

KYAMBOGO UNIVERSITY
WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN POLITICAL LEADERSHIP IN UGANDA:
A CASE STUDY OF LUWERO TRIANGLE 1981-2006.

BY

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**A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY, THE
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DECLARATION

I, KWERI HENRY do hereby declare that this dissertation is my original work and has never been submitted to any other University or Institution of higher learning for the award of a degree.

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APPROVAL

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my family members whose love, sacrifice and guidance, I owe my inspiration.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS:

DECLARATION.....	i
APPROVAL	ii
DEDICATION.....	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	iv
ACRONYMS.....	viii
ABSTRACT.....	x
CHAPTER ONE.....	1
BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY.....	1
1.0 Introduction.....	1
1.2 Statement of the problem.....	11
1.3 Scope of the study.....	12
1.4 Objectives:	12
1.5 Research questions:.....	13
1.7 Review of related literature.....	14
1.8 Research methodology.....	21
1.9 Constraints	245
CHAPTER TWO	29
GENDER DISPARITIES IN POLITICAL LEADERSHIP IN UGANDA BEFORE THE NATIONAL RESISTANCE MOVEMENT/NATIONAL RESISTANCE ARMY (NRM/NRA) “BUSH WAR” IN LUWERO TRIANGLE.....	29
2.0 Introduction.....	29

2.1 The influence of Buganda’s political and cultural norms on Gender Inequalities in Political Leadership.....	30
2.2 The Influence of Christianity and formal education on gender inequalities in Paticipation in Political Leadership.....	36
2.3 The Influence of Colonial Governance on Gender Inequalities in Participation in Political Leadership.....	40
2.4 The Influence of post-colonial Governments on Gender disparity in participation in Political Leadership.....	54
2.5 Conclusion.....	58
CHAPTER THREE.....	68
THE NATIONAL RESISTANCE MOVEMENT/ NATIONAL RESISTANCE ARMY (NRM/NRA) AND WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN POLITICAL LEADERSHIP IN THE LUWERO TRIANGLE.....	68
3.0 Introduction.....	68
3.1 How Women Participated in Political Leadership in the Luwero Triangle.....	62
3.2 Influence of the Guerilla War on Women’s Participation in Political Leadership.....	64
3.3 Weakness of affirmative action on Women's Participation in Political Leadership.....	73
3.4 Conclusion.....	80
WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN POLITICAL LEADERSHIP IN UGANDA OUTSIDE THE LUWERO TRIANGLE 1989-2006.....	85
4.0 Introduction.....	78

4.1 Women's Participation in the constitution making process.....	86
4.2 Hindrances to Women's participation in Political Leadership.....	91
4.2.1 Social-cultural hindrances.....	93
4.2.2 Economic hindrances.....	100
4.2.3 Electoral management hindrances.....	103
4.2.4 Political hindrances.....	106
4.3 Conclusion.....	99
CHAPTER FIVE.....	114
CONCLUSION.....	114
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	117
APPENDICES.....	123

ACRONYMS

Abambejja	Princesses of Buganda Kingdom.
ACFODE	Action for Development.
Buganda Kingdom	The ancient Kingdom in central Uganda-home of the Luwero Triangle.
Bush war	A guerilla war started by Museveni in 1981, in the Luwero Triangle, that propelled the National Resistance Movement (NRM) into power in 1986.
CA	Constituent Assembly.
Kabaka	The title of the king of Buganda kingdom.
LCs	Local Councils.
Lubuga	Kabaka's sister who accompanied him during coronation.
Lukiiko	Buganda's parliament.
Luwero Triangle	An area of Uganda, north of the Ugandan capital Kampala, where Yoweri Museveni started a guerilla war in 1981,that propelled the National Resistance Movement (NRM) into power in 1986.
Mugema	An officer who is responsible in enthroning the Kabaka of Buganda.
Naalina	Kabaka's sister who accompanied him during official functions.
Nabagereka	Kabaka's chief wife.
Nabikande	Queen mother's sister.

Namasole	Queen mother.
NAWOU	National Association of Women Organisations in Uganda.
NRA	National Resistance Army.
NRC	National Resistance Council.
NRM	National Resistance Movement.
Obusika	Succession.
PRA	Peoples' Redemption Army.
PWDs	People With Disabilities.
RCs	Resistance Councils.
UCU	Uganda Council of Women.
UWONET	Uganda Women's Network.

ABSTRACT

This dissertation sets out to investigate and assess Women's Participation in Political Leadership in Uganda: A case study of Luwero Triangle in the period between 1981 and 2006. Key objectives of this study were to establish gender inequalities in political participation before 1981, examine how the National Resistance Movement/ National Resistance Army (NRM/ NRA) influenced women's participation in political leadership and discuss the continued hindrances to women's participation in political leadership. To achieve these objectives, **the study adopted** a qualitative approach using a case study design. The key findings show that there were several constraints which hindered women's ability to access opportunity outside the household and excluded them from many decision-making processes especially politics in pre-colonial and colonial Uganda. These were mainly hinged on the traditional values in Buganda and patriarchal culture that was promoted by colonialism and missionary activities in Uganda. Therefore, the increased presence of women in political participation is attributed to the broader process of the Luwero guerilla struggle during which they played different roles in bush war struggle. The main argument here is that during this war, through affirmative action, women were actively involved in all structures of the **Resistance Councils (RCs)** that exposed them to the political and administrative activities that made them politically active and leaders in different respects. This later enabled them to actively participate in political activities and governance of the state after the war. This study thus contributes to the scholarship of women's participation in political leadership in Africa by specifically analysing how the "bush war" in Luwero Triangle has influenced women's participation in leadership in Uganda.

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY.

1.0 Introduction.

This study is set out to examine women's participation in political leadership in Uganda: A case study of Luwero Triangle 1981-2006. The area known as Luwero Triangle is an area of Uganda, north of the capital Kampala, where Yoweri Museveni started and concentrated a guerilla war that started 1981, that propelled the National Resistance Movement (NRM) into power in 1986. Initially, in 1981, the fighting had been confined to the Luwero areas north of Kampala, but by 1983, it had spread to the north-west of the capital covering roughly 4,000 miles of the territory mainly situated in Buganda's districts of Luwero, Mpigi and Mubende.

Since colonial period, the above districts have changed in shape and size. New districts have been carved out of existing ones and other districts have disappeared. Established district centres were relocated, some lost their administrative status and some were reestablished after a lapse of few years. By 1967, the area that is now referred to as the Luwero Triangle was composed of three districts of Bombo, Mpigi and Mubende. This was mainly due the fact that after the 1966 revolution, Mengo, the largest district of Buganda was divided into East Mengo and West Mengo, each receiving an administrative centre to replace what was then known as the district of Buganda. The shape of Mengo changed drastically but kept the same administrative capital. The area in

which Bombo town is, become Bombo district, one of the first regions to receive a district status when Uganda became independent in October, 1962. Mubende district was part of Buganda Kingdom. Following the abolition of kingdoms in Uganda in 1967, it became a district carved out of Buganda kingdom. Before 1974, the present Luwero district was part of the former East Mengo district with headquarters at Bombo. In 1974, the East Mengo district was split up into two districts namely, Mukono with its headquarters at Mukono town and Luwero with its headquarters at Luwero town. Kiboga was formed in 1991.

When the government of Uganda introduced decentralisation system of government, Buruli County was carved out of Luwero in 1997 and given a district status as Nakasongola district. In 2005, Nakaseke County was carved out of Luwero and given a district status. Mityana district was carved out of Mubende in 2005. Wakiso was carved out of Mpigi and received a district status in 2000. The district of Kyankwanzi was carved out of Kiboga in July 2010. So, the area called the Luwero Triangle refers to the area in Central Uganda which covers a total of nine districts of Kiboga, Kyankwanzi, Nakaseke, Nakasongola, Luwero, Mubende, Mityana, Mpigi, Wakiso and Mukono. It was in these districts that the NRM/NRA “bush war” was concentrated from the period 1981-1986, hence earning the name Luwero Triangle.

Women have faced discrimination from participating in political leadership across the globe. In Uganda, efforts to elevate the position of women’s participation in political leadership started way back during the colonial period and throughout the postcolonial period. The increased number of women participating in political leadership came as a result their participation in the guerilla war in the Luwero Triangle. During this war, affirmative action was implemented through Resistance Councils (RCs) whereby women were accorded special reserved seats for (Secretary for Women Affairs) at all levels from Resistance Council I (RCI) up to Resistance Council V (RC V).

When the NRM government came to power in 1986, the policy of affirmative action was implemented which resulted unprecedented number of women participating in political leadership. The general objective of the study was to examine women's participation in political leadership as an impact of the NRM/NRA "bush war" in the Luwero Triangle in Uganda. Specific objectives were to: establish gender inequalities in participation in political leadership in Uganda before the National Resistance Movement/National Resistance Army (NRM/NRA) "bush war" in Luwero Triangle, examine how the National Resistance Movement/National Resistance Army (NRM/NRA) "bush war" in Luwero Triangle influenced women's participation in political leadership in Uganda and discuss the continued hindrances to women's participation in political leadership in Uganda.

Related literature was reviewed and gaps which needed to be filled identified. The study contributes to the history of women's participation in political leadership in Uganda in particular and Africa in general, adds to the existing stock of knowledge about women's participation in political leadership in Uganda-Luwero Triangle in particular, having contributed to literature.

1.1 Background.

Across the globe, women are still outnumbered by men in positions of responsibility in all fields including politics. Women continue to experience significant discrimination related to their participation in public and political life in most domains of the public sphere and in all geographical regions. Political participation is good for democracy, but all democracies have been plagued by systematic gender inequalities in participation. The European Commission recently acknowledged that, "Across the European Union (EU), women are still largely outnumbered by men in all positions of responsibility in all fields."¹

There are significant barriers to women's participation in public and political life that stem from economic, social and cultural issues, as well as from negative stereotypes about women and entrenched gender roles. One key issue, when conceptualising gender discrimination within public sphere, is the issue of how public and private space are differently gendered. For over two decades, feminist scholars have been working to dismantle the divide between public and private space. A 2005 IDEA report underlines how the public space has traditionally been a domain for men, stating that "men across virtually all cultures are socialised to see politics as a legitimate sphere for them to act in."²

While at international level, there is increasing consensus about the obligation of states to address the barriers to women's full and active participation in public sphere; in Uganda, there is still progress to be made in advancing women's equality in this domain. National legislations and constitutions adversely affect women's participation in public and political life in some states by limiting women's participation through exclusionary or discriminatory clauses, thus limiting women's ability to fully engage in public sphere.³The indivisibility of women's human rights underpins women's participation in public and political life.

The issue of gender equality in political and public life cannot be considered in isolation, as women aspiring to participate in political public life continue to face complex barriers related to the attainment of their full range of human rights, such as social, economic, health and safety rights. As the former Prime Minister to Norway, Gro Harlem Brundtland stated: "Everything is interconnected." Social policy, labour market policy, gender equality, family policy and economic policy are all elements related and dependent of each other. The indivisibility of these rights is made evident, for example when analysing the continuity of financial crisis in Europe which

significantly impacted on women's participation in national parliaments and gender equality issues in political policy.⁴

The disproportionate burden of child rearing and family responsibilities hindered progress in women's participation in political and public life in many geographic regions. This was because typically, institutions in public domain were established on the assumption that those who work in them had few or no domestic responsibilities. This phenomenon is identified as the sexual division of labour which is reflected in the lack of equitable division of labour in the family.⁵ This has significant impact on women, since the option to balance work and family responsibilities are still very restricted.

Experiences of women in sub Saharan Africa exemplifies that women's participation in economy is not strongly linked to control or autonomy. Western colonial culture emphasised the idea of "real house wife", with women as primary of providers unpaid labour and men as public figures but in reality, Sub Saharan women were pressured to remain active in formal or informal economy typically without supporting rights.⁶ Women's formal political power is at least partially related to gender equality in registering to vote. African countries where the gender gap in voter registration is small have more women in ministerial positions but not in legislature. This suggests that equality is not just being elected but women obtaining power in government itself at least when it comes to institutional political participation.⁷

The Beijing platform for action reaffirmed that women's persistent exclusion from politics in particular raised a number of specific questions regarding the achievement of effective democratic transformation in practice. It undermined the concept of democracy which by nature assumes that the right to vote and to be elected should be equally applied to all citizens, both women and men.

The absence of women from political decision making has a negative impact on the entire process of democratization.⁸

In the Luwero Triangle, the Baganda culture influenced on the way women were located as far as participation in political leadership was concerned. The fact that the Baganda received the first travelers and missionaries with pomp and ceremony, earned them the label of “collaborators” in the earlier history of African response to colonialism. The welcome of travelers, missionaries received influenced their perception of the Baganda.⁹ According to Musisi, the early travelers, missionary and colonial accounts called the Baganda as the most advanced and intelligent of all central African societies. Europeans believed that the Baganda belonged to a distinct political and social order and were privileged over other ethnic and cultural groups in the area. So the Baganda chiefs fully cooperated with colonial and missionary projects and were always delighted to see the colonial government and Missionaries perceiving the “realities” in the Kiganda way, and refining those aspects of culture or politics which did not fit Buganda’s imagined status of a “great nation”. They were particularly concerned with gender and class issues in which women’s participation in political leadership was ignored.

By the middle of the 20th Century, a core element of hetrachy- the power of royal women had ceased to exist. According to Hanson, the critical power that royal women had wielded was diminished by the cataclysmic 19th Century violence, as women were ignored in colonial governance and erased in memory by colonial education. Generally, Buganda was a deeply patriarchal society. According to Hass, Baganda women were legally, sexually and economically subjugated to their husbands.¹¹

It is true that traditional Ganda gender norms restricted female opportunity but it was their interaction with late Victorian Anglican values, and changing economic realities that worsened the

situation by producing new forms of institutionalised gender inequality.¹⁰ When Christianity was established in Buganda, the Church became an instrument for perpetuating gender inequality. Claims about Christian egalitarian values include Missionaries regarding ‘all humankind as potentially equal’ and thinking Christianity allowed a person to advance to a position that his or her talents and virtues merited, yet women could not be ordained. The Bible and other Churchmen strongly opposed sexual equality.¹¹ Christian gender ideology puts it that the maintenance of gender difference was central to the middle class new domestic model. Christian ideology ensured the continuance of patriarchal norms.

Colonial administration introduced into colonies western education and values. Educational inequalities persisted throughout the colonial era. European influences on access to schools and women’s emancipation in colonial Uganda were uneven and exclusionary, while being mediated and sustained a political coalition of the British colonial administration with the Buganda kingdom. Educational gender gap was large among the Baganda. In this way colonialism reshaped male-female power relations and consolidated male dominance in politics.¹² Uganda women appeared to be marginalised in education. Missionary schools did provide pathways for a limited number of women into a small number of occupations outside the domestic sphere.¹³

British policy of indirect rule through collaboration with elite Baganda **male chiefs ignored** women. Indirect rule was formalised in 1900 Buganda agreement.¹⁴ The agreement secured for the Baganda a special status in the colony and endorsement of their cultural and political institutions but it was premised and stressed cultural and gender differences. According to Bertolt, in many non-European societies, colonisation had the effect of structuring difference between men and women and establishing male hegemony and subordination of women in all aspects of life.¹⁵

During the early years of colonial rule, the entire Ugandan populace was disfranchised. Africans, despite their dissatisfaction with being excluded from government were considered too backward to contribute much to the development of the country. Africans were not included in Legislative Council (LEGCO) until 1945, under a firm stipulation that the representatives were to be men of substance and authority, of ripe experience and possessed developed sense of responsibility that may be expected of those holding high offices in native government and administrators.¹⁶This stipulation automatically eliminated women from nomination to the Legislative Council (LEGCO). Ugandan women were not only initially barred from being voted in public office but were generally marginalised as voters. This notion of women as minors when it came to elections and other political processes was sustained in post-colonial period until mid -1980s when the National Resistance Movement (NRM) came to power.

The colonial state, just like the project itself was a state controlled by men. As a consequence, in many places, this exclusively masculine colonial administrative and bureaucratic apparatus got rid of pre-colonial systems, which although different by gender, had political functions and titles of importance diverse for both women and men. In many non-European societies, colonialism had the effect of structuring the difference between men and women and establishing a male hegemony and subordination of women in all aspects of life. However, the absence of women from political institutions during colonial rule did not necessarily lead to their absence in the political arena. The Uganda Argus reported that women have striven to take their place in society.

There were many women already shouldering some of these responsibilities here in Kampala for instance the leading civic office was held by Barbara Saben, the Mayor.¹⁷ Furthermore, women were active in many political initiatives and protests. Rhoda Kalema recalls that the women's movement started basically in 1956 when the women around Uganda started a fight for social

justice. In this effect, the Uganda Council of **Women** which had started in 1946 joined hands with women's groups like the Mothers' Union to fight for social justice for women. So women resolved to lobby government to do this. The Women's movement started by wanting to raise the status of women by getting social justice.¹⁸ Thus, in the post war period and especially in the years before independence, many European women activists in Uganda wanted to ensure that African women would have a place in the new order that was to come. Even the highly patriarchal colonialists ensured that they left power in hands of men which was enshrined in the constitution that was imposed on the people.

Just like during the colonial era, postcolonial governments exhibited patriarchal practices with men firmly holding the substantive reins of power and authority as women were denied active and public participation.¹⁹ According to Rhoda Kalema, the country was not ready to embrace women outside of home. The Republic of Uganda gained formal independence on 9 October 1962 from the former colonial power Britain. As is the case elsewhere in Africa, men dominated the 'public' space of formal politics, while women were relegated to the domesticated 'private' space. In traditional political parties, the importance of ethnic identity combined with religion left little space to pursue gender equity in politics.²⁰

However, it is important to note that in 1962, women acquired the right to vote and stand for election in Uganda following transfer of power from colonial rule to independent government. Career opportunities in electoral politics were culturally closed to them due to continued patriarchal norms and attitude during that period.²¹ Women's struggle to participate in political leadership was extended to the post-colonial period. Rhoda Kalema points out that women did not give up.

Obote's first cabinet did not include any woman. While addressing the Uganda Council of Women 3rd annual conference, Mr. Obote thought that men alone could go a long way in carrying the burdens of a developing country, but he was one of the first to recognise that distance and progress were nothing compared to what could be achieved by men and women acting in unison. Idi Amin assumed power in 1971 through a military coup. During his regime, all political activities were banned. Women also faced restrictions such as the ban on wearing miniskirts and wigs. Despite all these restrictions against women, Amin appointed the first female ministers and permanent secretaries. For more than 30 years, the participation of women in the formal politics of post-colonial Uganda was negligible although they exercised the right to vote.²²

However, with many decades of women's absence in parliament, the National Resistance Movement (NRM), which came to power in 1986 and restored democratic rule, called for an all-inclusive and participatory system of government which improved women's participation and representation in electoral politics and government.²³ **In the Luwero Triangle**, affirmative action was introduced in the 1980s through Resistance Councils during the guerilla war to redress the problem of gender inequality that was created by historical factors and colonial experiences.

Women were encouraged not shun politics. Thus by having more women on policy making bodies, as army personnel, on cabinet or National Resistance Council (NRC) members, the country would redress the imbalance in society that has for so long robbed Uganda of her economic and political stability.²⁴

The level of women's participation in the politics of Uganda improved tremendously due to affirmative action that was accorded to women in the recent few decades.²⁵ As a result, for much of the 1990s, Uganda was celebrated as one of the success stories regarding affirmative action with the percentage of women in parliament at 35%. Uganda ranked above regional average.²⁶

This study presents a systematic investigation of how women have come up to participate in political leadership. Luwero Triangle is the beginning point of this process in Uganda.

1.2 Statement of the problem.

A lot of studies on gender have emphasised the presence of women under representation in political leadership. Coffe and Boldzendahl point out that across the globe, women are still outnumbered by men in all positions of responsibility including politics.²⁷ Tamale also observes that as is the case elsewhere in Africa, men dominate the public space of formal politics and women are neglected in the domesticated private space.²⁸ Recent experiences both in private and public life have shown that Ugandan women lag behind men in almost all fields of public life.²⁹ This kind of situation creates imbalance between men and women in political leadership rooted in people's perceptions, attitudes and stereotypes, regarding the roles, responsibilities and identities of all men and women.

However, it is also noted that most studies on women have mainly concentrated on issues related to general women emancipation. There is little analysis of women's participation in political leadership especially at both national and local levels. It is on this basis that this study analyses/investigates women's participation in political leadership in different spheres of their locality and at the national levels. It is argued in this study that this participation has been influenced **by what started** in the NRM/NRA guerilla war in Luwero Triangle.

1.3 Scope of the study.

Geographical scope:

The study was conducted in Luwero Triangle. Luwero Triangle is located in Central region of Uganda. It is an area in Uganda, north of the capital Kampala where Yoweri Museveni started a guerilla war that propelled the NRM into power in 1986. Luwero Triangle is constituted by districts of Kiboga, Kyankwanzi, Luwero, Nakaseke, Nakasongola, Mubende, Mityana, Mpigi, Wakiso, and Mukono. These districts played a big part in the guerrilla war that brought the National Resistance Movement (NRM) to power. It was in these districts that the NRM/NRA “bush war” was concentrated from the period 1981-1986, hence earning the name Luwero Triangle.

Time Scope:

The study covers the period between 1981-2006. The year 1981 is the starting point of the study because it was the year when Yoweri Museveni started a guerilla war that propelled the National Resistance Movement (NRM) government into power in 1986. The year 2006 was the year when the country returned to multiparty system that has become one of the yardstick of women participation in politics. In this, study analyses how women candidates from both the ruling and the opposition have been treated, in their attempt to participate in political leadership despite the presence of affirmative action.

1.4 Objectives:

The general objective of the study was to examine women’s participation in political leadership as an impact of the NRM/NRA “bush war” in the Luwero Triangle in Uganda.

Specific objectives were to:

- (i) Establish gender inequalities in participation in political leadership in Uganda before the National Resistance Movement/ National Resistance Army (NRM/NRA) “bush war” in Luwero Triangle.
- (ii) Examine how the National Resistance Movement/National Resistance Army “bush war” in Luwero Triangle influenced women’s participation in political leadership in Uganda.
- (iii) Discuss the continued hindrances to women’s participation in political leadership in Uganda.

1.5 Research questions:

- (i) What were the root causes of gender disparity in participation in political leadership in Uganda before the National Resistance Movement/ National Resistance Army (NRM/NRA) “bush war” in Luwero Triangle?
- (ii) How did the National Resistance Movement (NRM) influence women’s participation in political leadership in Uganda?
- (iii) What were the continued hindrances to women’s participation in political leadership in Uganda?

1.6 Significance of the study:

The study contributes to study of women's participation in political leadership in Africa and it specifically analyses how the "bush war" in Luwero Triangle has influenced women's participation in leadership in Uganda. The study shows that after the war in Luwero Triangle, women have been able to participate in both local and national politics. The study specifically shows that some programmes that were introduced during this war have become a bedrock that women have stood to vie for political positions.

1.7 Review of Related Literature.

This section focuses on related literature to Women's Participation in Political leadership. Most of the available literature about women emancipation is generalised and with little emphasis on women's participation in political leadership especially at local levels. It analyses what authors are raising in relation to the study. The review has helped to identify the gaps that need to be filled, additions or for emphasis.

Hanson observes that Buganda had three women who wielded political powers at the level of advisors to the Kabaka. The Kabaka had important advisors namely "Namasole" (the queen mother), "Lubuga" (chief sister) and "Nabagereka" (the chief wife). Those powerful women ruled their own domain, checked the power of the king, and had a significant role in choosing the next king. The queen mother and the queen sister had to live on their own hills, separated by a stream of flowing water because they were also kings and 'two kings could not stay on one hill.'³⁰ Much as Hanson points out that women participated in the politics of Buganda, he does not point out that gender disparity existed where men took a lion's share in political participation.

There have been different **views** about women in the precolonial Buganda. On one hand, Hanson further observes that by mid-20th Century, the power of royal women had ceased to exist. The critical power that royal women had wielded, he argues, was diminished by the cataclysmic 19th Century violence, ignored in colonial governance and erased in memory by colonial education. For instance, Hanson points out that British explorers who visited the kingdom in the late 19th Century had failed to conceive the political power of the queen mothers they encountered. They wrote about women's actions as bizarre, capricious and amusing rather than an integral part of the political system.³¹ Much as Hanson is credited for showing that the position of women in Buganda was ceremonial due to violence, colonial governance and education, he does not explore other factors such as gender roles, stereotype, perception and culture which this study explores. In addition, this does not explain the dismal participation of women in political leadership in Uganda during the post-colonial period. It is on this basis that this study investigates women's participation in political leadership as an impact of the NRM/NRA guerilla war in Luwero Triangle in Uganda.

On the other hand, Hass observes that Buganda was a deeply patriarchal society. Baganda women were legally, sexually and economically subjugated to their husbands.³² Much as Hass is credited for pointing out that Buganda was a patriarchal society, indicating that gender inequality in political participation therefore, stemmed from African social norms, he only based on the social, legal and economic relations. He did not point out that all important political positions from the Kabaka to the Prime Minister up to the grass root were dominated by men. So Hass focuses on social, legal and economic relations and does not expound on women's participation in political leadership positions which areas this study focuses on.

Hass further blames the African gender inequality and female disempowerment on colonialism in Africa. He for instance argues that colonial education which Uganda inherited was an effective

tool that perpetuated gender disparity in Uganda whereby the first schools to be set up were meant for the education of boys (sons of Kings and chiefs). Girls' schools were founded later when boys were a step ahead in education which widened gender disparity which was one of the roots of gender disparity in political participation in Uganda.³³ Though Hass is credited for pointing out that gender disparity stemmed from colonial education in Uganda, his observation is general. This study focuses on how the National Resistance Movement/National Resistance Army (NRM/NRA) struggle in the Luwero Triangle might have changed the situation.

For Haynes, the affirmative action was introduced in the 1980s by Resistance Councils during Luwero guerilla war to redress the problem of gender inequality that was created by historical factors-colonialism, culture and education. However, with many decades of women's absence in parliament, the NRM, which came to power in 1986 and restored democratic rule, called for an all-inclusive and participatory system of government which improved gender participation and representation in electoral politics and government.³⁴ Haynes' view is important in showing how the "bush war" in the Luwero Triangle shaped gender and political participation but he doesn't focus on the obstacles to women's participation in political leadership which this study expounds.

While looking at the role of women in the Uganda Parliament, Kakuba points out that gender-based violence as part of electoral violence caused gender disparities in political participation. In addition, harassment and violence against women and threat of violence stopped women from participating in political life. The fear of violence has a direct psychological effect on women restricting their participation in politics.³⁵ Much as Kakuba is credited for pointing out gender based violence as an obstacle to women's participation in political leadership in Uganda, he was investigating pro women issues raised by members of parliament including corresponding policy

outcomes on these issues in Uganda, this study dealt with Women's participation in political Leadership at local level in the Luwero Triangle.

Kakuba further notes that in Uganda, women raised the issue of domestic violence in elections, where they said that women were denied by their husbands their fundamental right to freely participate in electoral process. They expressed that some men denied their spouses freedom to support candidates of their choice let alone refusing them to contest for political positions. This took the form of hiding their spouses' voter's cards. This way husbands had beaten, harassed or even chased away their wives.³⁶ Much as Kakuba is credited for pointing out gender violence as one of the causes of gender disparity in political participation, he focuses on Uganda in general. His observation provides insight for this study which focuses on the Luwero Triangle in particular.

Kakuba further asserts that existing customary laws dictated superiority of boys over their sisters. According to patriarchal nature of different societies in the country, a male child was given more attention than girls. It was stressed for example that boys carry on family lineages and name while girls are married off, dropping their maiden names for their husband's name. In light of this, fathers passed property to their sons because girls were expected to leave their parents' home, get married and become part of another family. But boys were supposed to take care of family property after the death of their fathers.³⁷ Kakuba's study is good but it is too general and focuses on Uganda but not look at local spheres of leadership such as Luwero Triangle which is the focus this study.

Kakuba further notes that with many decades of women's absence in parliament, the National Resistance Movement (NRM), which came to power in 1986 restored democratic rule for all-inclusive and participatory system of government which improved women's representation in electoral politics and government. With regard to women, affirmative action policy was put in place to ensure that there was a woman representative to the national legislature from each

District.³⁸ Kakuba's observation is relevant to this study but it is general. This study is more specific and focuses at the local level in the Luwero Triangle. In light of the above, Kakuba states that the government set out a legal framework to give opportunity to women who, historically, had been kept out of mainstream politics and leadership positions. In Uganda and elsewhere in the World, women have succeeded in bringing and incorporation of women issues and concerns into important legislation. This began with their increased involvement in the 1995 constitution making process in the National Constituent Assembly which debated and came out with the 1995 constitution. Women made a mark in this constitution making process. The constitution guarantees women a lot of political privileges, for example, land ownership regulation, marriage and divorce law.³⁹

While Kakuba clearly analyses the gender participation in constitution making process in Uganda, does not precisely show how this process politically emancipated women to later join political leadership. He does not also show the role of the constitution in encouraging women to participate in local politics in areas such Luwero Triangle. Kakuba only emphasizes the fact that the 1995 constitution of the Republic of Uganda provided a significant legal framework to enable women to participate in the politics of the country. Article 3 Paragraph (iv) of the constitution states that "the state shall ensure gender balance and fair representation of marginalised groups on all constitutional and other bodies."⁴⁰

With regard to women, affirmative action policy was put in place to ensure that there was a woman representative to the national legislature from each District. Article 78 (b) allowed a reserved seat for one District woman representative in the parliament (constitution of the Republic of Uganda 1995). Therefore, the presence of women in parliament provides them with an opportunity to represent their plight so that legislations are made to create an environment where women can be

treated equally with men without subjecting them to any form of discrimination and general feeling that they are marginalised. This helped to change the attitude and behavior of men who hold on the belief that women are traditionally not allowed to take on work considered to be of male domain.⁴¹ This is important to this study as it show the fact being involved in the activities of the National Resistance Council would not have enabled women to later rise to leadership position without some form of affirmative action

Doss notes that customary law is biased against women. Customary law in Africa is characterised by dominance of male community and family members over property and lives of women prohibiting women from owning or inheriting land. When women's property rights are not secure, they become more vulnerable when they are widowed. In case of widow inheritance, statutory laws have made widows more economically vulnerable. One particular problem arises from the succession act of 1972 which promotes patrilineal inheritance. Under this act, widows have only use rights to the matrimonial home.⁴² Much as Doss is credited for pointing out customary law which prohibits women from owning land and other property which limits their political participation, his study, however, focuses on Uganda in general. Doss suggests that gender gaps in political participation is due to systematic individual level of differences between men and women in terms of socio-economic resources .Women are less likely to engage in political leadership because of their lower access to resources.

However, Doss does leaves out education as a hindrance to women's participation in political leadership as women with requisite economic resources face a glass ceiling. Doss further points out that in recent years, Uganda has taken important steps towards improving women's property rights. The country's constitution is the most gender neutral with regard to property rights in sub-Saharan Africa including land rights, both in content and language with a clause on the use of

affirmative action in favour of marginalised groups based on gender or other reasons created by history, tradition or custom for the purpose of addressing existing imbalances.⁴³ Much as Doss should be credited for pointing out the neutral constitution with regard to property rights in promotion of gender equality in political participation, his study is on Sub-Saharan Africa and binds together women and all marginalised groups such as People with Disabilities (PWDs) the youth and workers. This study is specific on women's participation in political leadership.

Doss observes that the Local Council system which operated from village level to national level had the element of inclusiveness in that for the first time, special groups such as women, youth, people with disabilities had mandatory spaces in the electoral mechanism. Doss also notes that Resistance Councils (RCs) were established initially in early 1980s in liberated areas under Museveni. The NRM installed an intricate structure of Resistance Councils from village to District level throughout the parts of the country that it controlled. Agreement on issues by consensus than trying to outmaneuver others, full participation of women, youth and the disabled in the democratic process.⁴⁴ Much as Doss is credited for pointing out that the Resistance Councils had their origin in 1980s in liberated zones in the Luwero Triangle, he leaves out the fact that this was possible because of the important role the women played as combatants, providers of food and intelligence during the bush war in Luwero Triangle. Doss further fails to point out limitations within Local Council structures which limit women in their quest to participate in Political leadership.

In conclusion, the analysis of the available literature shows that most scholars have put emphasis on women emancipation in general. It also shows that little has been done on the role of factors such as guerrilla movements such as NRM/NRA in propelling women into participation in political leadership. This makes the analysis of women's participation in political leadership as an impact

of the NRM/NRA bush in Luwero Triangle in Uganda an addition in the literature of women emancipation in Uganda and Africa at large.

1.8 Research Methodology.

This section presents the approach, the research design, methods used to collect data on Women's Participation in Political Leadership in Uganda, the case study of the Luwero Triangle, sources, study population, sampling and data analysis. Research design is a systematic and logical study of the principles controlling the investigation concerned with research questions posed on the issues an individual wants investigated in a given setting.

1.8.1 Approach:

The researcher used qualitative approach. This provided a wide range of data with detailed descriptions and explanations of the feelings about the key factors under study of women's participation in political leadership in Luwero Triangle.

1.8.2 Research Design

This study used a case study research design based on qualitative approach. The case study design strategy was used to enable the realization of the study aims which were to establish gender inequalities in participation in political leadership in Uganda before the NRM/NRA "bush war" in Luwero Triangle, examine how the NRM/NRA "bush war" in Luwero Triangle influenced women's participation in political leadership in Uganda and discuss the continued hindrances to women's participation in political leadership in Uganda. This research design allows document review and field research through the use of interviews and procedural explanation of events.

Research design is an outline which provides adequate and systematic investigation of a research problem. It is through credible methodology that individual researchers are able to meet objectives for their studies. The research design for this study involved making guided decisions of how the adopted procedures were going to be applied to achieve the study objectives. So, the research design as a general procedure for this study was used for conducting an investigation to establish gender inequalities in participation in political leadership in Uganda before the National Resistance NRM/NRA “bush war” in Luwero Triangle, examine how the NRM/NRA “bush war” in Luwero Triangle influenced women’s participation in political leadership in Uganda and discuss the continued hindrances to women’s participation in political leadership in Uganda.

1.8.3 Study Population and Sample Size

The study population included knowledgeable respondents from villages, Sub counties and Town Councils, District Councils and Sub counties; especially elders and opinion leaders. The researcher selected elderly people of 50 years of age and above. The rationale for the age group of 50 years and above was to preferably select people who witnessed or participated in the “bush war” in the Luwero Triangle and or those who interacted with them. A total of 52 respondents participated in the research. These were selected through purposive sample selection method. Twenty-four were women and twenty-eight were men. Key among these were former Members of Parliament (MPs), “bush war” veterans, former ministers and retired politicians, elders and opinion leaders. The “Bush war” veterans in the Luwero Triangle were included because they provided firsthand information as eye witness. Elders and opinion leaders were included in the study population to provide historical information due to their age and status in society.

1.8.4 Data Sources

Both primary and secondary sources of data were used in this study. Primary data sources included selected respondents who included opinion leaders, elderly people and politicians. Secondary data sources included printed and online sources which included relevant historical information.

1.8.5 Data Collection Methods

This study used two methods of historical enquiry/data collection on Women's Participation in Political Leadership in Luwero Triangle, namely: Documentary review and interview methods.

Document review involved data collection from printed sources and online sources. Data was collected from online search engines like Google Scholar and jstor for online journals, text books and other online materials relevant to the topic under study. Data was also collected from printed sources. These materials were obtained from libraries of Public and Private Universities and Institutions of Higher Education where text books, newspaper articles and other manuscripts were used as the source of data. Archival materials were obtained from National Archives at Wandegaya in Kampala and various visits were arranged by the researcher to the Ministry of Gender and Social Development to obtain written materials relevant to the topic under the study.

Interview method was employed to collect data from selected key informants which enabled the researcher to collect detailed qualitative data. Respondents were interviewed either in English language or in local languages that is, Luganda or Runyakitara according to their level of literacy. An interview guide which had been approved by the supervisor was used for every interview conducted systematically, and the interview questions were designed according to the objectives of the study.

1.8.6 Data Processing and Data Analysis:

All the data collected from document review and interviews collected, and compiled together for processing and analysis. Data processing involved sorting by removing inconsistencies, and editing the data according to the main themes of the study as derived from the objectives of the study. Data was analysed comparatively using the narrative method to evaluate the information and minimise inaccuracy. This method was applied by transcribing interview responses and data collected from document review, edited them for completeness and accuracy.

1.8.7 Ethical Considerations

The researcher sought permission from respondents by presenting to them an introductory letter from Kyambogo University and told them reasons why he was conducting the interview.

They were informed that their honest views were welcome and confidentiality was emphasised which helped to create confidence between respondents and the interviewer. The letter was also presented to the staff of the National Archives located at Wandegaya in Kampala and they requested for the copy of the research report which the researcher promised to provide at the end of the project.

1.9 Constraints:

(i). Coverage was limited by high transport costs in the eight Districts that constitute Luwero Triangle. Research assistants were used to overcome the challenge.

(ii) Some respondents expected financial rewards before giving their information. The choice to opt out was provided.

(iii). Literature on women's participation in political leadership was general with little emphasis on local levels. Despite the above challenges, the researcher was able to gather enough information which assisted to complete the project.

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CHAPTER TWO

GENDER DISPARITIES IN POLITICAL LEADERSHIP IN UGANDA BEFORE THE NATIONAL RESISTANCE MOVEMENT/NATIONAL RESISTANCE ARMY “BUSH WAR” IN LUWERO TRIANGLE.

2.0 Introduction.

This chapter, analyses the root causes of gender disparity in political participation Uganda before the National Resistance Movement/National Resistance Army (NRM/NRA) “bush war.” Its major components include: The influence of Baganda political and cultural norms on gender inequalities in political leadership, the influence of Christianity and formal education on gender inequalities in Participation in Political Leadership, the influence of colonial and post-colonial governance on gender inequalities in participation in political leadership.

Though women and men differ with regard to their biological make up, it was social prejudice and stereotypes, which had over ages and across societies been employed to exclude women from society’s most valuable resources. In Buganda, there were few areas of unequal relationship between men and women’s participation in political leadership in royal circles. However, women outside the royal family could not be allowed to participate in political leadership. Traditional views on gender roles and stereotypes were an impediment to the realisation of full gender equality and these cultural beliefs permeated all action within the political and public spheres of the State.

According to Hass, it is true that traditional Ganda gender norms restricted female opportunity but it was their interaction with late Victorian Anglican values, and changing economic realities that worsened the situation. Missionaries and colonial officials in Uganda often coalesced with indigenous patriarchal interests to domesticise women and this produced new forms of institutionalised gender inequality in participation in political leadership.¹

The colonial state was a male state in its social base, personnel, and, not least, its military preoccupations and gender discriminatory laws. As much of, Europe, women were classified as vote less alongside the insane. The colonisers were white men. The colonial state was therefore, first a patriarchal state that perpetuated gender inequality in political participation. This notion of women as minors when it came to elections and other political processes was sustained in post-colonial period until mid -1980s when the National Resistance Movement (NRM) came to power.

2.1 The influence of Buganda's political and cultural norms on Gender Inequalities in Political Leadership.

The root causes of gender disparity in political participation in Luwero Triangle can be traced from Buganda political system which had developed as a result of centralisation of power and wealth and subsequently the reduction of the powers of royal women. The kingdom then became a deeply patriarchal society. The king (Kabaka) was referred to as “*Ssabataka*” that is the head of *bataka*, “*Ssabasajja*” (head of all men) meaning that he was above the *bataka* and above all men.² According to an informer from Kamira Subcounty, Luwero district, the Kabaka was also given other titles like “*Ssabalongo*” (the father of twins) and in the eyes of the King, all his subjects belonged to the same gender of “women” irrespective of whether they were males or females; which is why the Kabaka was and is still referred to as “*Bbaffe*” (our husband) by both Baganda

men and women.² Gender disparity in political participation therefore, stemmed from Buganda's political system which became patriarchal in nature from the mid-18th Century.

Buganda kingdom had three women who wielded political powers at the level of advisors to the Kabaka. "Namasole" (the queen mother), "Lubuga" (the Kabaka's sister who accompanied him during coronation ceremony) and "Nabagereka" (the chief wife of the Kabaka). These powerful women ruled their own domain, checked the power of the king and along with chief "mugema" had a significant role in choosing the next King.³ The Kabaka also employed some women officials to spy on his chiefs. Such women provided information to the Kabaka regarding individual chiefs' relationship with him. This could be viewed as representing gender sensitivity in politics of Buganda although men took a lion's share as they dominated most influential positions in the kingdom and worse still, women outside the royal family were not supposed to be equal to men.

By the middle of the 20th Century, a core element of hierarchy- the power of royal women had ceased to exist. According to Hanson, the critical power that royal women had wielded was diminished by the cataclysmic 19th Century violence, as women were ignored in colonial governance and erased in memory by colonial education. British explorers who visited the kingdom in the late 19th Century had failed to conceive the political power of the queen mothers and powerful women of the palace. They wrote about women's actions as bizarre, capricious and amusing rather than an integral part of the political system.⁴ This indicates that the participation of women in the politics of Buganda had long become ceremonial since the late 19th Century.

One key respondent who is a veteran politician pointed out that the position of the royal women ceased from being a political position and became a cultural position without any administrative or political powers.⁵

Generally, Buganda was a deeply patriarchal society. According to Hass, Baganda women were legally, sexually and economically subjugated to their husbands. The Kabaka was referred to as “Ssabataka” that is head of bataka, “Ssabasajja”(head of all men), meaning that he was above the Bataka and above all men. Gender inequality in political participation therefore, stemmed from African social norms. According to Hass, Buganda became a deeply patriarchal society. Baganda women were legally, sexually and economically subjugated to their husbands.⁶ Women were supposed to obey the commands of their husbands and had no say in leadership which indicated that gender inequality in political participation therefore, stemmed from Baganda social norms. One key respondent, noted: “Since the time I started understanding and the way our fathers used to behave, a woman could not participate in leadership but was led by a man. She worked according to the commands of a man.”⁷ Traditionally, a man was the highest command and women were nurtured to obey their husbands at all time. The nature of Baganda society did not give room for women to participate in political leadership. This was out of the fact that in earlier generations, as Daly observes, when local customs and personal behaviour were more in harmony, it might be argued that placing women in a subservient role would allow for greater stability for the collective needs of society.⁸

Socialisation towards gender roles was key in limiting women’s participation in political leadership. According to Hass, many of the roles performed by men and women were circumscribed by society and societal norms. Women were socialised towards gender roles that was more passive, private rule abiding and compassionate while men were oriented towards leadership, public roles, autonomy and self-reliance.⁹ In Baganda, right from child hood, women/ girls were trained to respect men. They were taught that they could not have the same rights as men and were also taught never to fight with men. One key informant noted that “the work of

women was to look after the home, husbands and their children.” Women in Buganda were not nurtured to participate in leadership or political activities. They were trained to show respect to men by kneeling down while talking to or greeting them. Women were supposed to kneel down and thank their husbands after being punished for any wrong doing.”¹⁰ This meant that women were deprived of any capacity to exercise in public sphere. It remains true that the social roles attributed to women in Buganda remained confined to the private sphere which constituted one of the root causes of gender disparity in participation in political leadership before the “bush war” in the Luwero Triangle.

Though women and men differ with regard to their biological make up, it was social prejudice and stereotypes, which had over ages and across societies been employed to exclude women from society’s most valuable resources.¹¹ According to Meyerowitz, in different historical contexts, masculinity represented strengths, protection, independence, savagery and brutality, and femininity represented weakness, fragility, helplessness, emotionally passivity, domestication, nurturance, attractiveness, partnership excess and temptation.¹² Social prejudice and stereotypes which developed in society constituted the roots of gender disparity in participation in political leadership. According to one respondent from Kamira Sub County, Luwero district, “there is a way in which men are superior to women. Women are influenced by anger in decision making and often make mistakes. On the other hand, men are patient and make correct decisions without being influenced by anger.”¹³

According to her, male superiority was one of the major roots of gender disparity in participation in political leadership before the National Resistance Movement/National Resistance Army (NRM/NRA) “bush war” in the Luwero Triangle. The Baganda culture influenced on the way women were located as far as participation in political leadership was concerned. The fact that the

Baganda received the first travelers and missionaries with pomp and ceremony, earned them the label of “collaborators” in the earlier history of African response to colonialism. The welcome of travelers and missionaries received influenced their perception of the Baganda. According to Musisi, the early travelers, missionary and colonial accounts often called the Baganda as the most advanced and intelligent of all central African societies. Europeans believed that the Baganda belonged to a distinct political and social order and were privileged over other ethnic and cultural groups in the area.¹⁴ So the Baganda chiefs fully cooperated with colonial and missionary projects and were always delighted to see the colonial government and Missionaries perceiving the “realities” in the Kiganda way, and refining those aspects of culture or politics which did not fit Buganda’s imagined status of a “great nation”. They were particularly concerned with gender and class issues in which women’s participation in political leadership was neglected.

2.2 The Influence of Christianity and Formal Education on Gender Inequalities in Participation in Political Leadership

Another area that created gender disparity in participation in political leadership was the introduction of Christianity and formal education. It is true that traditional Ganda gender norms restricted female opportunity but it was their interaction with late Victorian Anglican values, and changing economic realities that worsened the situation by producing new forms of institutionalised gender inequality.¹⁵ When Christianity was established in Buganda, the Church became an instrument for perpetuating gender inequality. Claims about Christian egalitarian values include Missionaries regarding ‘all humankind as potentially equal’ and thinking Christianity allowed a person to advance to a position that his or her talents and virtues merited, yet women could not be ordained. The Bible and other Churchmen-strongly opposed sexual equality.¹⁶

Educational inequalities persisted throughout the colonial era. European influences on access to schools and women's emancipation in colonial Uganda were uneven and exclusionary, while being mediated and sustained a political coalition of the British colonial administration with the Buganda kingdom. Educational gender gap was large among the Baganda. The most plausible explanation was that the Ganda boys benefited from the new schooling opportunities, while girls benefited new infrastructures with a lag.

In 1875, Muteesa I asked Stanley to write a letter in English on his behalf inviting European teachers to come to teach his people new knowledge and skills. British teachers who belonged to the Church Missionary Society (CMS) volunteered to come to Uganda and teach the people. They arrived in 1877 led by Alexander Mackay. Muteesa sent these first CMS missionaries to live in the village of Nateete near his palace of Kasubi Nabulagala in Kampala. Soon afterwards, the Church Missionary Society were followed in 1879 by Missionaries who belonged to the White Fathers' Society. These were the Roman Catholics and they were Frenchmen. Muteesa welcomed them warmly too. He sent them to live in the village of Rubaga again near his palace of Kasubi Nabulagala in Kampala. Father Simon Lourdel who was later nicknamed Mapeera because he used to say "Mappel" which means my name in French, was famous among the first White Fathers Society.

In 1890, the Anglicans built their first house of worship at the Centre of evangelization-St. Paul's Cathedral on Namirembe Hill close to the royal court. The Catholics set up a camp on adjacent Rubaga Hill. These events had a large and long lasting impact on Uganda's colonial history.

Since the reason why the British and the French Missionaries came to Uganda was to teach both Christianity and other kinds of knowledge, they at once began teaching the people of Uganda. They taught them Christianity, reading, writing, numeracy, agriculture and some technical skills.

J Steward of the CMS wrote: But the Bible means teachers and readers mean schools and schools mean teachers. From 1898 proper schools began to be established.

Namilyango College was established in 1902, CMS established Mengo Secondary School in 1903, King's College Buddo in 1905, and Gayaza High School in 1905. In 1908, St. Mary's Rubaga High School was established and later moved to Kisubi and given a name St. Mary's College Kisubi. Mill Hill Fathers also established Nsuube High school for girls. The Missionaries, the Uganda chiefs and their subjects played a key role in establishing new Western type of schools and financing them. The colonial government at the beginning did not involve itself in establishing schools, financing or administering them.

The most important schools which were established between 1900 and 1912 were for the children of chiefs and most important people in the Ugandan society such as clan heads and clergy men. It was thought then that those children would be future leaders in Uganda.¹⁷ Colonial administration introduced into colonies western education and values. The majority of the population comprising of the peasants and women were also excluded from political scene. In this way colonialism reshaped male-female power relations and consolidated male dominance in politics.¹⁸ Educational inequalities persisted throughout the colonial era. European influences on access to schooling and women's emancipation in colonial Uganda were uneven and exclusionary, while being mediated and sustained a political coalition of the British colonial administration with the Buganda kingdom.¹⁹ Only by the end of colonial period did the majority young men attain literacy, while female literacy just began to rise from a very low level. Educational gender gap was large among the Baganda. The most plausible explanation was that the Ganda boys benefited from the new schooling opportunities, while girls benefited new infrastructures with alag.²⁰

The colonial government spent less funds on education of girl child in Uganda. Dr. Mary Blacklock wrote to the Director of education Makerere University thus: "It is nowadays generally recognised that for attainment of social progress in conditions of most colonial territories, the education of women is at least as important as that of men: the increased importance now given to improving nutrition and the large part of women can play in securing that end only emphasise the need. I feel however, that the sums spent on education of women are still small compared with those spent on men's education, and I would ask you to consider ways and means remedying this defect." In his response, the Director of Education utterly disregarded Dr. Mary's concern. He replied that "the factors to be remembered (for gender disparity in education) would be tribal conservatism of Africans regarding his women folk and the fact that education department has just been established barely twelve years."²¹ Therefore, unlike men whose education funding was high, women had low funding by the colonial government. This resulted into unequal access to education which later had a bearing on gender disparity by granting men an upper hand in political participation.

Hass points out that Colonial education which Uganda inherited was also an effective tool that perpetuated gender disparity in Uganda whereby the first schools to be set up were meant for the education of boys-sons of Kings and chiefs. Girls' schools were founded later when boys were a step ahead in education which widened gender disparity which was one of the roots of gender imbalance in political participation in Uganda.²² Bishop Biermans of the Mill Hill Fathers stated that the aim of Namilyango College in 1901 that "many of the sons of chiefs from that school would succeed the chief ships for which responsible positions they would be better prepared."

Families usually chose to allocate their scarce resources to educate their sons, while expecting their daughters to contribute to the household's limited labour.²³ If education become expensive, an average family would likely decide that the girl child's education had to be foregone in

preference to male education.²³ Gender inequality in educational attainment continued to rise all the way through colonial era.²⁴

In 1959, only 295 African girls (compared to boys 2,619) were enrolled in senior secondary schools-all Christian. Uganda women appeared to be marginalised in education. According to African survey of Lord Hailey, the share of girls enrolled in primary schools in Uganda in 1959 was even the lowest (0.2%) at the time in East and West African colonies.²⁵ Therefore, unlike men, women had unequal access to education which later had a bearing on gender disparity by granting men an upper hand in political participation.

According to Natasha, the middle class gendered model of society placed particular emphasis on the promotion of distinct feminine and masculine qualities as well as separation of public from domestic life epitomised in marriage and division of labour. Middle class households allocated according to the belief that men were natural guardians and providers for their families while women cared for their domestic and moral needs. This was an ideal propagated in mission education for girls as well as by protestant female missionaries who instructed African house wives in domestic duties.²⁶ Protestant and catholic mission school for girls were primarily aimed at training women to be good wives to the new generation of Christian leaders which meant domestic virtues such as production of household crafts.²⁷

One issue that stands out is that European Missionaries actively discouraged mixed schools and that girls' education was primarily aimed at training women to be good Christian wives. This meant inculcating an attitude of moral purity and domestic values which included industrious activities such as household crafts.²⁸ The Baganda were fully aware of the low economic value returns to women's education. When in 1937, a Ganda civil servant testified to a committee about African men refusing to pay school fees for girls, he pointed out that they think education the girls were

receiving then was not as good as that of boys. Educating women was not a priority. When the first girls' school was opened at Gayaza in 1905, it exclusively domesticated girls. Schools merely shaped girls into housewives.²⁹ Even though women exposed to missionary education may have attained literacy and attained schooling more quickly than their rural unexposed counterparts, their education was primarily supposed to benefit their families in the domestic sphere. This was because missionary schools did provide pathways for a limited number of women into a small number of occupations outside the domestic sphere.³⁰

As a result of centralization of power and wealth and subsequently the reduction of the powers of royal women, precolonial Buganda became a deeply patriarchal society. The influence of patriarchal values of Baganda society with the late Victorian ideologies of the Anglican Church produced a new system of institutionalised gender inequality.³¹ Gender inequality therefore, stemmed from African social norms in collaboration with Christian ideology.

Missionaries propagated the picture of a good Christian house wife and mother that reflected the gender roles that were typical of middle class patriarchy in the late Victorian Britain.³² Traditional Ganda gender norms restricted female opportunity but it was their interaction with late Victorian Anglican values, and changing economic realities that produced new forms of institutionalised gender inequality.³³ Christian gender ideology puts it that the maintenance of gender difference was central to the middle class new domestic model. Christian ideology ensured the continuance of patriarchal norms. Thus it was possible for Reverend Selope Thama to declare that “this claim to equality with men by Bantu women is the root cause of the destruction of Bantu family life. No community in which men are without control over their women can hope to build a healthy social system.”³⁴

Claims about Christian egalitarian values include missionaries regarding ‘all humankind as potentially equal’ and thinking Christianity allowed a person to advance to a position that his or her talents and virtues merited, yet women could not be ordained. The Bible and other Churchmen strongly opposed sexual equality.³⁵ Baganda social norms discriminated against women but it was their interaction with the values of the Anglican Church that produced a new system of institutionalised gender inequality.³⁶ Hass and Frankema crown it all by rightly pointing out that the missionaries and colonial officials in Uganda often coalesced with indigenous patriarchal interests to domesticise women.³⁷ Missionary and colonial images of Kiganda practices that debased women were held up as reasons for the Buganda’s regretful state of failure to progress.³⁸ In Uganda, the Mother’s Union kept the local patriarchy in check particularly after the African church become independent in 1907 as the **Church of Uganda**. But once the Mother’s Union became established, Its African women applied pressure on their husbands and chiefs, instilling women’s right to pursue Christian devotion or roles in the Church-community life.³⁹ The Church league for women’s suffrage (later known as the league of Church militants)-an organization that operated between 1909-1928 had advocated for women’s suffrage and women’s ordination.⁴⁰

2.3 The Influence of Colonial Governance on Gender Inequalities in Participation in Political Leadership.

Colonial governance was yet another area that caused gender disparity in participation in political leadership. The motive of colonialism was the search for economic treasures. The British, therefore, used several methods to secure consolidation of their power in various parts of Africa. For example, they used institutions like the Imperial British East Africa Company (IBEACO) to secure monopoly of East African trade.⁴¹ They also used the concept of treaty signing which led to the Anglo-German Treaty by which a defined geographical sphere of

influence was obtained. Kenya and Uganda fell under British spheres and Tanganyika under German control. However, these were mere spheres of influence which did not involve serious colonial penetration into the interior.⁴²

After obtaining spheres of influence, internationally reorganised boundaries and signing treaties with various stake holders, using violence to destroy resisting groups, the British then employed their last method which was establishment of inductive system which was used to bring the man in the county side under colonial rule, it was also used to confirm this man's subordination and compliance with orders and regulation from the center. At this level, chiefs were already identified, villages grouped under them and all the three pillars of governance: legislation especially in the making of bylaws to enforce urgent policies, execution of laws and judicial powers all fused together on them as village despots. This system involved reorganization of the social structure, the missionary factor and the use of personal gifts to change people to the side of the foreign rulers.⁴³

When the British established themselves in Buganda, they preferred the Kiganda method of centralised administration. Having made the country their base, the British were sufficiently impressed by Buganda's form of government to envisage it as a model for creating a uniform administration throughout the surrounding regions. Buganda's history was characterised by expansion and by the growth of royal power, expressed in centralised government through appointed chiefs. Kabaka's power was further increased due to creation of Batongole, and appointed chiefs could form a standing army and navy.

Missionaries formed clientages of Baganda chiefs and by 1888 when Mwanga attempted to eliminate them, the Christians captured power. However, they agreed to restore him as a puppet king. The rival Batongole hierarchy declined with Mwanga's personal fortunes. When he rebelled

in 1897, Bakungu stood firm to their alliance with the British, and it was whom Johnston negotiated the 1900 Agreement.

With the formalization of the Lukiiko, or gathering of the more important chiefs, as a Council of defined membership and regular sessions, Buganda offered the British a model for native administration such as they had not encountered elsewhere in Africa. By 1900 the responsibilities of the British extended far beyond Buganda. Their rule went as far as western kingdoms of Toro, Ankole, and Bunyoro, whose political organization resembled in varying degrees that of Buganda.

It was the work of British to create the similar system of Buganda to other areas. Johnston himself, after dividing the Protectorate into provinces and districts, issued directions for the appointment of county chiefs. And in any case the permanent officials in the country made a point of ruling where possible through kingships and chieftaincies which could be reformed along Buganda lines.

The Bakungu who signed the Agreement were not isolated elite, but the leaders of a rapidly growing community of Christian Baganda, some of whom were themselves teachers and many of whom were literate. Their ardent assimilation of alien culture and their familiarity with hierarchical government: All pointed to the Baganda being a considerable asset in the 'opening up' of an administered country, especially when their own form of government was to be introduced. Johnston, believed that the Baganda were 'destined to play the principal role in the future of the Uganda protectorate'. Indeed, Lugard himself had foreseen that they might be used in administration outside their own country.⁴⁴

Euro-centric scholars have pointed out that: Gender inequality stemmed from African social norms and the process of emancipation can be attributed to the influences of European modernity.⁴⁵ They also assert that European colonial rule contributed to gender balanced pattern of human capital

development by instilling “modern” norms of gender equality in a society that was prone to discriminate women. Colonial influences in Uganda brought much greater and more equal opportunities than in precolonial times.⁴⁶

However, it seems unwarranted to attribute this development to the modern values introduced by European agents of colonial rule. At the heart of this refining moment was the British policy of indirect rule through collaboration with elite Baganda male chiefs which ignored women. According to classic indirect rule, the British colonial rulers were supposed to rule only through those Africans who had traditional authority in their respective areas-those Africans who according to customs and traditions of society were actually supposed to be rulers like kings and chiefs.

Indirect rule was formalised in 1900 when the colonial government and Baganda male elites with help of Missionaries signed the Buganda agreement.⁴⁷ The agreement secured for the Baganda a special status in the colony and endorsement of their cultural and political institutions but it was premised and stressed cultural and gender differences.⁴⁸ Indirect rule provided the ideological procedures by which the cultural space and practices of the Baganda were observed, imagined and disrupted. European influences were not just diffusive but also divisive, and that gender inequality was reconfigured rather than eliminated under colonial rule.⁴⁹

The Baganda chiefs fully cooperated with colonial and missionary projects and were always delighted to see the colonial government and Missionaries perceiving the “realities” in the Kiganda way, and refining those aspects of culture or politics which did not fit Buganda’s imagined status of a “great nation”. They were particularly concerned with gender and class issues. In their efforts to preserve customs and traditions, the British reshaped gender and class configurations through biased laws and regulations.⁵⁰ According to Bertolt, in many non-European societies, colonisation

had the effect of structuring difference between men and women and establishing male hegemony and subordination of women in all aspects of life.⁵¹

The Buganda agreement recognised the triumph within the Buganda political system of the Bakungu hierarchy of chiefs predominant in the membership of the reformed (Lukiiko) which it had established. The status of these men was further enhanced by the distribution of mailo estates of freehold land under the terms of the Uganda agreement, a development which temporarily transformed the client chiefs of Buganda into a landed aristocracy. The years immediately following 1900 are marked by dominance of Bakungu chiefs in the local life of the kingdom.⁵²

Colonial authorities rationalised their rule in reference to the widespread brutality that the 19th Century visitors had observed, and some historians interpreted ambiguous oral sources in a way that extended despotic violence into indefinite past. As Wrigley explains Buganda: “To win power, you must have spears behind you: to keep it, you must ensure that they are not plunged into your back.”⁵³ Hanson further observes that the critical power that royal women had wielded, he argues, was diminished by the cataclysmic 19th Century violence, ignored in colonial governance and erased in memory by colonial education. Furthermore, he points out that British explorers who visited the kingdom in the late 19th Century had failed to conceive the political power of the queen mothers they encountered. They wrote about women’s actions as bizarre, capricious and amusing rather than an integral part of the political system.⁵⁴

During the early years of colonial rule, the entire Ugandan populace was disfranchised. Africans were not included in the Legislative Council (LEGCO) until 1945. Africans, despite their dissatisfaction with being excluded from government were considered too backward to contribute much to the development of the country. In 1945, three Ugandans were incorporated in the Legislative Council (LEGCO) for the first time. These were ME Kawalya- Kagwa, P Nyangabyaki

and Y. Zirabamuzale.⁵⁵ This was under a firm stipulation that the representatives were to be men of substance and authority, of ripe experience and possessed developed sense of responsibility that may be expected of those holding high offices in native government and administrators.⁵⁷ This firm stipulation automatically eliminated women from nomination to the Legislative Council (LEGCO). Ugandan women were not only initially barred from being voted in public office but were generally marginalised as voters. The first woman to enter the Legislative Council (LEGICO) did so in 1954. In the first nation-wide Legislative Council (LEGICO) elections in 1957, women were effectively denied the right to vote on account of franchise restrictions such as property, income and employment prequalification. This meant that the majority of Ugandan women who were engaged in unpaid subsistence work were disqualified from voting.

In 1961, during the run up of first direct elections, it was still being debated whether women could be permitted to participate in elections. Despite the above restrictions, some few women were nominated to the legislative Council of 1958 and 1961 and some of these were: Ms. E Makumbi, Ntiro, P. Kisosonkole, F Akello, J Mpanga and Barbra Saben who later became the first woman Mayor of Kampala City. In the Uganda Argus of 1962 under the headline “women in politics”, it was reported that it started in 1953. Mrs Makumbi Eseza was perhaps one of the first women in Buganda to take on active politics. Mrs Makumbi had been fired by enthusiasm to enter politics after attending a conference sponsored by Uganda women Council with the theme “Ugandan women, look ahead”. As long as 1953 when the Kabaka was deported, we have been reading about other women very active in politics in Buganda. Mrs Rebecca Mulira for instance, Mrs D Kiwanuka, Mrs Kamanyi and others fought tooth and nail for the return of the Kabaka. They have for a long time played a leading role in political parties. Mrs Mulira was president of the Kampala branch of the Progressive party. During the Uganda Freedom Movement days, she was a pillar of

strength after the leader had been deported.⁵⁶ This notion of women as minors when it came to elections and other political processes was sustained in post-colonial period until mid -1980s when the National Resistance Movement (NRM) came to power.

The colonial state was a male state in its social base, personnel, and, not least, its military preoccupations and gender discriminatory laws.⁵⁷ As much of, Europe, women were classified as vote less alongside the insane.⁵⁸ The colonisers were white men. The colonial state was therefore, first a patriarchal state. Despite the presence in colonies of white women, although oppressed, they enjoyed privileges of a white race .But power and authority were exclusively in the hands of white men. Political participation for Africans was based on the British model that accorded power to men only.⁵⁹

It was not surprising, therefore, that it was unthinkable for the colonial government to recognise female leaders among the colonised. The transformation of power to male gender was accomplished by exclusion of women from state structures.⁶⁰ On the 22nd February, 1913, the provincial commissioner for Buganda wrote to the district commissioners under his command requesting them to arrange for appointment of able and thoroughly reliable men who will not be afraid to speak out as representatives for the Saza chiefs in the Lukiiko.⁶¹ This kicked out women from representing Saza Chiefs in the Lukiiko.

The colonial government set up political and administrative units such as District Councils, chieftaincies which virtually included no women which remained the position until 1962. The colonial government therefore, did not advocate for women's political participation. The colonial state, just like the project itself was a state controlled by men. As a consequence, in many places, this exclusively masculine colonial administrative and bureaucratic apparatus got rid of pre-

colonial systems, which although different by gender, had political functions and titles of importance diverse for both women and men.⁶²

The colonial officers, with their Victorian concept of women as home makers/workers bluntly turned against African women's visibility in the public domain.⁶³ Western colonial culture emphasised the real house wife with women as primary providers of unpaid family labour and men as public political figures. Women were pressured to remain active in the formal (and informal sectors) typically without rights. All this has contributed to a type of de facto economic marginalisation.⁶⁴ Since division of labour in many societies was such that it was women who undertook most un remunerable labour, it was gender biased against women.

In many non-European societies, colonialism had the effect of structuring the difference between men and women and establishing a male hegemony and subordination of women in all aspects of life. The new social hierarchies introduced by colonialism seem to have destroyed the system of solidarity and complementarity that existed in the so called primitive societies.⁶⁵ In terms of marital roles, colonialism sometimes inadvertently made marriage more financially advantageous to women by changing divorce laws to reflect western mores but women still struggled under customary marriage arrangements that offered women a few rights.⁶⁶

Colonial rule was majorly aimed at economic exploitation other than gender balance in political participation. Lord Lugard in the dual mandate that informed the British colonial adventure in Africa as elsewhere, noted that the goals of profit and of humanity are not often compatible except accidentally. The former is driven by relentless greed and the latter by moral considerations.⁶⁷ One key respondent from Luwero Town council, Luwero district pointed out that the colonial masters in Uganda had too much greed for wealth to be concerned with the moral aspect of gender equity in political participation.⁶⁸ It is therefore possible that the British, despite their patriarchal

background, using their system of indirect rule could have upheld the position of women if their economic interests were secure because this was their primary goal in their colonial enterprise.

However, the absence of women from political institutions during colonial rule did not necessarily lead to their absence in the political arena. The Uganda Argus reported that women have striven to take their place in society. There are many women already shouldering some of these responsibilities here in Kampala for instance the leading civic office was held by Barbara Saben, the Mayor.⁶⁹ One of the major political actions by Ugandan women involved a group formed out of the Mother's Union who mounted anti-colonial protest surrounding the deportation of the Kabaka of Buganda by the British Governor in 1953. This action marked the beginning of women's involvement in politics. After 1955 when the king was returned, women were brought into local council up to government.⁷⁰

Furthermore, women were active in many political initiatives and protests. In the early 1960s, the issue of taxing women raised the ire of the poor women in Teso, Tororo and Buganda who wrote memos and mobilised against their Local Councils.

In 1962, 300 women held a demonstration at Clock Tower in Kampala and declared that they could withdraw their confidence in Buganda government on grounds that having women pay tax was degrading and a violation of Ganda custom. However, the elite and educated women tended to favour the taxation of women on grounds that if women were to be accepted as equal to men, they would need to act as full-fledged citizens and pay taxes like men.⁷¹ In the Uganda Argus of 1962, it was reported that Miss Owen said that the Uganda women's conference would also be told about the declaration where women would be able to pay taxes. Men and women of Uganda were then waiting to see what would come out of the conference. According to Miss Owen, equality was

coming and nothing could stop it. The women then asked for a chance to enjoy the same privileges as men.⁷²

The Uganda Council of Women took on a variety of activities. The organisation also challenged political parties for their lack of commitment to women's issues. Much energy was expended on education around voting and citizenship and encouraging women to be politically active.⁷²

Rhoda Kalema recalls that the women's movement started basically in 1956 when the women around Uganda started a fight for social justice. The Uganda Council of Women (UCU) which had started in 1946 joined hands with women's groups like the Mothers' Union to fight for social justice for women. The Uganda Council of Women (UCU) held their annual general meeting in 1958 and resolved that the best way to get social justice for women was to **regularise** their marriage.

To make sure that all marriages civil, Church and customary were registered. So women resolved to lobby government to do this. The Women's movement started by wanting to raise the status of women by getting social justice. "If women had self-esteem and dignity, they would be free." Says Kalema.⁷³ What was also significant is that the crusade to liberate women was spearheaded by mostly European women within the Uganda Council of Women.

Thus, in the post war period and especially in the years before independence, many European women activists in Uganda did not see themselves as part of colonial project of domination-they saw themselves as rather participants in a transition to African rule, in which they, along with African women leaders wanted to ensure that African women would have a place in the new order that was to come. When it came to nationalist concerns, Ugandan women formed their own organisations like African Uganda Women's League. They collaborated with Europeans and Asians when it suited their purposes and acted on their own when circumstances required greater autonomy and independence of action.⁷⁴ These believed that Women, had a better understanding

of people than men. The Uganda Council of Women urged government to review laws by passing a resolution urging the government to investigate laws concerning family, inheritance with a view to re drafting them to suit modern conditions. Three women were among 25 people who were chosen to make up the membership of the proposed Mengo municipal Council.⁷⁵ As such, even the highly patriarchal colonialists ensured that they left power in hands of men which was enshrined in the constitution that was imposed on the people. In 1960, Earl Munster was appointed as Chairman of a committee entrusted to make recommendations about the form of government suitable for Uganda. His terms of reference spelled out that the British wanted to see recommended.

Among other things he would consider the desire by the people of Uganda to preserve their existing institutions, customs and the status and dignity of their rulers and leaders and the special relationship already existing between her Majesty's native governments set down in various agreements. As soon as the conference started, the British Chief delegate proposed that the Munster report provided a framework within which they could reach agreement on the constitution that could take the protectorate to internal self-government.⁷⁶ Yet, it should be noted that existing institutions, customs and status of Ugandan rulers and leaders referred to in the Munster report promoted gender disparity and that was to be a form of government 'suitable' for Uganda according to Munster recommendations.

Just like during the colonial era, postcolonial governments exhibited patriarchal practices with men firmly holding the substantive reins of power and authority as women were denied active and public participation.⁷⁷ According to Rhoda Kalema, the country was not ready to embrace women outside of home. In deed when women's activists approached the then Chief Minister Benedicto Kiwanuka to include them to London to attend the Constitutional Conference in 1961, he politely

turned them down. Women were supposed to be represented by men at that time. There was no woman in that constitutional conference in London.⁷⁸ The London Constitutional Conference delegations included the United Kingdom (UK) delegation, the Uganda government delegation, the Uganda People's Congress (UPC) delegation, the Democratic Party (DP) delegation, representatives of the District Councils and representatives of Urban Authorities and the Secretariat. All these delegations did not have a woman delegate.⁷⁹

2.4 The Influence of Post-Colonial Governments on Gender Disparity in Participation in Political Leadership.

The Republic of Uganda gained formal independence on 9 October 1962. Its unicameral system of parliament was inherited from the former colonial power Britain, as well as the Majoritarian electoral system. As is the case elsewhere in Africa, men dominated the 'public' space of formal politics, while women were relegated to the domesticated 'private' space. In traditional political parties, the importance of ethnic identity combined with religion left little space to pursue gender equity in politics.⁸⁰

However, it is important to note that in 1962, women acquired the right to vote and stand for election in Uganda following transfer of power from colonial rule to independent government.

According to Kakuba, although Ugandan women gained franchise at this time, involvement in politics did not change much after getting the right to vote and to contest for elections. Career opportunities in electoral politics were culturally closed to them due to continued patriarchal norms and attitude during that period.⁸¹

In October, 9th 1962, Obote became the executive Prime minister of Uganda but Sir Edward Mutesa II did not become the first president of Uganda immediately. The Governor, Sir Walter Coutts remained in Uganda and served as Governor General representing the queen of Britain until

he left the country on Tuesday, 8th, 1963. Sir Edward Mutesa II was elected by the parliament on Friday, 4th, October, 1963, as the first president of Uganda. He was sworn in as the first president of Uganda by the then Chief Justice of Uganda, Sir Udo Udoma (a Nigerian) on Wednesday, 9th October, 1963. Obote later became the president following the 1966 Kabaka crisis which resulted in Kabaka Muteesa II's exile.

In parliament there were only two women members that is Ms. Sungra Visram and Ms. Florence Lubega both of whom were nominated to parliament by the Buganda Lukiiko. During this period, women's political participation consisted of mainly cooking food, dancing and singing songs of praise to the visiting male political leaders.

Women's struggle to participate in political leadership was extended to the post-colonial period. Rhoda Kalema points out that women did not give up. After independence, when they approached the minister of justice late Grace Ibingira who promised to talk to the Prime Minister Obote. Obote appointed a commission chaired by William Kalema, the husband of Rhoda Kalema which included one woman, Mrs Kabuzi who represented women. Questionnaires were sent to every region of Uganda to both men and women. From the responses, it was clear that there was a problem. Men felt threatened.⁸²

Obote's first cabinet did not include any woman. While addressing the Uganda Council of Women 3rd annual conference, Mr. Obote thought that men alone could go a long way in carrying the burdens of a developing country, but he was one of the first to recognise that distance and progress were nothing compared to what could be achieved by men and women acting in unison. It is the women therefore, who set the pace of advance. Democracy, Mr. Obote said, recognises the concept of natural rights of man, his inherent worth, and dignity, and also his spiritual equality and brotherhood to fellow man. The concept of subordinate status of man of which he has the doctrine

of free and equal man and of the lowly one. Mr. Obote said that although the concepts applied to mankind as a whole, man has enjoyed more privileges than woman.⁸³

Obote then tried to implement affirmative action through Uganda People's Congress (UPC) policy statement 113, whereby fees for girls in primary and junior secondary schools was to be half of those payable by boys and 2/3 in case of senior secondary and higher certificate level.⁸⁴

Idi Amin assumed power in 1971 through a military coup. During his regime, all political activities were banned. Women also faced restrictions such as the ban on wearing miniskirts and wigs. Despite all these restrictions against women, Amin appointed the first female ministers and permanent secretaries. Amin used to assign his blue eyed persons even outside cabinet to act as presidents whenever he travelled abroad. His wife Madiina Najjemba, for example acted as president for about two days.

Amin went down the annals of history as the first Ugandan president to appoint female cabinet ministers, permanent secretaries, ambassadors and general managers. On taking over power, Amin appointed Hajat Anuna general manager of foods and beverages.⁸⁵ On March 23, 1973, thirteen years after Uganda attained her independence, Ugandans were amazed when president Amin appointed Mary Estella Senkatuka, first Ugandan woman to serve as permanent secretary. President Amin designated her as the permanent secretary in charge of culture and community development ministry. Later in October, 1972, Amin carried out a mini cabinet reshuffle in which he elevated Senkatuka to cabinet as a minister of culture and community development. He appointed also Bagaya Elizabeth as a roving ambassador. The appointment came with special privileges that surprised Amin's counterpart presidents Julius Nyerere of Tanzania and Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya.

In February 1974, President Amin appointed Bagaya as the foreign affairs minister. At the swearing in function held at Kololo, a smiling Amin told her: “I am happy you are the first woman foreign minister in Africa.” On July 11, 1974, President Amin appointed Jenne Doka permanent secretary of the tourism industry. In early 1976, Amin dropped the transport minister Mathew Obado. Then in May, Amin replaced him with Hajat Faridah Kateregga in acting capacity. On 24th, January, 1975, when Olowo Bernadatte was only 27, Amin appointed her Uganda’s ambassador to the Vatican. Pope Paul VI was the reigning Pope. Therefore, she was the first female Ugandan to hold that portfolio. Besides she broke the 900-year old unwritten rule that barred women from becoming envoys to the Pope.⁸⁶

For more than 30 years, the participation of women in the formal politics of post-colonial Uganda was negligible. In the 1960s, there were two women members in the legislative council in Uganda and in the 1980s there was only one-woman Member of Parliament out of 143 members in the house. In fact, during the period 1962-1986, there was little growth in the representation of women, the parliament was significantly biased against women. The women’s participation in electoral politics remained minimal although they exercised the right to vote.⁸⁷

However, with many decades of women’s absence in parliament, the National Resistance Movement (NRM), which came to power in 1986 and restored democratic rule, called for an all-inclusive and participatory system of government which improved women’s participation and representation in electoral politics and government.⁸⁸

In the Luwero Triangle affirmative action was introduced in the 1980s through Resistance Councils during the guerilla war to redress the problem of gender inequality that was created by historical factors and colonial experiences. According to Mukwaya, the Secretary for Women’s Affairs in the National Resistance Movement (NRM) Secretariat, political consciousness enabled

women to be part of policy makers of the country and thus contributing to the country's development, women were encouraged not shun politics and merely refer to it as a dirty game or worse still as an affair for men. Thus by having more women on policy making bodies, as army personnel, on cabinet or National Resistance Council (NRC) members, the country would redress the imbalance in society that has for so long robbed Uganda of her economic and political stability.⁸⁹

The level of gender participation in the politics of Uganda improved tremendously due to affirmative action that was accorded to women in the recent few decades. As a result, for much of the 1990s, Uganda was celebrated as one of the success stories regarding affirmative action with the percentage of women in parliament at 35%. Uganda ranked above regional average.⁹⁰ Luwero Triangle is the beginning point of this process in Uganda.

2.5 Conclusion. .

Before the NRM/NRA "bush war" in the Luwero Triangle, there were many areas of unequal relationship between men and women in political participation. It was social prejudice and stereotypes, which had over ages and across societies been employed to exclude women from society's most valuable resources which constituted the roots of gender disparity in participation in political leadership. Christian Missionaries and colonial officials in Uganda often coalesced with indigenous patriarchal interests to domesticise women. The influence of patriarchal values of Baganda society with the late Victorian ideologies of the Anglican Church produced a new system of institutionalised gender inequality.³ Gender inequality therefore, stemmed from African social norms in collaboration with Christian ideology.

Educational inequalities persisted throughout the colonial era. European influences on access to school and women's emancipation in colonial Uganda were uneven and exclusionary. The most plausible explanation was that the Ganda boys benefited from the new schooling opportunities, while girls benefited new infrastructures with a lag.

Through the British system of indirect rule, there is abundant evidence to support the fact that colonialism actually worsened the position of women. The condition of women went from bad to worse is a matter well established. Colonial history was therefore, a powerful instrument of maintenance of gender disparity in political participation.

Just like during the colonial era, post-colonial governments exhibited patriarchal practices with men firmly holding the substantive reins of power and authority as women were denied active and public participation. This notion of women as minors when it came to elections and other political processes was sustained in post-colonial period until mid -1980s when the National Resistance Movement (NRM) came to power. This chapter fulfilled the objective of the study by establishing gender inequalities in participation in political leadership in Uganda before the NRM/NRA "bush war" in Luwero Triangle.

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CHAPTER THREE

THE NATIONAL RESISTANCE MOVEMENT /NATIONAL RESISTANCE ARMY AND WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN POLITICAL LEADERSHIP IN THE LUWERO TRIANGLE.

3.0 Introduction.

In 1981-1985, Uganda was characterised by civil strife in the area known as the Luwero Triangle. This caused severe suffering and loss of loved ones which forced some Ugandan women to join the guerilla war being waged by the National Resistance Movement/ National Resistance Army (NRM/NRA). The NRM/NRA was led by Yoweri Museveni in 1981 who started the guerilla war fighting the Uganda People's Congress (UPC) government led by President Apollo Milton Obote for allegedly rigging the 1980 elections.

This chapter therefore, analyses how women participated in political leadership in the Luwero Triangle through providing key intelligence, fighting ,gathering and cooking food for the guerillas contributing to the success of the National Resistance Army (NRA) in 1986. The chapter also examines the influence of the bush war on women's participation in political leadership, Luwero Triangle being the beginning point of this process in Uganda. It also analyses the weaknesses of affirmative action which presents a hindrance to women's participation in political leadership.

3.1 How Women Participated in Political Leadership in the Luwero Triangle

The increased presence of women in Ugandan politics is attributed to the broader process of guerilla struggle which drew different categories of the populace into direct public participation in different capacities. During the war, women were also combatants who fought alongside their counterparts the men. Thus, women combatants were integrated in the NRA as soldiers on the

frontline, others provided key intelligence information or supplied food. For instance, Women such as Nalweyiso and Gertrude Njuba actively participated in the guerilla war as combatants. They became perhaps the first women to participate in active combat in Uganda, something that later encouraged other women to join the army.

It is also noted that “some women strategically served as bar attendants and gathered key intelligence information from government soldiers who went to bars like Castella bar at Wobulenzi town which helped the guerilla fighters to win the war. Some women fetched food from far away, prepared it and many of them tragically lost their lives in the process.”¹ Women are truly unsung heroes. Geraldine Sanyu Kyaligonza, ferried bullets to the bush. She received and delivered the first NRA radio transmitter. She ran errands where few men could dare. It has also been reported that many soldiers would send her with messages to their families.² All these are clear evidence that women were part and parcel of the NRA combatants in the Luwero Triangle bush war. **According to Mrs. Kyaligonza,** Jovia Saleh was based in the bush, Mrs. Gertrude Njuba, Mrs. Kutesa, Mrs. Janat Mukwaya and Olivia Zizinga were some of those daring women in the bush. When the war intensified, the women were withdrawn and taken to Nairobi. Only Olivia Zizinga resisted and remained in the bush as combatants.”³

At the end of the war, women emerged as established soldiers, political cadres and mobilisers within the National Resistance Movement (NRM). As such women started being politically visible in political structures of the NRM and its combat army, the NRA. Therefore, January 1986 was a turning point in the history of women and political power in Uganda. It was an agreed fact that women has played a vital role in the NRM/NRA struggle. Women who were combatants integrated into the National Resistance Army (NRA).

3.2 Influence of the Guerilla War on Women's Participation in Political Leadership.

The first structures NRA collaborating with the People's Redemption Army (PRA) officers created links to connect themselves to civilians in their areas of operation through the clandestine Resistance Councils (RCs) committees. RCs were put in place in all "liberated" areas where the people democratically elected amongst themselves their own leaders to form a committee of nine people. The immediate task of these committees was to arrange for regular supply of food for guerilla units. Thus, the decision by NRA to introduce democracy into the Luwero Triangle by having villagers elect their committees was a fundamental change as well as a solution to filling the authority vacuum in the villages it controlled. Such democratic government had never existed in villages in Buganda or elsewhere in Uganda as most of the leaders had only been appointed by the central government.⁴RCs) began in Kiboga, Lwamata, Bukomero, Semuto, Makulubita and Gombe.

It is important to note that RCs later acted as centres and avenues for recruitment of rebels. The RC committee included chairman, secretary for the youth, women, defence, and other committees which are not in the present structure like one of the elders, refugees and the committee that was in charge of looking for and collecting food.⁵The Resistance Council system which operated from village level to national level had the element of inclusiveness in that for the first time, special groups such as women, youth, people with disabilities had mandatory spaces in the electoral mechanism.⁶These clandestine Resistance Councils Committees were born out of necessity to survive during the struggle and use them to explain to villagers why they were fighting.⁷According to Kateregga, the movement system evolved from Resistance councils established in war zones to mobilise popular support against state repression. In these councils, there was a degree of people's participation in addressing local community problems. The RC system had an element of all-

inclusiveness in that for the first time, social groups such as the youth, women and people with disabilities had mandatory spaces in electoral mechanism.

One key feature of these RCs is that they promoted issues to be handled through consensus of all the adult residents in the village. Thus, agreement on issues by consensus than trying to outmaneuver others, full participation of women, youth and the disabled in democratic process.⁸ According to Tripp, Resistance Council system gave local communities greater control of their affairs with relatively little interference from the central government. Local Councils could make bylaws, settle civil cases and customary law land disputes and decision to embark on self-help projects.⁹ This means that since women were part of these committees, for the first time had opportunity to participate in the leadership of their people by directly bringing out issues that affected them. Each RC committee had a secretary for women who was expected to defend women interest in that committee.

In addition, Kakuba points out that affirmative action which has become an important ingredient in the leadership in Uganda was introduced in the 1980s by Resistance Councils during the “bush war”. Affirmative action towards women was put in place to address the problem of gender inequality that was created by historical factors-colonialism, culture and education.¹⁰ Despite the fact that women's access towards control over political participation and hence decision making is still limited, affirmative action towards women has improved the representation of women in many structures of leadership in Uganda .

The National Resistance Movement (NRM) set up Resistance Councils throughout the country modelled on the lines of village Resistance Councils that had been established during the guerilla war to facilitate communication between NRA and the population. Many of these original Resistance Councils (RCs) had been destroyed during Obote’s genocidal offensive against

civilians in 1983 and 1984 in context of the regime's military sweeps against the guerillas.¹¹ However, RCs remained one the best innovations that was brought into the administration of Uganda by NRM/NRA in 1986.

The increased presence of women in Ugandan politics is also attributed to the broader process of guerilla struggle which drew different categories of the populace into direct public participation in different capacities. The movement system evolved from Resistance councils established in war zones to mobilise popular support against state repression. In these councils, as we have already noted, there was a degree of people's participation in addressing local community problems. The Resistance Council system had an element of all-inclusiveness in that for the first time, social groups such as the youth, women and people with disabilities had mandatory spaces in electoral mechanism thus providing space to address the historical gender disparity despite the challenges a predominantly patriarchal society.

Museveni's personal support for women's equality and their participation in politics reflects his appreciation of the women's role in the civil war as supporters of the NRA and also his recognition of the potential contribution of women's organisation to consolidate the NRM's political dominance in Uganda.¹² With many decades of women's absence in parliament the National Resistance Movement, which came in power in 1986 restored democratic rule for all-inclusive and participatory system of government. This improved women's representation in electoral politics and government. With regard to women, affirmative action policy was put in place to ensure that there was a woman representative to the national legislature from each District.¹³ In 1986, leading women's rights organisations started to publicly lobby for female political appointments, ministry for women, for every ministry to have a women's desk and for women representation in the local

government at all levels. Uganda went from a situation where women had virtually no visibility in politics to a situation at the turn of the Century where women were involved at almost every level.¹⁴

Therefore, the NRM which came to power in 1986 and restored democratic rule and called for an all-inclusive and participatory system of government which improved gender participation and representation in electoral politics and government.¹⁵ According to Mukwaya, the NRM created political consciousness that enabled women to be part of policy makers of the country and thus contributing to the country's development. **She thus argues that** such changes have encouraged women not shun politics and merely refer to it as a dirty game or worse still as an affair for men. As result, there more women on policy making bodies, as army personnel, on Cabinet or National Resistance Council (NRC) members, which enabled the country to correct the imbalance in society that has for so long robbed Uganda of her economic and political stability **as women were only looked at as good** for housekeeping and raising children .¹⁶

3.3 Weakness Affirmative Action Policy on Women's Participation in Political Leadership

The guerilla war opened chances for women who served as combatant, cooks and gathered key intelligence that led to the victory of NRA and were included in government. The luwero Triangle philosophy became the stepping stone for women's participation in political leadership. This was done through affirmative action that was introduced by the NRM government. However, within the affirmative action policy, there were many weaknesses which have continued block women from fully participating in political leadership. The reliance on top-down state reforms realised critical deficits. Had the quota system been implemented as a result of pressure exerted by the Uganda women's movement, perhaps, the rules governing participation would be devised by women themselves and the beneficiaries of the policy would hardly regard it as a favour. So by 2006, we had women in power without power.

Women's participation in political leadership in Uganda through affirmative action has been the basic political mechanism used by Museveni to encourage women's participation in Local Councils governance system. Women started competing in ever greater numbers in local elections for other seats on these councils, with a few winning the chair person's seat in elections. The system resulted in an increasingly substantial presence of women in government. Despite all these gains, women still faced a glass ceiling. The patriarchal structures and institutions within which politicians operate have themselves not altered one bit. So, basically, we have women in power without power. There was institutionalised resistance to women's participation in political leadership in the apparatus of governance.

Between 1987-1989, government issued statutes governing the Resistance Councils (RCs), thus establishing a new system of Local Government involving Local Councils thus Resistance Councils (RCs) changed to Local Councils (LCs) in 1987. Local Council I (LC I) was made up of the entire population of the village, elected nine members to the Local Council I (LCI) committee. Each committee elected two members to form Local Council II (LCII) which in turn elected a committee of nine. This pattern repeated itself at Local Council III (Sub county), then Local Council IV (County) and Local Council V (District) levels. Local Council IV (LCIV) was generally inactive but it formed the Electoral College for National Resistance Council (NRC) elections.

This five tier system starts from the village, in which Councils were directly elected. Village Local Councils send their representatives to the next tier of government and so on up to the National Assembly in Kampala (each of the country's 32 districts divided into five administrative zones, with each Local Councils at each level). Each district elects a woman representative to sit in the national Assembly.¹⁷ Although initially, the existence of this special sit associated women's

participation in local politics solely with women's issues, women have been competing in ever greater numbers in local elections for other seats on these councils, with a few winning the chair person's seat in elections.¹⁸ Since the National Resistance Movement (NRM) administration took power in 1986, affirmative action was introduced to Uganda through quotas.

Reserved seats for women made their increased presence on the Uganda political scene, in what appeared to be testing the waters, the National Resistance Movement (NRM) first experimented with one mandatory seat for a woman on executive Council of the Local Councils at all levels of the five tier system.¹⁹ A special seat for women-Secretary for Women Affairs was mandatory among the nine seats at each of the Local Council levels. The objective was to institutionalise representation of women as a special group.²⁰ The system resulted in an increasingly substantial presence of women in government. Since 1989, women have occupied 18% of the National Assembly seats the majority of these seats being those reserved through affirmative action.

According to Tamale, while success in bringing more women into politics has been applauded, it is clear that it has not been an effective tool for ensuring representation of women's interests. Right from the village level, women who were elected as Secretary for Women's Affairs tended to be not more radical women involved in Women's Associations. This was because male voters tended to reject those candidates in favour of more malleable women who were linked to the local male power structure-women who are related to dominant village men who would participate in sustaining a hold of traditional group over a local community.²¹ So within the affirmative action, there was a challenge of male dominance which limited women's participation in political leadership within the Local Council system.

Local councils at grassroots were formed without any clear gender sensitive mechanism. The powers and functions spelt out in section 14 (1) of the local government statute does not include

the power to challenge the traditional power relations based on gender. The new political spaces created by top-bottom affirmative action policy introduced by the NRM have in a way proved to be nothing more than sites of accommodation and subject to control of the state. Without advancing women's strategic interests at all, the National Resistance Movement (NRM) administration gained the support of female legislators and Councilors by offering them access to political world of male power.

The structure of Local Council itself ensures male domination by providing one post of Secretary for Women Affairs available for women out of the nine. According to Tamale, the electorate thought that since there was a provision for a female Councilor for each parish, it was automatic that other councilors had to be male. When the law is couched in terms of at least one of the offices shall be held by a female as local government act provides in regard to Sub county and district executive committees, in practice they are usually interpreted to mean maximum number. **This inadvertently creates a glass ceiling**, making it impossible for women's representation to rise above the status quo.²² In 1986, Kazoora said that women have brains. In the bush, they fought while men ran. Let them sit in the committees. Women could hold any position including that of chairman. They should not be restricted to the post of women's secretary.²³ So Kazoora had identified the challenge of limiting women representatives to one post (Secretary for Women Affairs). He was encouraging them to increase their numbers in committees of Resistance Council structure.

As far as women were concerned, Local Council officials were biased against women, disregarded their opinions and ignored their representatives.²⁴ Thus, females were guaranteed to fill the post of secretary for women on the nine member executive councils of the Local Councils. However, most executive councils throughout the nation inadvertently or deliberately reduced the role of such women in their midst to traditional functions of nurturing and caring. They were expected to serve

tea to other councilors, take care of social aspects of Council work and had little to do with local politics.²⁵ At the local council level, certain loopholes in the law also seriously limited participation by Local Council women in decision making where the composition of women on executive committees of less powerful administrative units (Local Council I and Local Council II) are defined as one third. This quota does not extend to the executive committees at Sub-county and District where real power lies. Female representatives in executives at Sub-county and District levels fell short of one third prescribed for general council seats.²⁶ Women faced pressure from their husbands and local communities not to stand for elections at Sub County, County and district levels (Local Council III, Local Council IV and Local Council V) where strategic and budgetary decisions are made.²⁷ Therefore, quotas could not deliver a democratic, non-sexist political economy without dismantlement of hierarchical institutions that exist in in patriarchal status quo placing women in positions of leadership and authority without simultaneously attempting to remove the practical and structural obstacles that hindered their effective involvement in this arena is not helpful.

While it is wonderful to have women participating in formal politics from the grassroots to the highest level of decision making, we should not lose sight of the fact that it is yet another duty they must perform in the domestic/economic arena (in addition to their other fulltime tasks).²⁸ According to Ahikire, the circumstances surrounding African women too often make it difficult for them to do more than hold a franchise in name only. Many are not able to fully engage in roles beyond those of a wife and mother.²⁹ There was a dangerous trend towards feminisation of deputy positions in political space for women's representation. Deputising for male leaders is not very useful for women as the real power lies with the chairpersons. Since the role of deputy was to chair

meetings in the absence of the chair person, women who served in deputy positions remained without real powers.

The NRM regime has its own agenda of building political support for the regime and women were clearly part of this agenda. Support for women's empowerment was seen as a way of building political support for the regime. Women's movement took advantage of the political space afforded by the semi-authoritarian Museveni's government which has in turn used women's support to its own intents and purposes.³⁰ The NRM policies were more than quid pro quo. The National Resistance Movement saw the promotion of women's leadership and women's issues as way of maintaining the confidence of female voters. A key respondent from the Luwero Triangle pointed out that Museveni realised that women were the majority and he therefore, wanted to use them to build and boost his political support when it came to elections.³¹

According to Doss, the bulk of women's organisations remained fairly isolated from national and even local politics. This reflects the dual process: Women continued to be marginalised from male-dominated local councils and other key community bodies and also deliberately seek to distance themselves from public authorities because of experiences of corruption and fear of cooptation.³² When the NRM introduced quotas for women in the National Assembly, it only intended to create descriptive representatives who symbolically stood for women. The patriarchal state was not prepared to have female Members of Parliament (MPs) that politically acted for women in the sense of transforming the unequal gender relations which prevailed in Uganda.

Affirmative action hindered many women from participating in the local council elections. It has been observed that it has been a hindrance for women to contest on the directly elected seat. Many perceived it as the National Resistance Movement's way of cultivating women as a vote bank.

Affirmative Action also reinforces the view that these are the only spaces for them to participate and at the local council through the women's quota. Affirmative Action created a political space for women outside the mainstream politics, hence "ghettoizing" their participation. This suggests that mainstream politics is for men and affirmative action seats for women. This "add-on" policy of Affirmative Action put women's political legitimacy in jeopardy as women politicians are perceived as representatives of women. Subsequently, the electorate is more interested in voting for women on the Affirmative Action seats rather than when they contest to unseat male candidates, especially under the directly elected council elections. Also, the very nature of affirmative action seat presents problems because it is necessarily a contest between women. Women in the same constituency found themselves pitted against their own friends and colleagues. According to Goetz, the National Resistance Movement (NRM) allowed women to participate in decision making not to represent women as an interest group nor to assume special responsibility for them. President Museveni himself constantly reminded Ugandans that quotas were nothing more than symbolic gesture to please women. When quota system was first implemented in Uganda, men immediately became self-appointed identifiers of appropriate women to fill the new created seats. This was because the space into which they were being pushed (that is formal politics) was compositionally and institutionally a male one.³³The society has perceived women politicians as exceptional which made women look at politics as a man's venture leading to low participation. In the political sphere women's access towards control over political participation and hence decision making in society was still limited and controlled by men.

3.4 Conclusion.

The increased presence of women in Ugandan politics is attributed to the broader process of guerilla struggle which drew different categories of the populace into direct public participation in different capacities. Museveni's personal support for women's equality and their participation in politics reflects his appreciation of the women's role in the “bush war” as supporters of the NRA and also his recognition of the potential contribution of women's organisation to consolidate the NRM's political dominance in Uganda. With many decades of women's absence in political leadership, the NRM, which came in power in 1986 restored democratic rule for all-inclusive and participatory system of government. This improved women's representation in electoral politics and government. With regard to women, affirmative action policy was put in place to ensure that there was a woman representative to the national legislature from each District.

Uganda went from a situation where women had virtually no visibility in politics to a situation at the turn of the Century where women were involved at almost every level. Despite impressive gains in access to formal political leadership, women faced pervasive oppression in terms of exclusion from leadership roles, resources to mobilise private patriarchy, and male control over female political space. All these factors blocked women's participation in political life. The patriarchal structures and institutions within which politicians operated were themselves not altered one bit. The beneficiaries of affirmative action policy regard it as a favour. Therefore, there was institutionalised resistance to gender equity in the apparatus of governance. This section therefore, fulfilled the objective of examining how the NRM/NRA “bush war” influenced women's participation in political leadership in Uganda. It also partly discussed the continued hindrances to women's participation in political leadership which are embedded in the policy of affirmative action.

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CHAPTER FOUR

WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN POLITICAL LEADERSHIP IN UGANDA OUTSIDE THE LUWERO TRIANGLE 1989-2006

4.0 Introduction

This section examines women's participation in political leadership outside the Luwero Triangle focusing on the steady rise in female political participation in elective offices. It indicates the beginning of the end of the historical exclusion of women from decision making process at both local and national levels. The chapter specifically examines women's participation in constitution making process in the Constituent Assembly (CA) ensuring that the final Uganda constitution recognises gender equality under the law. It also discusses hindrances to women's participation in political leadership viewed and analysed in several ways ranging from economic, social-cultural, election management and political hindrances. This section therefore, further fulfilled the objectives of analysing how the "bush war" influenced women's participation in political leadership and discussed the continued hindrances to women's participation in political leadership.

According to Tripp, Museveni made it a point of putting women in politically sensitive, extremely high profile positions, such as the 1988 appointment of Betty Bigombe as minister for pacification of the North where she was a prominent negotiator in Uganda's persistent civil war. Museveni insisted on appointment of women ministers of agriculture. In 1994, he appointed a woman, Specioza Wandira Kazibwe Vice president, the first for Africa. He has appointed a few women to cabinet posts. In Uganda, women were also becoming involved in formal politics as cabinet ministers, members of parliament and decision makers at local levels.¹

Effective collaboration was demonstrated in the Constituent Assembly (CA) by women's caucus which was responsible for progressive provisions on gender written in the 1995 constitution, ensuring that the final Uganda constitution recognises gender equality under the law. The system offered greater visibility for women and lent them a voice in traditionally patriarchal societies. It resulted in the shifting of political sites and relocation of power spurring anew kind of political organisation for Ugandan Women. The use of reserved seats for women in parliament and setting aside one third of the local government seats for women seats began to change the perception of women. The biggest changes were related to women's participation in politics, standing for office, becoming public and government leaders and being able to express themselves publicly to a greater degree than in the past.² It also focuses on women's participation in the constitution making process, the continued hindrances to women's participation in political leadership viewed and analysed in several ways which ranged from economic, social-cultural, election management and political hindrances.

4.1 Women's Participation in the Constitution Making Process

Since 1986 when the NRM came to power, there has been a steady rise in female political participation in elective offices. Elections for women can be traced back to the establishment of the National Resistance Council (NRC) in 1989. Affirmative action measures for women were introduced in this election and 34 women were elected to women's seats, some women were elected on regular seats and in total, women constituted 17% of the NRC. Gender quotas experiment introduced in 1989 represented an important landmark in political history of Uganda.³

In 1986, on taking power, the NRM issued legal notice no.1 of 1986. This legal notice formed the constitutional basis for the NRM government. Under it, it was provided with regard to constitution making, that the constitution was to be debated and finalised by the NRC working together with

the National Resistance Army (NRA). This arrangement was varied through a recommendation of the Constitutional Commission.

In 1994, the Constituent Assembly (CA) was elected to draft a new constitution. In the CA, women elected formed women's caucus to better enhance interests of women. Out of 286 delegates, 52 were women (18%) and most of them participated in women's caucus. The women's caucus turned out to be effective and women were able to talk with one voice and raise common objectives turning women's caucuses into the most coherent body. CA delegates got support from Women's movements in the process of fighting for provisions in the constitution concerning the status and participation of women in Uganda. Affirmative action system had a great value of providing space for numerical representation of women in politics.

Effective collaboration was demonstrated in the CA by women's caucus which was responsible for progressive provisions on gender written in the 1995 constitution. This was to ensure that the final Uganda constitution recognises gender equality under the law, prohibits laws, customs, and traditions that undermine the position of women. Furthermore, to ensure that the final Uganda constitution provides for establishment of equal opportunities commission to see that constitutional provisions are enforced and provides for an expansion of the number of women representatives to the minimum of one third of parliament and local government bodies.⁴ During the CA, a Gender Information Centre was organised by the **National Association of Women's Organisation in Uganda (NAWOU)**.

The information centre turned out to be an important meeting place for electorates and delegates as well as Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) focusing on women. The caucus in cooperation with women's movement was effective in implementing article 13 (on Family), article 32 (on affirmative action) and article 33 on the rights of women. Women's councils lobbied

and got support from gender conscious male members of parliament. The caucus persuaded male members to argue their cases, and as a result alliance was made with gender friendly male colleagues. It was widely acknowledged that no other group was as organised and cohesive as women's associations when it came to making a concerted effort to influence the constitution writing process. Women's organisations submitted more memoranda to the constitutional commission than any other sector of society.⁵

The 1988 Constitutional Commission, which consisted of two women and 19 men was intended to identify issues for debate by the Constituent Assembly through an open and consultative process. However, the majority of women were left out of this because the inappropriateness of the consultative mechanism used of mixed sex public discussion groups all over the country and written memoranda. Neither of these mechanisms for participation recognised the constraint on women's voices imposed by the presence of men in public fora or by the illiteracy of the majority poor women. Thus few of the 15,000 memos to the Constitutional Commission were from Women.⁶ It was pointed out that most women were left out of this consultative process because they were always busy in their gardens and doing domestic chores. It was mostly men who forwarded their views to the constitutional commission.

During the constitutional review/making process in 1994/5, women's organisations such as Action for Development (ACFODE), Uganda Women's Network (UWONET) and National Association for Women's Organisations in Uganda (NAWOU), together with the ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development, organised seminars for women voters and delegates. Two developments ensued: One was the formation of the Women's Caucus, a loose but consistent and issue-based association of women delegates; the other was the establishment of the Gender Information Centre (GIC), which provided support, particularly to women delegates. The Gender Information Centre

(GIC) acted as a forum for meeting and discussion, as well as a focal point for lobbying, strategy and consensus-building.

It is a well-documented fact that the synergy between Women's Organisations, the Ministry of Gender, and the Women's Caucus inside the Constituent Assembly (CA) had an impact unrivalled in the history of Ugandan politics and the women's movement. This indicates that strategic self-location of women was possible, especially within the context of elections. Activities such as the press conference in 2001 (which brought candidates together to explain what was in the election basket for women) could be organised with more precision and better timing. In light of the above, the government set out a legal framework to give opportunity to women who, historically, had been kept out of mainstream politics and leadership positions. In Uganda, women have succeeded in bringing and incorporation women issues and concerns into important legislation. This began with their increased involvement in the 1995 constitution making process in the National Constituency Assembly which debated and came out with the 1995 constitution. Women made a mark in this constitution making process.

New democratic structures established to broaden popular participation in national decision making have not been more inclusive of women and more receptive to their concerns. An example of this was the process of soliciting people's views in the early debates on the new constitution. This constitution was promulgated on 8th October, 1995. The revised 1995 constitution institutionalised the quota system by providing for a number of reserved seats in the national Parliament equal to the number of districts in the country. The constitution further guaranteed the holding by women of one third of the local council seats in addition to women benefits from the limited number quota seats reserved for People with Disabilities (PWDs) the youth and workers. According to Kakuba, with many decades of women's absence in parliament

the National Resistance Movement (NRM), which came in power in 1986 restored democratic rule for all-inclusive and participatory system of government which improved women's representation in electoral politics and government. With regard to women, affirmative action policy was put in place to ensure that there was a woman representative to the National Legislature from each District.⁷ Electoral quotas in Uganda have strong backing of the law. The constitution clearly lays out the objective of introducing affirmative action in Article 32 (i) which states that:

Notwithstanding anything in this constitution, the state shall take affirmative action in favour of groups marginalised on basis of gender, age, disability or any other reasons created by history, tradition or custom for the purpose of redressing imbalances which exist against them. In light of this, Kakuba states that the 1995 constitution of the republic of Uganda provided a significant legal framework to enable women to participate in politics of the country. Article 3 Paragraph (iv) of the constitution states that “the state shall ensure gender balance and fair representation of marginalised groups on all constitutional and other bodies.”⁸

With regard to women, affirmative action policy was put in place to ensure that there was a woman representative to the national legislature from each District. Article 78 (b) of the Uganda constitution allowed a reserved seat for one District woman representative in the parliament. Therefore, the presence of women in parliament provided them with an opportunity to represent their plight so that legislations are made to create environment where women can be treated equally with men without subjecting them to any form of discrimination and general feeling that they are marginalised. This helped to change the attitude and behavior of men who hold on the belief that women are traditionally not allowed to take on work considered to be of male domain.

4.2 Hindrances to Women's Participation in Political Leadership.

In the 1996 presidential elections, the manifestos of the two contestants, Yoweri K. Museveni and Paul K. Ssemogerere, made it clear that women and their representation constituted one of the platforms on which the electoral contest was played out. Museveni's manifesto reaffirmed the National Resistance Movement's contribution, stating: "One of the policies the NRM is proud to have initiated is that of bringing women into the mainstream of the country's governance. The NRM had created opportunities for women which were aimed at redressing this historical imbalance."⁹ Meanwhile, Ssemogerere's manifesto strongly that it was misleading to resort to tokenism, patronisation and regimentation of marginalised groups by government in the name of affirmative action. His manifesto went on to say that this had bred a culture of tokenism, which had in turn created a spirit of dependency and complacency:

He said that he upheld affirmative action in order to redress historic injustice and disparities in particular with regard to women, the youth and people with disabilities but care must be taken to ensure that affirmative action is not a license for immorality, the breakdown of the institutions of the family, as well as our cherished cultural and religious values, as is currently the case.¹⁰

It is clear that while Museveni's manifesto sought to exploit what the National Resistance Movement (NRM) government had done for the women of Uganda, Ssemogerere's manifesto not only critiqued the way in which women had been included, but asserted that they should not be given too much freedom. In other words, women needed to be guarded (against themselves) by men to ensure that society's morals and values remain intact.

The National Resistance Movement (NRM) set up institutions that directly affected the political participation of women which they refer to as women empowerment in Uganda. Since the introduction of affirmative action for women in political participation and decision making,

attitudes of both men and women toward women in political participation have not changed significantly. Affirmative action in Uganda operates as follows: There is a County based constituency seat for which both men and women could compete though this contest tended to be dominated by men. The affirmative action seat for women is at District level, making its constituency three or four times larger than the general constituency seat.

Before 2006, women representatives used to be elected by Electoral College. The number of women holding affirmative action seats corresponds with the number of Districts in the country. In 1996, there were 45 districts and hence 45 seats for women district representatives. By 2001, the number of districts increased to 56 with an automatic increase of women seats in the legislature.¹¹ The impact of affirmative action in terms of numbers for women was tremendous. The number of women who run for general constituent seat also increased. In 1996, parliamentary race, the number of women who ran for general constituent sea totaled 26 with 8 winning. In 2001, 32 women ran for constituent seat, 13 winning.

This indicated the beginning of the end of historical exclusion of women from participation in political leadership. Apart from the district women representatives, a few women managed to win county seats. Despite women's gains in Ugandan politics, the quota system has been criticised for creating a group of legislators beholden more to the National Resistance Movement (NRM) than the cause of women's emancipation. The closeness of the quota women to the National Resistance Movement (NRM) regime raised questions concerning the autonomy of these women and their ability to change the political agenda.

4.2.1 Social-cultural Hindrances.

Parliamentary elections are constituency-based, and the question often arose as to whether a woman belonged to the district of her birth or of her marriage. For instance, married women often find it difficult to find a constituency to run in. If they contested in the constituency where they were born, they are told to go to the constituency where they are married. When they contested in their husband's constituency they were told, "You came here to marry not to rule. Victoria Sekitoleko of Kiboga district narrated her experience during the 1996 elections and was quoted as follows: "I was the most popular at the beginning... then I was told that I was a woman but they wanted a man and that I was not a Muganda". I was insinuated that because I was a widow, I could easily go back to my area of birth, after they had given me their votes. Culture dictates really affected my performance. Women who stood for elective positions outside their parent tribe were labelled as "outsiders" and told to go back and represent areas where their husbands came from. The "tribal ticket" was played more against women than men; even fellow women promoted this kind of discrimination.¹²

Uganda held multiparty elections in 2006. In these elections, one woman for the first time came on board as presidential candidate that is Miria Kalule Obote representing Uganda People's Congress (UPC) party. Due to patriarchal nature of political parties in Uganda and atrocities caused by Milton Obote, she did not get substantial votes from both women and men partly because she was a woman therefore, not fit to be president of Uganda. The Uganda People's Congress (UPC) government was also unpopular in central Uganda while other women in the rest of the country perceived her as incapable because of the deeply entrenched patriarchal attitudes. A respondent from Luwero Triangle said that since the head of a family is a man, it was important that the head of state should also be a man too.¹³

Josefsson brings out the fact that, the Uganda constitution requires that in order to be eligible to serve as a Member of Parliament (MP), a candidate must have completed a minimum of formal education of Advanced level standard or its equivalent.¹⁴ Again, according to Olurode , in Uganda as in most African countries, women have higher illiteracy rates than their male counterparts.¹⁴ By imposing such a qualification on eligibility to run for parliamentary seat benefited only the elite. Thus eliminating 80% of female population voices of the largest section of the peasant population because in Uganda, women have higher illiteracy rates than their male counterparts. However, even women with requisite education and resources confront a glass ceiling in public politics as a result of institutionalised factors with patriarchal political culture.¹⁵The 2006 elections revealed that only the elite women emerged to take up the challenge of occupying posts on Local Councils. Most voters confessed that lack of education hindered them from participating in the elections, as they did not know what was expected of them as candidates and voters. Girls dropped out of school and got married off at an early age due to economic hardships, and hence had no qualifications to compete for electoral positions.

Families usually chose to allocate their scarce resources to educate their sons, while expecting their daughters to contribute to the household's limited labour. If education become expensive, an average family would likely decide that the girl child's education had to be foregone in preference to male education.¹⁶ Educating women was not a priority. One key respondent from Kamira Sub County, Luwero district said: "Whenever a girl child attained the age of twelve years and above, that would mark the end of her studies. Parents thought that educating a girl child was a waste of money because she was susceptible of getting premarital pregnancy and be forced out of school."¹⁷ Therefore, unlike men, women had unequal access to education which later had a bearing on their participation in political leadership. This was proved to be true and it explained why it was always

a few among the educated women that kept contesting on the same positions over and over and had remained unopposed because the other highly educated women did not have the interest while those that had the interest did not have required qualifications to unseat incumbents. Hon. Namabidde (Mityana District Woman MP), Hon. Victoria Ssekitoleko (woman MP Kiboga district) remained unopposed since 1996, 2001 and only got opponents in 2006. There was no other woman to compete with because of their low levels of education.”¹⁸

The media at times did not adequately inform the public about the rights and roles of women in society and, if they did, the publications mostly done were written in English language leaving the illiterate with no idea about what was going on. The media did more of what it always did to women, less coverage, negativisation and trivialisation. The overall analysis of the media’s performance especially in the election was that it gave prominence to the male candidates (especially presidential candidates). Media coverage for women in the 2006 elections was much less and when it occurred, it mainly looked out for weaknesses as one-woman candidate (Miria Obote) asserted, “The media has never been friendly to us women. It always looks for the negative side”. It was noted that the media concentrated on personal attacks such as whether a woman was beautiful, married, divorced or otherwise. In the words of another woman candidate said: “Media is very expensive. Unless you are a strong politician who can stand all challenges, it is hard to go through, and the media is unpredictable. People bribe them to write about them positively.”¹⁹

Male dominance was also cited as another factor contributing to low levels of women’s participation in political leadership. In Uganda, there was limited numbers of women in politics. The majority of leaders were men. The fewer the women were, the more difficult it became for them to push for women’s issues. In a country such as Uganda where the majority numbers of the leaders are male, lobbying became very difficult. Some men decampaigned female candidates and

one was quoted as saying: “I cannot be ruled by a woman”. A woman had to support the party of the husband since he is the head of the family than what her wish would be. Another lady who was a district vice chairperson commented on her own experience. She said that for a woman to contest, she first sought permission from her husband who at times denied her the opportunity citing reasons that she could be taken over by other men hence disintegrating the family.

According to Kateregga, male dominance in politics and public affairs is a universal phenomenon. The family is structured in such a way that the man is the head and in control with the power to make decisions. The family setup is perhaps the best illustration that of male superiority over women. Politics is identified with male values rather than the values associated with women because the family is a powerful social institution that determine the role of women in politics. The rules that are applied in politics are also those that have been set by men including the nature of political structures. Men continued to be dominant. Women however, continued to be suppressed by culture and traditions. The male constituted political structures, values and rules **continue to dominate in politics.**²⁰

Traditional views on gender roles and stereotypes are an impediment to the realisation of full gender equality and these cultural beliefs permeate all action within the political and public spheres of the State. Cultural beliefs constituted direct, indirect and structural discrimination against women.²¹ Women were supposed to be at home looking after children and doing household chores. While everything outside home including politics is meant for a man. Given the fact that women’s gender roles were labour intensive such as food preparation and child care, these could not be rescheduled compared to men’s activities which could be rescheduled. To a rural woman, all the work had to be done by herself. Hence, there was no time for participating in Council elections.

Women lacked support from their fellow women. This is known as “pull her down” syndrome which has prevented women from supporting their fellow women. While male contestants bribed voters which intimidates women contestants thus pulling out of the race, most women are interested in bringing down their fellow women instead of supporting them. They seem to support the status quo where men are the sole leaders in society. A woman voter was quoted saying:

“Why should I vote a woman who will not remember me after getting wealth? I would rather vote for men who are in most cases generous with wealth.”²² This was a clear indicator that women were enemies of their 99 fellow women in participation in political leadership.

Gender-based violence as part of electoral violence was another hindrance to women in political participation. In addition, harassment and violence against women and threat of violence stopped women from participating in political life. According to Kakuba, the fear of violence has a direct psychological effect on women restricting their participation in politics.²³ Kakuba further points out that in Uganda, women raised the issue of domestic violence in elections, where they said that women were denied by their husbands their fundamental right to freely participate in electoral process. They expressed that some men denied their spouses freedom to support candidates of their choice let alone refusing them to contest for political positions. This took the form of hiding their spouses’ voting cards. This way husbands had beaten, harassed or even chased away their wives.²⁴ Husbands discouraged their wives from participating in elections and directed them the kind of candidate they had to vote.

Customary law is biased against women. Customary law in Africa is characterised by dominance of male community and family members over property and lives of women prohibiting women from owning or inheriting land. According to Kakuba, when women’s property rights are not secure, they become more vulnerable when they are widowed. In case of widow inheritance,

statutory laws have made widows more economically vulnerable. One particular problem arises from succession act of 1972 which promotes patrilineal inheritance. Under this act, widows have only use rights to the matrimonial home.²⁵ Customary law which prohibited women from owning land and other property which limited their political participation compared to men. Existing customary laws dictated superiority of boys over their sisters. According to patriarchal nature of different societies in the country, a male child was given more attention than girls. In light of this, fathers passed property to their sons because girls were expected to leave their parents' home, get married and become part of another family. But boys were supposed to take care of family property after the death of their fathers.²⁶

The disproportionate burden on women of child-rearing and family responsibilities hindered progress in women's participation in the political and public life in many geographical regions.²⁷ Women were seriously overworked. For a woman's average working hours a day was 14 hours and sometimes up to 17 hours, this always left women with very little time to take part in other activities especially in local politics say LCs.²⁸ Coffe and Bolzendahl point out that women (employed or not) were burdened by house care work, placing further demands on their time and resources, leaving them less time available for political participation.²⁹ Thus this had a significant impact since the option to balance work and family responsibilities are still very restricted.³⁰

Women's lack of interest and information were rooted in social processes of gender socialisation both as children and adults was also cited as another hindrance in political participation. Some respondents were of the view that women were socialised to be humble, to be led and not to be leaders; hence they only saw men at the front and women in the back seat to be led. On this view, one respondent said that "traditionally, a muganda lady does not join politics like men." Hence

with such kind of thinking, many women grew up with such attitudes which later barred them from participating in political leadership.³¹

Religious discrimination against women was yet another hindrance to their participation in political leadership. Uganda, though religion not that prominent, it featured as a hindrance where extremists believe that the nature of Islam excluded women from public life.³² According Kakeeto, Tabliq Muslims would not support the Uganda People's Congress (UPC) presidential candidate, Mrs. Miria Obote because she was a woman. Accordingly, they would not back any female candidate seeking political power because it contravened Islamic teachings. Supporting a woman to attain political power therefore, was a breach to God's law. His other reasons included the following: "Women are naturally very weak and cannot manage big positions. This could drive the country into chaos. Islam supports women's freedom but should not go beyond the limit. Islam guards women under hard situations but not to oversee home affairs." Kakeeto goes on to say "When God created man, he allocated specific responsibilities and it is clear in our religion. So the responsibility of leadership goes only to men. No woman can head a family. It is on record that a man marries a woman but not a woman to marry a man. I advise all Muslim women with plans to stand for any post to drop the idea. We will not support them. They should do it at their own risk." In Uganda, some Moslem women were not allowed to participate in politics as candidate because it was against the Islamic teachings.³³ So in some cases, there were cases of religious hindrances to women's participation in political leadership.

Among the Christians, the Catholic Bishop of Kampala Diocese, which included Luwero, Nakasongola and Nakaseke, the Right Rev. Matthias Ssekamaanya warned that Catholic Guilds should not be used to fight for equal rights by women to overpower their husbands lest they break up their families.³⁴ In the case of Christians, one respondent said: "If a priest advocated for support

of a particular candidate, church members voted him or her automatically because he or she would be seen as God sent.”³⁵

4.2.2 Economic Hindrances.

The gendered nature of electoral processes in Uganda is shaped by socio-economic context. Uganda is one of the poorest countries in the world, women constitute the poorest of the poor. Uganda is not exceptional. The socio-economic indicators also point to the way women and men are located in political process. Men were advantaged as economic and social resources often translated into political resources of legitimacy and the capacity to finance political competition. According to one respondent, “the commercialisation of politics in Uganda was the major hindrance to women in political participation, pinpointing the non-refundable fee paid to Electoral Commission. Candidates contesting for the different posts had to pay a non- refundable nomination fee to the Electoral Commission.

Some potentially good women leaders were prevented from standing because they could not raise the fee. They also lacked money for funding campaigns.” He further argues that “women who had requisite education to stand for political positions had no money and likewise those who had the money did not have requisite education.”³⁵ In Uganda, there were instances experienced where District Women Councilors withdrew from parliamentary elections for a number of reasons. It became clear during the 2001 elections that such contests now involved large sums of money. More economic muscle is needed than ever before, especially if contesting a general constituency seat; this painted a bleak picture for women candidates, who often lacked financial resources. Moreover, in popular discourse, a woman who contests a general seat is invariably and overtly described as “standing against a man” (rather than another candidate), and this made the contest more burdensome.³⁶

There was a link between economic status and women’s participation in political leadership. Money was required to finance campaigns and sometimes to buy voters, which was also the case with the 2001 elections. It was also noted that many who attempted to stand as independents, having lost in their party primaries, cited limited funding from their parties which barred would-

be contestants in the local council elections. Considering the use of resources, multiparty politics proved to be more expensive than single-party campaigns. Women had to spend both in the primaries and the actual elections, given the coverage of some districts, the issue of finance for women was more crucial in multiparty politics.

Expenses like printing campaign posters (attractive and good looking posters) to pull voters, finances to cover a wider campaigning area, as explained by one former woman MP aspirant: “For us women, the places in which we have to campaign are very large for instance you would find a woman at lower local council campaigning in the two wards representing one constituency and a woman MP here would represent eight sub counties and one town council which means incurring a lot of campaigning costs which I did not have then hence my defeat.”³⁷ Some potentially good leaders missed out because they could not raise the non-refundable fee. Women faced financial constraints because they did not have enough finances to compete especially as candidates. It was the few women who could afford (highly educated with connections) but for the majority in rural areas, it was only when one had a rich brother or father or sister to sponsor her by providing her with funds to print posters then would have to look for another venture, say, to cater for transport costs; whereas for men these things easily came their way without strings attached.” More so, women’s gender roles hindered the activities as time was a factor which was not considered. Women were faced with a bigger burden because they had to campaign in more than one sub-county. For instance, if it was district council campaigns that meant spending more than male counterparts.

Given the fact that the income of the majority of women, especially in rural areas, was from the sale of agricultural produce; from government work (nurses, teachers); or small scale business-oriented, men had a wider income base hence in better position to finance their campaign.

Women faced more campaign expenses during the 1996 elections than 2006. This was because by 1996, women who contested as candidates had a wider area in which to campaign, hence more expenses than during the 2006 elections where most of the electoral areas had been reduced in size due to creation of more districts. Women lacked money or finances hence survival became their pre-occupation which left them with no time for other activities like participating in elections. Money was required to finance campaigns and sometimes to buy voters. Thus money proved to be a major economic challenge to women's participation in elections as candidates. Women had inadequate incomes and other resources. A respondent from Kiboga district confessed that women were disadvantaged as far as economic resource were concerned.

She pointed out that women participated in agricultural activities including harvesting but the marketing was done by men who keep all the money.³⁸ If a man stood for a political position, he could easily get support by looking around his resources where women could not because women did not have money and other resources as men do. Women avoided the open county seat because they could not match the 'big money' that most male candidates invested in campaigns.

The majority respondents who had previously participated in elections were of the view that if it was not for the support they received from various sources, they would not be holding the positions they had. One of the respondents was quoted as saying: "Politics requires much money which we poor women cannot afford given the fact that we do not own property."³⁹

4.2.3 Electoral Management Hindrances

There are a number of procedural flaws in the process of electing women. Registers for the electoral colleges (which vote for women candidates) are often not properly updated; and a loophole in the regulations means that elections are valid regardless of the number of vacancies in the Electoral College. In addition, the time allotted for campaigning for women's seats was much

shorter than that for mainstream constituency seats, and the display of registers for the former lasted only seven days, compared to 21 days for the latter. This showed a lot of the inconsistencies and problems with the election of district women representatives.

In the run-up to the 2001 elections, parliament proposed an amendment that would see women district representatives elected through universal adult suffrage rather than electoral colleges, but President Museveni turned this down. The debate itself was fiery. The fact is that constitution of electoral colleges for district women representatives was easily manipulated, and favoured the incumbent. Influential women supported the continuation of the Electoral College because many members were known to them personally and had shared over the years the benefits of their positions in the House.

Electoral reforms coincided with the country's return to multiparty system. In the referendum on the need to open up political space for political parties was held in July 2005, less than 12 months to the general elections. Ugandans voted for return of multi-party system and in the elections of 2006, National Resistance Movements (NRM) won landslide victories.⁴⁴ To most women, whether as candidates or voters, the 2006 multiparty elections came out as a rushed process which they did not have time and opportunity to organise given the fact that there was uncertainty. Accordingly, there was enormous uncertainty that the promise to open up was not obvious. The position of women remained largely invisible in the debate on the transition.

For instance, the question of how to position women to compete in multiparty elections was not adequately addressed. Efforts by women organisations to raise the voice of women were lost in the maze of the rush. One-woman voter was quoted as saying: The transition was not well handled because there was no civic education. We depended on hearsay and the majority women knew only about contesting on the affirmative seats than directly elected posts. Another woman MP

contestant asserted, “No one had done civic education in my area.” The information that had spread was that anyone going against the National Resistance Movement (NRM) was against the national interest. Opposition was portrayed negatively and voters had no voter education on the elections and their rights. “I spent more time doing voter education than talking about my manifesto.”⁴⁵

Some women candidates did not have enough information about the elections.

One-woman candidate only learnt on the voting day that she was supposed to have two agents in all the polling stations. Women who contested as directly elected Councilors (candidates) and whose photographs appeared on the ballot paper with men were thought to have appeared by mistake, hence leading to their loss of votes. Inadequate voter education (lack of political consciousness) led to the overwhelming number of 300,000 invalid votes (4% of all votes cast). The voter turnout of 65.8%, which means that 3.5 million registered voters did not cast their votes, may in part be explained by limited voter education. By the end of January 2006, 47% of Ugandan voters were not aware that the elections were to take place beginning 23 February 2006. Even then, only 33% were aware that the presidential, parliamentary and women MPs elections would take place concurrently.

The Move from Electoral Colleges to Universal Adult Suffrage. Prior research revealed that electoral colleges though could easily be manipulated and had held women at ransom (UWONET, 2007). Voices from women on the 2006 elections showed that Adult Suffrage had discouraged many would-be aspirants and had favoured incumbents. Gender roles prevented some women from checking their names during the display of the voters’ register they only turned up on polling day to find their names missing. Election officers (presiding officers) denied possibly hundreds of thousands of registered voters, especially women, the right to vote because they were allegedly

not on the voters' registers. The final national voters' register of 2006 showed that out of the 10,450,788 registered voters, 6,880,484 (65.9%) had cast their ballot in the elections.

Carrying a voter's card was not enough to be allowed to vote until your name was found on the register. A significant number of names missing from the register affected the fairness of the elections, but they appeared to regard this as a problem of capacity rather than intent on the part of the Electoral Commission.

4.2.4 Political Hindrances

Lack of political party support. A research by UWONET (2007) revealed that parties other than the National Resistance Movement (NRM) expressed inability to attract women in their ranks. This was confirmed by the 2006 nomination roll released by the Electoral Commission, clearly indicating that the National Resistance Movement (NRM) was able to field on all posts for the district woman seat. (Uganda Gazette Feb 14th 2006). Parties performed poorly in fielding women on open seats which could have been the test for gender inclusiveness on the part of political parties that participated in the 2006 elections. Out of 808 contestants on open parliamentary seat, only 33 constituting 4% of the electoral contest were women.

Intimidation by security agencies. Though the 2006 elections were relatively peaceful, unlike the 2001 elections where security agencies including the **Uganda People's Defence Forces (UPDF)** were largely involved in perpetrating violence. The involvement of security agencies in electoral process created an environment characterised by fear and uncertainty which largely undermined the principle of transparency, free and fair electoral process. Common Wealth observers group (2006) noted that there was widespread use of intimidation and harassment by security forces and some armed National Resistance Movement (NRM) supporters against the opposition party executives, supporters and district representatives at national levels. The security situation

worsened as the polling day approached. Hence many women, due to fear, decided to opt to stay at home than participate in the exercise as voters for fear of violence and death.⁴⁶

Poor facilitation of Council activities. All women council activities need funds to be implemented successfully. Women want us as leaders (Councilors) to provide facilitation yet we are also poor like them. Why should the government put in place a whole institution which has no vote on the state budget ...? Government does not in any way commit itself in making the councils succeed. The above assertions revealed that poor funding of women's council activities prevented some would-be contenders from participating, especially as candidates, as it was through these activities that their efforts could be felt. The chairperson of the sub-county blamed women's inconsistency for failure to turn up for council meetings and hence making them inactive and was quoted as saying: Women do not come for meetings. You call for a meeting today, only a handful comes so you postpone and say, tomorrow. "Tomorrow another handful will appear, the next day.... How can these make a team"? And since there is no facilitation to motivate them, eventually the result is no meetings, no activities thus a silent women council.⁴⁷

4.3 Conclusion.

Since 1986 when the National Resistance Movement (NRM) came to power, there has been a steady rise in female political participation in elective offices, Elections for women can be traced back to the establishment of the National Resistance Council in 1989. Affirmative action measures for women were introduced in this election and 34 women were elected to women's seats, some women were elected on regular seats and in total, women constituted 17% of the (National Resistance Council (NRC). It indicated the beginning of the end of the historical exclusion of women from decision making process at both local and national levels. The presence of such an

unprecedented number of females in an institution that was traditionally dominated by men, introduced a gendered perspective to the law-making process.

Women's participation in constitution making process in the Constituent Assembly (CA) ensured that the final Uganda constitution recognised gender equality under the law. Moreover, the increased visibility of women in positions of leadership slowly changed the attitudes of Ugandans (both men and women) towards women's presence in the political arena. Elections as a particular form of political process provided opportunities for loose coalitions to emerge, and it is possible to forge such coalitions for the strategic purpose of positioning gender on the election agenda.

Despite the numerical presence of women in leadership positions, there was continued political, economic, social-cultural and electoral management challenges. The reliance on top-down state reforms was slowly beginning to realise critical deficits, especially concerning issues that directly undermine male power. During the period between 1981-2006, Uganda made enormous strides in as far as women's participation in political leadership is concerned. This section therefore fulfilled the objective of discussing the continued hindrances to women's participation in political leadership in Uganda.

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CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

This chapter is the final conclusion of the study. It mainly concludes on the major findings of the study; pointing out the fact that study objectives were achieved. It specifically shows that there were gender inequalities in participation in political leadership in Uganda before the National Resistance Movement/ National Resistance Army (NRM/NRA) “bush war” in Luwero Triangle. Therefore the study shows how the National Resistance Movement/National Resistance Army (NRM/NRA) “bush war” in Luwero Triangle influenced women's participation in political leadership in Uganda. It however indicates that despite all these, there are some continued hindrances to full women's participation in political leadership in Uganda.

The study has established that before the NRM/NRA “bush war” in the Luwero Triangle, there were many areas of unequal relationship between men and women in political participation. Buganda was a deeply patriarchal society where by women were legally, sexually and economically subjugated to their husbands. Traditional institution retained its vitality and therefore, patriarchal culture and traditional values continued to dominate. This constrained women’s ability to access opportunity outside the household and excluded them from many decision-making processes especially politics.

Women ability to participate in politics had been affected by a number of factors. First, there was the traditional Ganda Culture that existed during the precolonial period. This was later worsened by the colonial education during the colonial era. European influences on access to schools and women’s emancipation in colonial Uganda were uneven and exclusionary. This is exemplified by the first colonial African elites that dominated politics during this period.

In addition, through the British system of indirect rule, there is abundant evidence to support the fact that colonialism actually worsened the position of women. Colonialism, through the process of institutionalisation of male dominance led to the decline of women's status. The condition of women went from bad to worse is a matter well established. Colonial history was therefore, a powerful instrument of maintenance of gender disparity in political participation.

Just like during the colonial era, post-colonial governments exhibited patriarchal practices with men firmly holding the substantive reins of power and authority as women were denied active and public participation. This notion of women as minors when it came to elections and other political processes was sustained in post-colonial period until mid -1980s when the National Resistance Movement (NRM) came to power. The objective of the study by analysing the root causes of gender disparity in participation in political leadership before the National Resistance Movement/National Resistance Army (NRM/NRA) "bush war." was therefore achieved.

The increased presence of women in Ugandan politics is attributed to the broader process of guerilla struggle which drew different categories of the populace into direct public participation in different capacities in the Luwero Triangle. Museveni's personal support for women's equality and their participation in politics reflects his appreciation of the women's role in the "bush war" as supporters of the NRA and also his recognition of the potential contribution of women's organisation to consolidate the National Resistance Movement (NRM)'s political dominance in Uganda.

With regard to women, affirmative action policy was put in place to ensure that there was a woman representative to the national legislature from each District.

Uganda went from a situation where women had virtually no visibility in politics to a situation at the turn of the Century where women were involved at almost every level. Luwero Triangle is the beginning point of this process in Uganda.

Despite impressive gains in access to de jure equality and formal political representation, women faced pervasive oppression in terms of exclusion from leadership roles, resources to mobilise private patriarchy, and male control over female political space. The patriarchal structures and institutions within which politicians operated were themselves not altered one bit. Therefore, there was institutionalised resistance to gender equity in the apparatus of governance. The objective of how the “bush war” influenced women's participation in political leadership was achieved. It also partly discussed the continued hindrances to women's participation in political leadership which are embedded in the policy of affirmative action.

Since 1986 when the National Resistance Movement (NRM) came to power, there has been a steady rise in female political participation in elective offices. The National Resistance Movement (NRM) opened the door for women's participation in politics. The affirmative action policy—the mandatory inclusion of women in Local Councils and reserving a proportion of parliamentary seats exclusively for women brought more women in main stream politics and key government positions.

The affirmative action instituted by the National Resistance Movement (NRM) in 1989 and subsequent constitutional allocation of seats to women in parliament and local government have been a mixed blessing. While the resulting numerical presence of women in formal politics has been a major advance, there remain questions concerning the legitimacy and respectability of women candidates, politicians and public office holders.

Political liberalisation opened up for women more opportunities for political leverage and participation in state activities from which they had previously excluded or only marginally involved.

The presence of such an unprecedented number of females in an institution that was traditionally dominated by men, introduced a gendered perspective to the law-making process. Moreover, the increased visibility of women in positions of political leadership slowly changed the attitudes of Ugandans (both men and women) towards women's presence in the political arena. This indicated the beginning of the end of the historical exclusion of women from decision making process at both local and national levels.

During the period between 1981-2006, despite the continued political, economic, social-cultural and electoral management challenges, Uganda made enormous strides in as far as women's location in political leadership is concerned. This new consciousness forms the crucial basis for a new kind of political self-organisation for women and for a more radical transformation of gender relations in Ugandan society. Therefore, this study contributes to scholarship of women's participation in political leadership in Africa and it specifically analyses how the “bush war” in Luwero Triangle has influenced women's participation in political leadership in Uganda.

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APPENDICES.

APPENDIX 1

MAP OF THE LUWERO TRIANGLE

Figure 1: Map of Luwero Triangle



APPENDIX II

INTERVIEW GUIDE TO THE PEOPLE OF LUWERO TRIANGLE.

You are kindly requested to respond to these questions as honestly as possible. This information will solely be used for study purposes.

1. Name.....
2. Gender:
3. Age.....
4. Occupation.....
5. Date.....
6. Place (Village/Parish/Sub county/Town Council).....
7. What were the root causes of gender disparity in political participation in Uganda before the National Resistance Movement/National Resistance Army (NRM/NRA) “bush war” in the Luwero Triangle?
9. How did Christianity and formal education shape Women’s participation in political Leadership?
10. How did colonialism affect Women’s Participation in Political Leadership?
11. What role did women play in National Resistance Movement/ National Resistance Army (NRM/NRA) “bush war” in the Luwero Triangle?

12. How did the National Resistance Movement/National Resistance Army (NRM/NRA) “bush war” in the Luwero Triangle influence Women’s Participation in Political leadership?

13. What are the continued hindrances to Women’s Participation in Political Leadership?

Thank you for your participation.

APPENDIX III

LIST OF PEOPLE INTERVIEWED IN THE LUWERO TRIANGLE.

1. Ggazzi Kayizzi Francis, 76, retired civil servant, Kasana-Luwero Town Council-Luwero district, 16/05/2018.
2. Namubiru Amina, 65, business woman, Kasana-Luwero Town Council-Luwero district, 16/05/2018.
3. Bigirwa Jane, 53, teacher, Wakyato-Nakaseke district, 13/06/2018.
4. Kayemba Ponsiano, 68, retired UPDF officer, Wakyato-Nakaseke district, 13/06/2018.
5. Bakiika James, 66, Pastor and business man, Namagoma –Nakaseke district, 13/06/2018.
6. Sengendo Shaban, 58, business man, Kiboga Town council maket -Kiboga district, 17/06/2018.
7. Nalweyiso Stella, 68, peasant, Masulita, Kiboga district, 17/06/2018.
8. Nabuufu Jamillah, 48, business woman, Kiboga Town Council-Kiboga district, 17/06/2018.
9. Nagginda Clara, 65, business woman, Kiboga Town Council-Kiboga district, 17/06/2018.
10. Masembe Rommie, 67, retired sub county chief, Kiboga Town Council-Kiboga district, 17/06/2018.
11. Nakimuli Esiteri, 69, business woman, Kiboga Town Council-Kiboga district, 17/06/2018.
12. Muniina Geoffrey, 68, farmer, Mityana market, Mityana district, 20/06/2018.
13. Semayanja James, 76, retired councilor, Mityana Town Council, Mityana district, 20/06/2018.

14. Kato Augustine, 60, retired Poilice officer, Mityana Town Council, Mityana district, 20/06/2018.
15. Kiyemba Matayo, 72, Councillor Mityana Town council, Mityana Town Council, Mityana district, 20/06/2018.
16. Nakyeune Mildred, 74, Councillor Mityana Town Council, Mityana Town Council, Mityana district, 20/06/2018.
17. Nakyanzi Christine, 68, business woman, Mityana Town Council, Mityana district, 20/06/2018.
18. Zaituni Night, 60, peasant, Namakonkome-Mubende District, 21/06/2018.
19. Mwesigwa Cephas, 69, MubendeTown Council, Mubende district, 21/06/2018.
20. Luwedde Christina, 70, Mubende Town Council, Mubende district, 21/06/2018.
21. Mugambwa George, 62, Mubende Town Council, Mubende district, 21/06/2018.
22. Nabukalu Desiranta, 68, business woman, Mubende Town Council, Mubende district, 21/06/2018.
23. Senabulya Saidi, 66, commercial farmer, Lubayi-Mubende District, 21/06/2018.
24. Kyeyune Betty, 76, retired politician (former mayor of Luwero Town Council) Kasana-Luwero Town Council-Luwero district, 16/07/2018.
25. Jjuuko Moses, 68, Business man, Wakiso Town Council-Wakiso District, 14/08/2019.
26. Nalweyiso Sylvia, 62, retired teacher, Wattuba-Wakiso District, 14/08/2019.
27. Namuleme Joyce, 75, retired veterinary officer, Wattuba-Wakiso District, 14/08/2019.

28. Lule Yokana, 76, retired politician, Wakiso Town Council, Wakiso district, 14/08/2019.
29. Zirabamuzaale Charles, 70, business man, Wakiso Town Council, Wakiso district, 14/08/2019.
30. Nabunya Margret, 64, private medical worker, Wobulenzi Town Council-Luwero district, 14/10/2019.
31. Kayaga Margret Nalongo, 56, peasant, Kamira, Bamunanika-Luwero district, 17/10/2019.
32. Kirumira Musa, 75, peasant, Kamira, Bamunanika-Luwero District, 17/10/2019.
33. Nakimenya Constance, 62, retired teacher, Ziobwe- Luwero District, 17/10/2019.
34. Terubula Amina, 68, peasant, Kanyanya- Luwero District, 17/10/2019.
35. Semanda Lwanga Eddie, 66, retired sub county chief, Butuntumula sub county, Kasaala, Butuntumula-Luwero District, 18/10/2019.
36. Nambooze Peruth Kalibbala, 58, politician (Councillor Local Council III) , Kiboga Town Council, Kiboga District, 22/10/2019.
37. Ssekitoleko Victoria, 59, retired politician (former woman MP Kiboga district), Kiboga Town council, Kiboga district, 22/10/2019.
38. Mutebi David, 69, retired medical worker, Kyankwanzi District, 23/10/2019.
39. Ndugga Mohammed, 70, carpenter, Kyankwazi Town Council, Kyankanzi district, 23/10/2019.
40. Birungi Margret, 65, private medical worker, Kyankwazi Town Council, Kyankanzi district 23/10/2019.
41. Bakulu James, 64, peasant, Sasira, Nakasongola District, 24/10/2019.

42. Kyanjo Fred, 54, butcher, Kakooge Town Council-Nakasongola district, 24/10/2019.
43. Karokora Zedekia, 79, councilor LV III, Nakasongola Town council Nakasongola district, 24/10/2019.
44. Birabwa Deborah, 64, private medical worker, Migyera Town Council,Nakasongola district, 24/10/2019.
45. Mbone Deo, 62, traditional herbalist, Kasana-Luwero Town Council-Luwero district, 26/10/2019.
46. Kayaga Aisha Shamim, 50, politician (Councilor Local Council V representing Butuntumula Subcounty, Butuntumula-Luwero district, 26/10/2019.
47. Rebecca Lukwago, 56, retired politician (former Luwero district woman MP), Kasana, Luwero Town Council, 26/10/2019.
48. Kayizzi Godfrey, 68, retired politician (former speaker of Luwero district council and former chairman District Service commission, Luwero district),Kiwogozi, Luwero Town council, 27/10/2019.
49. Kambuğu Edward, 78, politician (Councilor Local Council III, Ndejje Town Board)-Luwero district, 27/10/2019.
50. Kinene David, 72, peasant, Kapeeka, Nakaseke district, 27/10/2019.
51. Magala Samuel, 66, farmer, Semuto, Nakaseke district, 27/10/2019.
52. Haji Naduli Abdul, 78, retired politician (former Chairman Local Council V Luwero district and former minister in charge of general duties in NRM government, Wobulenzi Town Council, Luwero district, 14/12/2020.