibid 6 at page 4

32 Ibid 11 at page 14

Research shows that children fail to complete primary school earn less as adults, and their children will in turn be less likely to receive a good education, threatening both the inclusiveness and rate of Uganda's long-term development³³. Currently, enrolment rates for rural children in Universal Primary Education (UPE) schools are at 88.8% for boys and 82.3% for girls. In 2000 and 2014, enrolment rose to 97.2% for girls and 96.3% for boys³⁴. While UPE has significantly improved access to education in Uganda, the gross primary completion rate still stands at 54% (that is including those who repeat grades)³⁵. Drop out of girls' from school is increasing due to teenage pregnancies (34%), poverty (28%) and engagement in sex (11%)³⁶. Fewer girls than boys sit for Primary Leaving Examinations with 55% boys and only 42% females in 2010 and performance at 59.7% boys and 53.7% girls in 2013³⁷.

As a basic human right entitlement, children have the right to free, quality and compulsory education. All people have the right to receive education that equips them with the knowledge and skills for economic sufficiency, enables participation in civil society and an understanding of and respect for their own human rights and those of others.³⁸

On education, the women of Uganda demand as follow:

1. Promote sexuality education and life skill development in school to reduce vulnerability to teenage pregnancies and un-safe abortions.
2. Institute stringent measures to address violence against children in schools including sexual and gender based violence.
3. Ensure the Ministry of Education designs policy and programme measures to mobilize and sensitize parents, communities for positive and progressive change in attitude and perception towards education especially for the girl child.
4. Enhance investment in School infrastructure development including classrooms, desks and chairs and conform to the required ratio of 1:3 pupils per desk. Changing rooms for girls who have reached the age of menstruation should be part of construction plans for toilets. All schools should have facilities that enhance learning like access to clean water.
5. Ensure provision of meals for pupils in school to reduce absenteeism, dropout rates and to enhance performance.
6. Increase on scholarship for women and girls especially in science based fields.

33 Ibid 15 at page 14

34 Ibid 11 at page 14

35 Ibid 11 above

36 Ibid 11 above

37 Ibid 11 above

38 Ibid 6, page 29

7. Engage Ministry of Public Service and Educational Service Commission on Affirmative Action for female teachers.
8. Develop clear policies and plans for retention of girls in school and ensure that they are enforced at all levels and in all parts of the country.
9. Develop clear and systematic strategies to increase teachers' salaries with special consideration for those in hard to reach areas.
10. Develop and enforce policies guaranteeing the return to school by teenage girls who get pregnant and become young mothers.

WOMEN'S ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT

Uganda has made enormous progress in reducing poverty, slashing the countrywide incidence from 56% of the population in 1992 to 24.5% in 2009³⁹. The reduction of poverty in urban areas has been especially marked. Notwithstanding these gains, however, the absolute number of poor people has increased. Poverty remains firmly entrenched in rural areas, which are home to 84% of Ugandans, majority of who are women. About 27% of all rural people—some 8 million men, women and children—still live below the national rural poverty line. Women are worst hit by chronic poverty in Uganda. They are the most illiterate, the most involved in un-gainful employment or work where they don't get paid.

In agriculture, which is the major economic activity in Uganda, 83% of women are engaged, but only 25.5% control the land they cultivate and only 7%



39 IFAD: Enabling Rural Poor People Overcome Poverty in Uganda (available at www.ifad.org/operations/projects/regions)

of registered land is owned by women. This limits their ability to move beyond subsistence agriculture. Access to credit for most women remains difficult due to lack of collateral. As a result more women than men live in poverty in Uganda⁴⁰. The lack of ownership and access to land affects the productivity of women in the agricultural sector and their outputs and benefits. In addition, because most women do not own land, when they receive inputs from government programs like National Agricultural Advisory Services (NAADs).

Women are at a major disadvantage in the labor market. Men's median wages are around double that of women's regardless of the type of work undertaken. Women account for only around one third of non-agricultural paid employees.

According to government priorities of National Development Plan II, oil and gas sector, tourism and minerals are some of the areas of focus. These are rapidly growing sectors that have huge impact on women and ownership of resource yet male dominated. Lack of women's voice and representation in the decision making process—negotiation of royalties and compensation continue to undermine women's economic empowerment.

On economic empowerment, women demand as follow:

Under Banking, Access to Credit and entrepreneurship:

1. Restructure the banking system to ensure that women benefit equally with men from mainstream loans and other financial and business assistance. Micro-credit schemes should become additional and not the main source for financing women's businesses. It is proven that when women get loans, they are more likely than men to pay back the loans⁴¹.
2. Support nationals especially women into enterprise development for alternative livelihood and to take advantage of the emerging business industries.
3. Provide low cost credit to support the existing women artisans and small scale miners to add value to their products.

Under Agriculture:

1. Revamp cooperatives, bearing in mind the current socio-economic context to regulate prices and provide advice to farmers on different aspects of the activity in order to prevent exploitation of farmers and to reduce poverty in rural areas where agriculture is the main economic activity⁴²; clear strategies to ensure women participate and benefits from activities of cooperatives should be incorporated.
2. Enhance investment in agricultural processing—agricultural value chain for higher levels of the chain to absorb and reduce on the number of people from the agricultural sector to agricultural industry, especially women.

⁴⁰ See above

⁴¹ Ibid 11 page 31

⁴² Ibid 11 page 31

3. Provide women and women headed households with subsidized farm inputs to empower them move from small scale to large scale agricultural production, this should be matched with increase in access to markets and appropriate technologies.
4. Ensure plans, budgets and programmes for modernizing agriculture integrate and prioritize strategies for reducing women's heavy and unequal labour provision in the sector in line with the African Union proposal on agriculture as a key issue for women's empowerment and gender equality.

Under Social protection and socio-economic sector reforms:

1. Expand Social security schemes to benefit those in the informal sector particularly women.
2. Enact and implement policies that provide for child care in all work places both formal and informal. This will give women who want to work an opportunity to do so without worrying about the welfare of their children. Government will benefit from such a scheme because when productivity of citizens increases, government's revenue increases.
3. Address corruption in all socio-economic and political sectors to improve accessibility to services by women. Women are the major beneficiaries of public services partly due to their gender roles as care takers of the sick, bringing up children and their biological function of giving birth. However, majority of them are poor to afford private services during delivery thus are most affected by corruption.
4. Design and resource implementation of gender mainstreaming strategies that are customized to differing needs of female male farmers in the spheres of productivity, investment, training and market access.
5. Define targets to gradually pursue gender balance in training and employment by government and investors.
6. Take steps to reverse economic policies which discriminate against women and ensure their active involvement in economic decision-making at all levels
7. Undertake fundamental review of economic policies to promote the wellbeing and security of women and men and ensure a reversal of past economic policy failures

Under Oil and Gas:

1. Review laws on compensation to shift away from individual to family and community compensation and ensure that a special fund is created for the acquisition of land and settlement of families especially women and children displaced by extractive industries.
2. Take deliberate efforts to encourage women take up employment in male dominated oil and gas sector and other supporting sectors such as construction, road sector, transport, mining and engineering.
3. Support girls and women scientists to take up oil and gas courses across the oil and gas value chain through affirmative Action and scholarship.



WOMEN, POLITICS AND DECISION MAKING

Democracy cannot truly deliver for all citizens if half of the population remains underrepresented in the political and development arena. For democratic governments to deliver to their constituents, they must be truly representative, gender responsive and recognize that women must be equal partners in the process of governance and development (Beijing platform for Action para.18).

Women's participation in politics and decision-making is not only advantageous for women themselves, but for development and democracy in general. The government of Uganda is signatory to several international, regional and national laws and policies that advance participation of women in political leadership. These includes; the International Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against women (CEDAW), the United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR), 1325, Beijing Platform of Action and the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) 1 and 3. At regional level, the government has rectified the African Charter on Human and People's Right, African Charter on Democracy, Election and Governance and the Maputo Protocol which focuses on the right of African women. At national level, the Uganda National Gender policy, National Gender Action Plan, Decentralization Act which is guided

by the National Objectives and Directive Principles of state policy outlined in the 1995 Constitution and Affirmative Action. All these international, regional and national conventions and legislations, policies and plans are important in the promotion and protection of women's rights, particularly increasing effective leadership and participation in democratic governance.

The 1995 Constitution of Uganda in Articles; 32(1), 33(2), 22(3), 33(4), 33(5), 78 (1) (b) provides for affirmative action and calls on Parliament to make laws to effect Affirmative Action in favor of marginalized groups; women, youth, persons with disability and workers. Through these Articles, the government enacted the local Government Act which provides for a third of all Local Government composition by women, provision of 1.5 points to young women joining high institutions of learning and creation of women's representative for districts to Parliament. The Electoral Commission Act 1997 mandates the commission to organize elections and cater for women's quotas, the Political Parties and Organization's Act 2005, the Press and Journalists Act and the Electronic Media Act prohibits negative reporting on women that stand for political posts. These laws help to enhance women's active involvement in political leadership.⁴³

Since 1986, Statistics indicate a steady rise in female participation in political leadership. In the 6th Parliament (1996–2001) there were 39 districts in Uganda, accordingly 39 women were elected as female district MPs. When the 7th Parliament (2001–2006) was elected, Uganda had introduced 17 new districts, securing women with at least 56 seats in Parliament⁴⁴. The 8th Parliament of Uganda comprised of 217 Constituency Representatives, 10 Uganda People's Defense Forces Representatives, 5 Representatives of the Youth, 5 Representatives of Persons with Disabilities, 5 Representatives of Workers, and 13 Ex-officio Members. Out of the total number of members of Parliament, 99 were women, 79 of whom were District Women representatives, 14 directly elected women parliamentarians and 6 special interest representatives. This constituted 31% of female representation in the 8th Parliament⁴⁵.

With new constituencies created in 2010, Uganda's 9th Parliament comprises of 375 members with 129 (34.4%) women MPs. However, this is still lower than the parity target set by the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance. The numbers of women MPs who competed with men has fallen from 16 in 2006 to 11 in 2011; and of the 129 women MPs, 112 represent districts as a result of affirmative action. This shows that women have not yet broken through the barriers of competing with men for political positions⁴⁶.

43 Women's Political Leadership in East Africa With Specific Reference to Uganda—Paper presented by the Rt. Hon. Rebecca Kadaga, Speaker of the Ugandan Parliament at the Tenth Commonwealth Women Affairs Ministers Meeting in Dhaka Bangladesh (17th to 19th June 2013)

44 See above

45 Ibid 26

46 Ibid 26

The issue of inclusive and active participation of women in the different political parties remains problematic because there are very few women holding positions in party executive decision making organs and structures at all levels. Political party leadership in Uganda is male dominated. Although the major political parties commit to specific indices of women at each level in the structure, (NRM 30%, FDC 40%) the reality is different. The NRM for example has only 5 (25%) women out of a total of 20 members at the national executive committee (NEC), the highest organ of the party⁴⁷.

Affirmative Action in the Local Government Act (1997) provides for one-third women's representation at all local council levels. While each district council is comprised of at least 30% women, regarding top leadership in districts, (Chairpersons, Speakers and Chief Administrative Officers), the numbers of women dwindle. For instance, from the general election of 2011, out of the 112 Chairpersons of districts, there are only 2 (1.7%) women, out of 112 Chief Administrative Officers, 28 only 11 (9%) are women⁴⁸.

Women who aspire for political leadership through election are affected by low literacy levels, lack of resources to run successful campaigns, limited political experience and cultural and traditional beliefs that still place women at "home" rather than in political leadership. Other challenges that continue to limit women's equal participation in leadership include institutional bias; stereotyping; historical imbalances, poor political party internal democracy; weak electoral laws, and flawed electoral processes; gender based violence targeting women and high poverty levels among women. Additionally politics and political campaigns in Uganda continue to be highly monetized, leading to high levels of corruption and unethical practices, and additionally serving as a barrier to women's participation.⁴⁹

Table 1: Women in decision making in DP, FDC, JEEMA, NRM, PPP and UPC as of July 2014⁵⁰

<i>Party</i>	<i>Position</i>	<i>Number of Women</i>	<i>Percentage of women</i>	<i>Total Number of Leaders</i>	<i>Heads of the Electoral Commissions in the Political Parties</i>
DP	National Executive Committee (NEC)	8	18%	44	Male
FDC	NEC	34	23%	147	Male
JEEMA	NEC	4	21%	19	Male

⁴⁷ Ibid 26

⁴⁸ See above

⁴⁹ Communique on Women in Politics Conference, held by Forum for Women in Democracy (FOWODE) on July 22 to 23rd 2014, in Kampala, Uganda. See more at: <http://www.fowode.org/events>

⁵⁰ Ibid 11 at page 22

Party	Position	Number of Women	Percentage of women	Total Number of Leaders	Heads of the Electoral Commissions in the Political Parties
NRM	Central Executive Committee (CEC)	7	32%	22	Male
PPP	NEC	8	53%	15	Male
UPC	NEC	4	21%	19	Male

Table 1: Source: Guide to Enhance Gender Equality in Political Parties in Uganda by Women's Democracy Network–Uganda Chapter; Page 5

The numbers of women in decision making in government organs like the executive and judiciary has decreased in comparison to previous years where the vice president and deputy chief justice were women. Currently, both the President and vice president are male and the Chief Justice and Deputy Chief Justice are male. Out of 31 cabinet ministers only seven are women. Out of 47 ministers of state, only 13 are women.

Table 2: Women in public administration: Gender in the public service in Uganda

Salary scale	Total employees	% men	% women
Senior Management Level (U1)	808	78	22
Middle Management Level (U2–U3)	4,180	84	16
Graduate and Diploma Entry Level (U4–U5)	59,973	72	28
Lower Level (U6–U8)	206,893	65	35
Total	271,854	67	33

Source: Ministry of Public Service, Payroll Monitoring Unit⁵¹

Of the 112 Chief Administrative Officers in Uganda, only 17 are women. Out of 29 permanent secretaries in Uganda only six are women and out of 29 undersecretaries in Uganda only 14 are women. With regard to ambassadors and deputy ambassadors out of 126 only 63 are female⁵².

⁵¹ FOWODE Report on The Status of Women in Decision Making, October 2013 at page 14

⁵² Not Yet Uhuru for Ugandan Women, article by Jacqueline Asimwe in the Observer Newspaper, October 2013.

On decision making, politics and public life, women demand as follow:

1. Increase numbers of women in political leadership at all levels to at least 50% representation in line with the Africa Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance⁵³. This should also apply to leadership within political parties and organizations.
2. Revise electoral systems to proportional representation and raise resources to increase the numbers of women who contest on the direct seats that will ultimately increase the number of women in politics.
3. Allocate at least 50% of all political party funds to women leagues and activities to ensure establishment of structures, programmes that enhance women's effective participation in political parties.
4. Allocate resources for capacity building for women and initiate programs that include both men and women to ensure that both groups understand the importance of gender equality in politics⁵⁴.
5. Take action to transform political cultures that are gender insensitive to women, make politics, public and private decision making spaces more transparent, accountable and sensitive to the needs and concerns of women partly in fulfillment of Objective (VI) of the national objectives and principles of state policy on gender balance and fair representation of marginalized groups⁵⁵.
6. Increase budgetary allocation to the Ministry of Gender, Labor and Social Development to at least 5% of the total national budget to enable it implement programmes towards enhancing gender equality in socio-economic and political spheres⁵⁶.

Conclusion

In conclusion, we reecho the fact that the women's manifesto is a tool geared towards enhancing women's participation and incorporation of women's perspectives in political and policy decisions. Democracy cannot truly deliver for all of its citizens if half of the population remains underrepresented in the political and development arena. For democratic governments to deliver to their constituents, they must be truly representative, gender responsive and recognize that women must be equal partners in the process of democratic development.

"Women's participation in decision making is not a demand for simple justice or democracy but can also be seen as a necessary condition to women's interest to be taken into account. Without the active participation of women and the incorporation of women's perspectives at all levels of decision making, the goal of equality, development and peace cannot be achieved, Beijing Platform for Action, 1995

⁵³ See Article 2 (11) of the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance (2004) as well as The Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality (adopted by the AU in July 2004), as well as the African Union Gender Policy, which under Commitment 1(3) restates the AU 50/50 Gender Parity Principle.

⁵⁴ Ibid 11 page 38

⁵⁵ Ibid 11 page 39

⁵⁶ Ibid 15 page 39

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Action for Development
Plot 623/624 Bukoto–Kampala

Centre for Women in
Governance
Church Road, Kasujja Terrace,
Ntinda–Kampala

Forum for Women in Democracy
Plot 15 Vibya Close,
Ntinda–Kampala
Women Democracy Network–

Uganda Chapter
Plot 933, Kireka–Namugongo
Road, Kampala

Uganda Women’s Network
Plot 710, Block 216, Mirembe Close
Bbuye–Kigowa, Ntinda, Kampala
P. O. Box 27991–Kampala, Uganda
Phone: +256 414 286 539,

Email: info@uwonet.or.ug
Website: www.uwonet.or.ug
Blog: <http://uwonetnews.blogspot.com>
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