

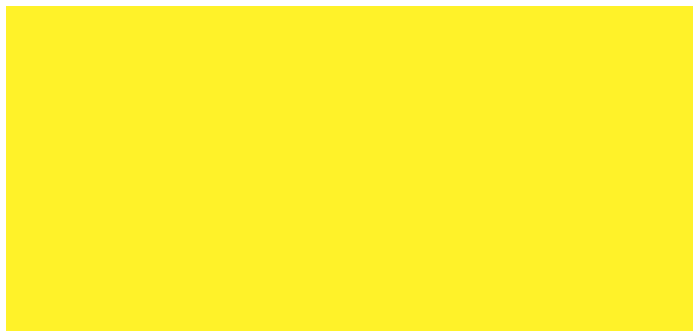
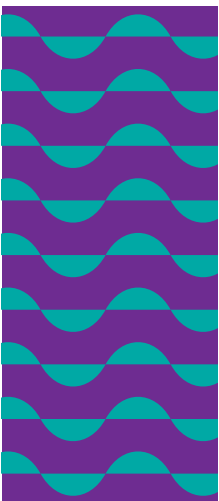
Country Analysis: Leadership in Advancing Women's Rights in Public Decision-Making Processes in Uganda

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Acronym in Full	
AA	Affirmative Action
AMwA	Akina Mama wa Afrika
AU	African Union
CDO	Community Development Officer
CEDAW	Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CEDOVIP	Centre for Domestic Violence Prevention
CEWIGO	Centre for Women in Governance
CGE	Certificate of Gender and Equity
CSBAG	Civil Society Budget Advocacy Group
CSOs	Civil Society Organisations
DGF	Democratic Governance Facility
DP	Democratic Party Political Party
EAC	East African Community
EOC	Equal Opportunities Commission
FDC	Forum for Democratic Change Political Party
FHRI	Foundation for Human Rights Initiative
FOWODE	Forum for Women in Democracy
GBV	Gender-Based Violence
GEB	Gender and Equity Budgeting
GEWE	Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment
GRB	Gender Responsive Budgeting
IPFs	Indicative Planning Frameworks
Isis-WICCE	Isis International Women Cross-Cultural Exchange
IST	Institute for Social Transformation
JLOS	Justice Law and Order Sector
LC	Local Council
LCIII	Local Council Three
LCV	Local Council Five
LG	Local Government
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation
MDAs	Ministries, Departments and Agencies
MoAAIF	Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries
MoD	Ministry of Defence
MoEAA	Ministry of East African Affairs
MoEMD	Ministry of Energy and Mineral Development
MoES	Ministry of Education and Sports
MoFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MoFPED	Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development
MoGLSD	Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development
MoH	Ministry of Health
MoIA	Ministry of Internal Affairs
MoICT	Ministry of Information Communication Technology
MoJCA	Ministry of Justice and Constitutional Affairs
MoLG	Ministry of Local Government

Acronym in Full	
MoLHUD	Ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development
MoPS	Ministry of Public Service
MoSTI	Ministry of Science, Technology and Innovation
MoTIC	Ministry of Trade, Industry and Cooperatives
MoTWA	Ministry of Tourism, Wildlife and Antiquities
MoWE	Ministry of Water and Environment
MoWT	Ministry of Works and Transport
MP	Member of Parliament
MTEF	Medium Term Expenditure Framework
NRM	National Resistance Movement Political Party
OPM	Office of the Prime Minister
PFMA	Public Finance Management Act
PWDs	Persons with Disabilities
SACCOs	Savings and Credit Cooperative Societies
SDGs	The United Nations Agenda 2030 on Sustainable Development / Sustainable Development Goals
SGBV	Sexual and Gender-Based Violence
SRH	Sexual and Reproductive Health
SRHR	Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights
SOB	Sexual Offences Bill 2016
UFF	Uganda Feminist Forum
UHRC	The Uganda Human Rights Commission
UNNGOF	Uganda National NGO Forum
UWONET	Uganda Women's Network
VAWE	Violence Against Women in Elections
VAWG	Violence Against Women and Girls
VSLAs	Village Savings and Loan Associations
WEGCDA	Women and Girl Child Development Association
WWDs	Women with Disabilities

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In recent years, many initiatives, conventions and declarations promoting women's rights have focused on addressing the under-representation of women in public decision-making positions. Consequently, the number of women in public decision-making increased. However, women brought into public positions are not per se able or willing to advance women's rights because they do not have enough political influence and women sometimes do not automatically share women's rights causes.

The Robert Bosch Stiftung (Foundation) GmbH (RBSG) one of the biggest foundations in Europe commissioned a study in Uganda to take a closer look at which conditions need to be in place to advance women's rights in public policy decision-making processes.

The findings from the study show that women leaders in public policy making and implementation processes face several challenges that hinder advancement and promotion of women's rights. The challenges are at a personal level, others are structural, procedural and funding. Personal challenges included issues of capacity to effectively influence, inability of women leaders to conceptualize issues, and the self-limiting and negative perceptions of women as leaders. The structural hindrances included institutionalized patriarchy, militarized politics, lacks of a common women's agenda, unclear constituency of women leaders, the multi-party system and the rampant sexual harassment of women. The procedural challenges highlighted the low numbers of women in key decision-making spaces and the centralization of power within decision-making processes in spite of decentralization. Challenges concerning funding included that the nature of current funding is majorly project-based, dwindling resources for women's human rights work. In addition, the majority of interventions target women in elective politics, leaving out other components and constituencies within the broader area of Leadership in Advancing Women's Rights in Public Decision-Making Processes in Uganda.

The socio- economic and political context in which women leaders operate is not to be overlooked as they are prone to succumb to the system through cultural beliefs, sex, money and corruption, or are co-opted. There is therefore need for a multi-dimensional approach, which takes cognizance of the proposed recommendations and diverse needs and interests of women in the given context. The process will bring several players into focus to dismantle the underlying manifestations of patriarchy at all levels.

1 BACKGROUND TO THE UGANDA COUNTRY ANALYSIS

1.1 Background

In recent years, many initiatives, conventions and declarations promoting women's rights have focused on addressing the under-representation of women in public decision-making positions. Consequently, the number of female parliamentarians doubled globally between 1995 and 2015, from 11.3% to 22%. Women's presence in public spheres is an important factor in advancing women's rights although it has also become clear that a focus on numbers only is not sufficient. Women brought into public positions are not per se able or willing to advance women's rights because they do not have enough political influence and women sometimes do not automatically share women's rights causes.

It is against this background that Robert Bosch Stiftung (Foundation) GmbH (RBSG) as one of the biggest foundations in Europe commissioned a study in Uganda to take a closer look at which conditions need to be in place in order to advance women's rights in public policy decision-making processes.

1.2 Purpose of the Country Analysis

The Robert Bosch Stiftung (Foundation) GmbH (RBSG) commissioned a consultant ***“to critically analyse the conditions needed to advance women's rights in public decision-making processes and how The Robert Bosch Stiftung can support initiatives working toward this goal”***.

1.3 Specific Objectives of the Uganda Country Analysis

More specifically, the assignment aimed at achieving the following Objectives:

1. To understand the current challenges and opportunities in advancing women's rights in public policy making and implementation in Uganda and; based on the analysis, recommendations for thematic and geographic focus areas are developed.
2. To identify locally-led and problem-driven initiatives in Uganda that promote the integration of women's rights concerns into all areas of public policy and go beyond the numerical representation of women in public decision-making positions.

1.4 Methodology

The Country Analysis used the following tools to collect data: interviews and focus group discussions with a total of 53 key informants including women and men in diverse positions of public policy making processes and implementation in Northern Uganda, Central Uganda and National Level actors; document reviews and analysis of media reports and other mappings, researches and publications. The Draft Report was validated in Kampala, Uganda on the 4th of December 2018 at a Validation Workshop attended by 39 key experts.

1.5 Key Respondents

Key respondents were purposively selected along the categories outlined below. The categories included women and men in diverse positions of public policy making processes and implementation as thus:

- a. Northern Uganda (Lango Sub-Region, Acholi Sub-Region and West Nile Sub-Region)
- b. Central Uganda (Luwero District, Kampala District, Kassanda District and Wakiso District)
- c. National Level actors and activists
- d. Political Parties and Organizations
- e. International Level actors
- f. Donors and Funding Partners
- g. National, Regional and International NGOs
- h. Women leaders in public service, NGOs and private sector
- i. Government Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs)

1.6 Report Structure

This Country Analysis Report contains of 4 sections. Section 1 is the Background to the Country Analysis. Section 2 briefly introduces the status of women in policymaking and implementation and policy frameworks in Uganda. Section 3 presents the key findings, detailing the challenges identified as well as opportunities to increase women's influence and to advance women's rights in public policy making processes. Conclusions and recommendations for RBSG and other partners are presented in Section 4.

2 CONTEXTUAL OVERVIEW

This section seeks to highlight the operating environment for female leaders making decisions on public policy as well as the framework for policymaking and implementation in Uganda.

2.1 Global Context

International standards and treaties lay a foundation for women's active engagement in public policy decision-making processes. Article 21 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR 1948)¹ states that every human has the right to take part in their country's government. In addition, Article 7 of the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW 1979) states that there should be no form of discrimination against women in terms of equal political participation; while the Beijing Declaration and Platform of Action (BPfAs 1995) and The Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (Articles 2 and 7) both support women's equal participation in politics and decision-making processes. Furthermore, The United Nations Agenda 2030 on Sustainable Development (SDGs of 2015) looks at inclusive governance and political leadership as a bedrock for ensuring that women participate in effective ways, achieving gender equity and equality, eliminating all forms of violence and ensuring peaceful societies. This vision is articulated through SDGs 4, 5, 8, 10, 11, 16 and the specific targets therein.

At a practical level, the number of female parliamentarians doubled between 1995 and 2015, from 11.3% to 22%. Research has shown that women's presence in public spheres is an important factor in advancing women's rights. However, it has also become clear that a focus on numbers alone is not sufficient. Women in public positions are not per se able or willing to advance women's rights. First, these women might not have enough political influence and, second, women in power do not automatically share women's rights causes. On the other hand, men and people not identifying with either of the two mainstream sexes can play an equally important role in advancing women's rights. As such therefore, effective leadership is crucial for advancing women's rights and for women's voices to be heard and valued in public discourse. A consensus across various spheres of government and civil society is necessary in order to build a collective vision for the participation of women and girls in public decision-making processes.

¹ United Nations (1948); *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*; Geneva: United Nations Organization

2.2 Africa Regional Context

There is a robust standards regime at the Pan-African Level. Article 13 of the African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights recognizes civil and political rights for all individuals, which include freedom to political participation among others. Similarly, the AU Protocol on Gender Parity (that came into force in 2003) calls for a fifty–fifty (50: 50) representation of males and females in decision-making. The Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People’s Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa – The Maputo Protocol of 2003 (ratified by Uganda in 2010) promotes rights to women’s participation, and economic and social welfare rights, which include equal opportunities in the private and formal sectors. The Protocol further calls on African states to uphold women’s rights, eliminate discrimination and promote participation in political and decision making spaces. Similarly, the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance (ACDEG) that came into force in 2007 promotes gender equality in both public and private institutions in a bid to deepen democratic elections in Africa.

Furthermore, The Africa Union Agenda 2063 (of 2015) sets forth both a vision and action plan for working together to build a prosperous and united Africa based on shared values and a common destiny. Agenda 2030 aspires for ‘The Africa we Want’ which shall be prosperous, inclusive and sustainable, politically and economically integrated; peaceful and secure; and; strong, united and an influential global player and partner; it shall exercise good governance, democracy and respect of human rights, justice and rule of law and shall have a strong cultural identity, common heritage, shared values and ethics. It shall above all be people-driven and a continent whose development relies on its people especially women, youth and children. Further, in 2010, the African Union formally launched the African Women’s Decade (AWD 2010-2020) whose aim was to advance gender equality by accelerating the implementation of global and regional decisions as well as commitments on gender equality and women’s empowerment. The AWD prioritizes the Dakar Declaration, Beijing Platforms for Action and AU Assembly Decisions.

2.3 Uganda National Context

Uganda is a land-locked country situated in the Great Lakes Region bordered by South Sudan, Kenya, Tanzania, Rwanda and Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) comprising 241,551 square kilometers. As per the 2014 National Census, Uganda has a total population of 34.6 million people of which 17.7 million are women (51.15%) and 16.9 million are men (48.85%).

2.3.1 Legal-Political Context of Uganda

Uganda has ratified most of the key international human rights treaties and has shown improvements in reporting. It is party to international and regional commitments to gender equality and women's empowerment such as the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), Beijing Platform of Action (BPfAs), and the United Nations Agenda 2030 - Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Uganda has integrated most of these regional and international commitments through legal, institutional and operational mechanisms, but their implementation remains a challenge. As reported for instance by the Uganda Human Rights Commission (UHRC) there is still progress to be made in ensuring that human rights are protected throughout the country.

Uganda has various policy and legal frameworks that have the potential to support women's participation in public decision-making processes and spaces. In theory, Uganda's robust legal and policy framework guarantees gender equity and equality in the public and private spheres. The 1995 Constitution of the Republic of Uganda clearly outlines the rights of women in Article 31, 32 and 33. One of the specific strategies of Uganda's *National Gender Policy* (1997) and the more recent *Uganda Gender Policy* (2007) is to develop strategies to eliminate discrimination against women in elective and appointment systems and structures of governance. Government also enacted the Equal Opportunity Commission (EOC) Act of 2007, which promotes the elimination of inequality because of sex as well as affirmative action policies. The Presidential Elections Act (2000) provides for both males and females to contest for presidency. The Parliamentary Elections Act (2005) and the Local Governments Act (1997) require 30% reserved seats for women at national and sub-national levels of decision-making and strongly support women's participation in politics without discrimination. In public service, all public officers are bound by the detailed and comprehensive Uganda Public Service Standing Orders (2010) which addresses various aspects of public officers including clear provisions for dealing with sexual harassment such as redress mechanisms. Remedies for sexual harassment shall be those prescribed under the civil or criminal laws. Unfortunately, the Standing Orders do not take into consideration underlying gender dimensions such as reproductive roles that hinder the promotion of female public servants. The Medium and Small Enterprise (MSME) Policy (2015) which guides this sector states gender equity, inclusiveness and environmentally friendly business for sustainable development as one of its objectives and prescribes interventions to achieve this goal. Furthermore, the Investment Code (1991) provides favorable conditions for investments, among others by the establishment of the Uganda Investment Authority but does not make any provisions to support the entry and participation of women in the investment sector. Professional associations make their own rules and it is not clear to which extent they ensure gender equity in positions of leadership and management.

The plethora of instruments on the advancement of women's rights has contributed significantly to an increase in the number of women in political leadership positions (particularly on reserved affirmative action seats). In 2011, there were only 11 women (3.6%) on directly elected open seats / mainstream positions in Parliament and 112 women on affirmative (reserved) seats (30%)². In the 2016 general elections, there was an increase in the number of women contesting for mainstream open parliamentary seats from 38 women in 2011 to 90 women in 2016³. Although Uganda operates in a multiparty political dispensation where it is expected that both men and women may contest for the open seats, the majority of women who contested for open seats in 2016 stood as Independent Candidates and not within their political parties⁴.

Furthermore, it is worth noting that while affirmative action has increased the number of women in political decision-making processes it is nonetheless still the bare minimum as women continue to struggle with being elected for directly elected open seats. This is due to a number of reasons including negative socio-cultural perspectives and views regarding female participation in public decision-making processes as well as socio-cultural norms that deter women from running for open seats. Other obstacles are financial constraints, a lack of political social capital, political parties favoring men for open seats and an emerging backlash of affirmative action policies that ghettoizes women to only affirmative action seats. A case in point is that the 10th Parliament has a total of 426 Members of Parliament of which women are majorly on affirmative action seats (112 Women MPs)⁵. Similarly, at the local government level while the overall number of seats for women stands at 41.4% compared to men with 58.6%, there are fewer women appointed to office by direct election as more women are on affirmative action seats⁶. Women representation on open seats stands at: 0.89% for District Chairpersons; 8.11% for Municipal Council Chairpersons; 0.87% for Sub-County / Town / Municipal Division Chairpersons; 1.62% for District Directly Elected Councilors; 2.07% for Municipal Council Directly Elected Councilors and; 0.76% for Sub-County / Town / Municipal Division Directly Elected Councilor⁷. Table 1 below demonstrates.

² Women Leadership Development (2014), Women's Leadership in Mainstream Politics: A Case of Uganda's Political Parties; and Isis-Women's International Cross Cultural Exchange (2014), Making A Difference Beyond Numbers: Towards Women's Substantive Engagement in Political Leadership in Uganda.

³ Foundation for Human Rights Initiative and Women Leadership Development (2016), Nomination of MPs and Campaigns of 2016 General Elections Report, FHRI and WLEDE, Kampala.

⁴ 51 women stood as Independents at Parliamentary level and a bigger percentage vied for elective office as independents not within their political parties

⁵ <http://www.ec.or.ug/sites/default/files/docs/Gazette%20List%20Elected%20MPs%202016.pdf> accessed on 14th December 2018

⁶ Ministry of Local Government (2016), Statistical Abstract 2016, accessed at <https://molg.go.ug/sites/default/files/MoLG%20-%20Statistical%20Abstract%202016.pdf> , accessed on 14th December 2018

⁷ <https://molg.go.ug/sites/default/files/MoLG%20-%20Facts%20and%20Figures%202016.pdf> Accessed on 14th December 2018

Table 1: Proportion of Seats Held by Women in Local Governments⁸

S/N	Category / Position	Number			Percent		
		Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
1.	District Chair Persons	111	1	112	99.11%	0.89%	100
2.	Municipal Division Chairperson	34	3	37	91.89%	8.11%	100
3.	Sub-County / Town Council / Municipal Division Chairpersons	1,369	12	1,381	99.13%	0.87%	100
4.	District Directly Elected Councillors (Open Seats)	1,401	23	1,424	98.38%	1.62%	100
5.	District Women Councillor	-	982	982	0.00%	100.00%	100
6.	District Councillors representing Older Persons	137	116	253	54.15%	45.85%	100
7.	District Councillors representing Youths	124	113	237	52.32%	47.68%	100
8.	District Councillors representing PWD	118	111	229	51.53%	48.47%	100
9.	Municipal Division Directly Elected Councillors (Open Seats)	569	12	581	97.93%	2.07%	100
10.	Municipal Division Councillor for Older Persons	35	36	71	49.30%	50.70%	100
11.	Municipal Division Councillor for PWD	44	40	84	52.38%	47.62%	100
12.	Municipal Division Councillor representing Youths	43	36	79	54.43%	45.57%	100
13.	Municipal Division Women Councillor	-	394	394	0.00%	100.00%	100
14.	Sub-County / Town / Municipal Division Directly Elected Councillor	6,823	52	6,875	99.24%	0.76%	100
15.	Sub-County / Town / Municipal Division Councillor representing older persons	1,302	1,183	2,485	52.39%	47.61%	100
16.	Sub-County / Town / Municipal Division Councillor representing PWD	1,416	1,369	2,785	50.84%	49.16%	100
17.	Sub-County / Town / Municipal Division Councillor representing Youths	1,477	1,404	2,881	51.27%	48.73%	100
18.	Sub-County / Town / Municipal Division Women Councillor	-	6,755	6,755	0.00%	100%	100
Total		15,003	12,642	27,645	58.57%	41.43%	100%

Source: Electoral Commission, 2016

⁸ Accessed at: Ministry of Local Government (2018) Fact Sheet <https://molg.go.ug/sites/default/files/MoLG%20-%20Facts%20and%20Figures%202016.pdf> Accessed on 14th December 2018

In addition, in spite of the above legal and policy provisions, women's access to wider public decision-making processes beyond politics is still minimal. Although there is an increase in the numbers of women in political leadership at national and local levels, their numbers in other decision-making spaces is still low and subject to tokenism and patronage. This questions quality of representation and impact of the representation. As such therefore, more generally, women's voices in public policy making is often unheard or not adequately harnessed. It is therefore critical that women are represented in decision-making as evidence shows that where decisions such as on health, water, agriculture are made without the participation of women, their concerns/needs are left out. This affects women because they are the most affected when bad decisions are made.

More generally, women in the formal sector - public service, private sector and professional associations are challenged by the lack of implementation of the minimum of 1/3 affirmative action policy due to lack of enforcement and adherence⁹. It should be noted that affirmative action is mainly implemented in the education sector and elective politics. Further, within the public service, private sector and professional associations; women are appointed into leadership positions as tokenism that is characterized by the "Deputizing Syndrome". This is amidst the fact that most top leadership, managerial or decision making positions are dominated by men. For instance, data of aggregate public service personnel for Uganda shows that the share of women in top positions or managerial positions in public service was at a paltry 25%. The male-dominated competitive context of management positions has been characterized to be affected by a strong patriarchal culture¹⁰. This is compounded with the fact that there are fewer initiatives aimed at supporting and nurturing leadership, coaching and mentorship for women in the private sector, public service, and professional associations.

With regard to gender equality in public administration, Uganda has yet to explicitly extend the provisions for affirmative action from the legislature and education sector to the executive, the judiciary and to the entire public administration, as is the case in the newly established Republic of South Sudan. The country is also yet to implement a rigorous affirmative action follow-up mechanism as in the Republic of Namibia, where fines are imposed against offending institutions, whether they are in the public or private sector. Extension of affirmative action provisions could be backed up by minimum representation targets in the public administration, against which progress can be tracked. The underrepresentation of women at top levels in the public administration needs to be addressed by legal and policy provisions, including a range of affirmative actions and

⁹ Uganda Bureau of Statistics (2013), Uganda Facts and Figures on Gender

¹⁰ Irene van Staveren (2012), Is a widening Gender Wage Gap Necessarily Caused by a Glass Ceiling? A Case Study from Uganda

temporary special measures such as targets and quotas. A mandatory legal requirement may be needed to back up the public sector mainstreaming guidelines if the guidelines are not taken up to improve the gender balance. In the short-term, the Ministry of Public Service (MoPS) Gender Mainstreaming Guidelines of 2011 are key in making the public administration policy less gender-blind.

When it comes to women in the public sector, while affirmative actions can guarantee the entry of women into the public service, their performance is what leads to their promotion and therefore even legal review and extending affirmative action may not necessarily increase the numbers of women in top/senior leadership in the public service. Nevertheless, the influence of politics on especially senior appointed positions has also been identified as a barrier for women and men. This influence tends to impact more negatively on women, as they historically lack the social capital and financial resources associated with political advancement. They also have less time due to traditional care responsibilities and traditional perceptions that women are not leaders.

Further, positions within the public service, private sector and professional associations is hampered by the low levels of literacy, gender biases in recruitment and promotions and the fact that women generally occupy lower echelons in these sectors. With low-literacy skills and gender inequalities in the public spaces, women are assigned lower jobs in both private and public sectors. 50% of the employed women work in three of the lowest paying sectors compared to 33% of men¹¹.

Yet, women in politics and electoral offices also still face countless barriers to their political participation. The barriers that women face in political participation and democratic processes are in 3 major categories:

- a) Individual Level Barriers - At the individual level, women who are equally as qualified as men talk themselves out of running for office due to a number of reasons that range from lack of confidence and the unwillingness to be part of uncertain political processes that undermine their integrity.
- b) Institutional Level Barriers - At the institutional level, political bodies – like parties, legislatures and councils – remain unwelcoming to female colleagues.
- c) Socio-Cultural Barriers - At the socio-cultural level, the media – for example – focuses overwhelmingly on what a woman wears, her marital status or her voice, as opposed to her policy positions.

¹¹ National Planning Authority (2015), The Second Uganda National Development Plan (NDP II) 2015/16 – 2019/2020
Kampala: NPA

Since 1986, when the National Resistance Movement (NRM) came to power, Uganda has been led by President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni. The country holds general elections every 5 years where leaders are elected at various levels – local government and national legislature. In 2005, following a Referendum, the country transitioned to a multi-party political system and has had 3 elections since then in 2006, 2011 and 2016 of which he was re-elected President.

Following the end of the armed conflict in 1986, the NRM government introduced a number of structural reforms and investments, most of which led to a sustained period of high growth and poverty reduction between 1987 and 2010. Similarly, public-sector reforms were introduced in the past two decades, which resulted in the creation of a robust formal governance system aimed at improving public sector management and institutional quality. However, the country's current political settlement which manifests itself in at least four contentious issues: the constitution, electoral disagreements, the ambiguous role of the military and the unsettled question of presidential succession has failed to provide the basis for achieving structural transformation. Consequently civil space for engagement is shrinking, there is an increase in abuse of human rights and a decline in the rights and freedoms of speech and expression. While Uganda's economy is struggling, performing well within some sectors¹², widespread corruption at all levels continues to cause problems and about one third of the population still lives in extreme poverty¹³. The society is embedded in patriarchal norms and beliefs, which largely discriminate and marginalize women and girls.

2.3.2 Social-Economic Context of Uganda

The population of Uganda was estimated at 34.6 million in 2014¹⁴, having risen from 9.5 million in 1969. Uganda's population is very young, with 56.7% of the population below 18 years of age. Many households have a high dependency ratio making it harder to exit from poverty, and this large young population creates a high demand for services, particularly for health and education. On the other hand however, the large young population also has potential to contribute to economic development as an emerging labour pool. Nonetheless, the low levels of educational attainment, the skills gaps between education and the labour market and inadequate levels of job creation combine to create high levels of unemployment, with the attendant development problems that arise from this.

¹² The five-year National Development Plan includes large-scale public investments in capital intensive sectors such as roads, infrastructure and energy, as well as in social sectors such as education and health. This however has challenges as projects are not being delivered on time, on budget and with the planned impact and some of these sectors are performing well while others are lagging behind.

¹³ <https://www.bou.or.ug/bou-downloads/publications/StateOfEconomyReports/2018/Mar/State-of-the-Economy-Report-March-2018.pdf> accessed on 10th December 2018

¹⁴ Ugandan Bureau of Statistics (2016), National Population and Housing Census 2014, UBOS: Kampala

Currently 18% of Ugandans are living in urban areas¹⁵, and this is increasing rapidly, by 4.5% per year. Current trends could result in an increase in the population of Uganda's cities from just 6 million today to more than 30 million, within the next two decades. Urban areas in Uganda already play a significant role in driving economic growth, and more than 70 percent of non-agricultural economic activity and non-agricultural jobs are located in urban areas¹⁶.

Since 2002, the economy has consistently grown by an average of 6.4% annually¹⁷. The sector shares of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) have remained relatively steady over the past decade at 49% for services sector, 18% for industry and 26% for agriculture¹⁸ and the industrial sector represents around 22 percent of the GDP, mostly due to manufacturing (9%) and construction (8%)¹⁹. The services sector is the most important sector of Uganda's economy and the biggest segments within services are trade & repairs (13%); education (8%); real estate (5%); and finance and insurance (4%). As at 2018, the IMF projects Uganda's GDP at 5.9%²⁰ which is lower than the projected growth figure of 7%. Uganda's economic growth has been largely driven by high-value services (including telecommunications, finance and real estate), which are not employment intensive. Inflation has fluctuated, with high spikes due to food and fuel price increases and civil strife among others.

Notwithstanding the notable gains made towards increasing women's participation in the public decision-making process in Uganda, gender equality and women's empowerment remains a significant challenge. Women are still under-represented in political and in socio-economic spheres and the 30% Affirmative Action seems to be the maximum as moving towards 50:50 Gender Parity is increasingly an uphill task. At the current rates of progress, political parity will not be reached until 2080, making equality in politics the highest hurdle women face.

While Uganda has made tremendous progress in the area of gender equality, there are challenges in many areas. Despite the enactment of the Domestic Violence Act (2010), Gender-based Violence Policy and Action Plan 2016, The Prohibition of Female Genital Mutilation Act (2010) and other enabling legislation, gender-based violence perpetrated against women and girls is still rife estimated at over 60 percent by various studies²¹. Such violence appears to be socially accepted and accompanied by a culture of impunity.

¹⁵ According to The National Population Census 2014

¹⁶ The World Bank (2015), Uganda Economic Update, 5th Edition, World Bank, March 2015

¹⁷ United Nations (2016), UN Development Assistance Framework (UNDAF) for Uganda, 2016-2020

¹⁸ Irish Aid (2016), Uganda Country Strategy Paper 2016-2020, February 2016: Irish Aid

¹⁹ <https://tradingeconomics.com/uganda/gdp-growth-annual> accessed on 10th December 2018

²⁰ <https://www.imf.org/en/Countries/UGA> accessed on 10th December 2018

²¹ See UNDP (2012); Madanda et al. (2009); UBOS (2011) and Kaye et al. (2005)

Gender inequality is persistent in Uganda and, despite existence of enabling policy in many sectors there is still a gap between policy and practice. There are proven inter-linkages between gender, leadership, security, education, maternal and child mortality and overall, gender and family welfare. Significant challenges for women still remain, particularly regarding power relationships; ownership and control of productive resources like land; access to credit and financial assets; accessing reproductive health services and bodily autonomy and choice. Early marriages and teenage pregnancies are still very high a result of a number of factors. Violence against women remains a major obstacle to the empowerment of women, with a 2011 survey reporting 56% of women aged 15 to 49 had experience physical violence at least once since age 15. Even with the number of women in policymaking spaces, the impact is still minimal.

2.4 Uganda National Frameworks for Public Policy Making

2.4.1 Public Policy Making Framework

Uganda, like many countries, is party to international and regional commitments to gender equality and women's empowerment such as the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), Beijing Platform of Action (BPA), and the United Nations Agenda 2030 - Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Uganda has domesticated most of these commitments through legal, institutional and operational mechanisms, but some gender issues are still a concern, as implementation remains a challenge. There are numerous legal provisions that support women's participation in politics and decision-making positions and processes. As such therefore, Uganda has innumerable policy and legal frameworks that guarantee and have the potential to support or advance women's participation in public decision-making processes and spaces.

Uganda's Vision 2040 envisions Uganda becoming a middle-income country to be achieved through a series of five-year National Development Plans. The Uganda National Planning Authority (NPA) spearheaded the development of the Second National Development Plan (NDP2 2015/2016 to 2019/2020) for the period 2016 to 2020, within which most of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) have been integrated. The final Millennium Development Goals (MDG) Report for Uganda (2015) indicates that Uganda has achieved 33% of the MDG targets. Particularly, progress has been made on access to HIV treatment, reduction in incidence of malaria and other major diseases, and some targets on global partnerships for development. The strategic direction of the NDP 2 provides clarity and improved focus, with four key objectives around Production, Infrastructure, Human Capital Development and Service Delivery. Priorities for investment are the three key growth opportunities of agriculture, tourism, and minerals, oil and gas, along with the two

fundamentals of infrastructure and human capital investment. In terms of macroeconomic strategy and financing, there are ambitious economic growth targets, albeit with high expectations of financing from the private sector and a lack of clarity around donor contributions.

The Constitution of Uganda protects most civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights and has a number of Constitutional bodies/Commissions mandated to oversee the promotion and protection of human rights. Key among these pertinent to advancing women's leadership in policymaking processes are: The Uganda Human Rights Commission (UHRC) that was established to independently monitor, investigate and adjudicate human rights' violations. Similarly, The Equal Opportunities Commission (EOC) was established to address inequalities to eliminate discrimination and inequalities against any individual or group of persons on the ground of sex, age, race, colour, ethnic origin, tribe, birth, creed or religion, health status, social or economic standing, political opinion or disability, and take affirmative action in favour of groups marginalised on the basis of gender, age, disability or any other reason created by history, tradition or custom for the purpose of redressing imbalances which exist against them. While the Uganda Law Reform Commission (ULRC) was established to study and keep under constant review the Acts and other laws comprising the Laws of Uganda with a view to making recommendations for their systematic improvement, development, modernization and reform.

2.4.2 Development and Implementation of Public Policy

Policy making in Uganda is majorly undertaken at Parliamentary Level (through legislation), Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDA's) through Policies, Action Plans, Strategies and Guidelines) and at Local Government Levels – Ordinances at Sub-District Level and Bylaws at Sub-County Levels.

In order to put action to government's plans, an institutional framework provides support in implementation of policies. This includes:

1. The Office of the President, which takes overall leadership and oversight of implementation and is charged with the responsibility to mobilize the citizens to embrace the national development agenda.
2. The Cabinet, which is charged with providing policy direction for the development agenda.
3. The Parliament, which oversees implementation of the development agenda, appropriates resources for financing development, ensures the national budget is aligned to the NDP and enacts enabling legislation to support development.

4. The Office of the Prime Minister, which is responsible for coordinating implementation of all development programs and monitoring, and reporting progress of implementation of all government policies and programs.
The National Planning Authority, which is the central agency, charged with long and medium term national developing planning and setting the development agenda for the country.
5. The Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development which is responsible for resource mobilization and allocation, ensuring accountability for resources disbursed, and ensuring there is a direct linkage between planning, budgeting, and resource allocation during budgeting and implementation.
6. The Uganda Bureau of Statistics, which is responsible for provision of data, coordinating and harmonizing data, and ensuring that all the relevant indicators are captured into the national statistical system.
7. Local governments, which are service delivery points, implement national projects and programs, and mobilize local revenues to finance local government priorities, as well as mobilizing the population to participate in development programs.
8. Private sector and other non-state actors which play a key role in collaborating with government to deliver development programs.
9. Civil society engages with public policy through lobbying advocacy, policy analysis, training as well as mobilizing citizens to participate.

2.5 Legislation Supporting Women’s Representation and Participation in Public Policy Making Processes in Uganda

Decision making in public sphere occurs in public institutions and in processes that determine distribution of authority and resources at levels of parliament, in cabinet, district and lower councils. These are opportunities, which can be influenced directly or indirectly for the advancement of women’s rights. It was assumed that increasing numbers of women in decision-making spaces would automatically lead to gender-fair outcomes in actual practice. Subsequently, women’s representation in decision-making spaces was increased through Uganda’s adoption of enabling legislation. Key among these is the 1995 Constitution of Uganda, which stipulates that women have the right to equal treatment with men, including equal opportunities in political activities (Article 33.4). The Parliamentary Elections Act of 2005 and the Local Governments Act of 1997 require 30 per cent reserved seats for women in elective offices such as parliament and local government councils resulting in an increase in women representation in parliament increased as shown in the table below.

Table 2: Trends in Women’s Numbers in the National Assembly

Year	No. Districts	Assembly	AA	Open seat	Others	Total Women	Total MPs	% Women
1989	39	NRC	39	2	9	50	280	18%
1994	39	CA	39	8	3	50	286	17.4%
1996	39	Parliament	39	8	4	51	276	19%
2001	56	Parliament	56	13	6	75	304	24.4%
2006	79	Parliament	79	14	1	100	319	31%
2011	112	Parliament	112	11	8	131	375	35%
2016	112	Parliament	112	18	9	139	428	33%

Source: Asiimwe – Mwesige (2004), Isis-WICCE (2014) and Nakaweesi-Kimbugwe (2016)

Key: AA=Affirmative Action, NRC = National Resistance Council, CA = Constituent

Uganda has also adopted international instruments that address women’s equal participation in decision-making processes such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 21 (United Nations, 1948). Similarly, Article 7 of the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), under the United Nations Resolution 34/180, declares that there should be no form of discrimination against women in terms of equal political participation. The Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (Article 2 and 7), Sustainable Development Goal No 5 and No 10, and the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (1995) all support women’s equal representation and participation in decision making processes.

However, it has become clear that a focus on numbers alone in parliament and in other public decision making processes through affirmative action is not sufficient. Ahikire (2007)²² and Tamale (1999)²³ explain that increasing numbers of women obscures a reality of continued marginalization of women’s rights. Women have to be active participants in determining their development agenda by clearly articulating women’s issues and actively influencing policy decision making and implementation otherwise there is an imbalance of representation of men’s and women’s interests.

²² Ahikire, J. (2007). *Localised or Localizing Democracy: Gender and the Politics of Decentralization in Contemporary Uganda*. Kampala: Fountain Publishers

²³ Tamale, S. (1999). *When Hens begin to Crow: Gender and Parliamentary Politics in Contemporary Uganda*. Kampala: Fountain Publishers.

3 KEY FINDINGS OF THE COUNTRY ANALYSIS: LEADERSHIP IN ADVANCING WOMEN’S RIGHTS IN PUBLIC DECISION-MAKING PROCESSES IN UGANDA

Section 3 below presents the key findings of the Country Analysis highlighting (i). Achievements so far registered by GoU, women’s movement, civil society and citizens; (ii). Challenges that hinder women from effectively and sufficiently articulating women’s rights issues in public policy making and implementation spaces in Uganda. Thereafter, (iii). Existing opportunities which can be utilized to ensure that women in public policy spaces change the current status quo to effectively voice and influence for the advancement of women’s rights will be identified. Finally, (iv). Recommendations are made to address the challenges and harness the opportunities.

3.1 Achievements Registered in Promoting Women’s Rights in Public Policy Making in Uganda

Over the years, the following achievements have been registered in the area of promoting women’s rights in public policy decision making and implementation processes in Uganda:

a. Legal and Policy Reform

The women’s movement, government and have achieved a cross range of legal and policy outcomes through the enactment of enabling legislation that actualize human rights standards at regional and international level. Key among these are laws and policies that promote gender equality and women’s empowerment that include The Constitution of the Republic of Uganda 1995, Domestic Violence Act 2010, The Prohibition of Female Genital Mutilation Act 2010, The Land Act Public Finance and Management Act 2017, The Parliamentary Elections Act (as amended) 2005, The Presidential Elections Act (as amended) 2005, The Local Governments Act (1997), The Employment Act (2006) (among others), as well as sustaining debate on key bills defining greater rights for women at personal level such as the Marriage Act 2017 or the Sexual Offences Bill 2016.

b. Increased Numbers of Women Engaging in Public Policy Making

There are increasing numbers of women engaged in public policy making processes – as technocrats on government MDAs, women in CSOs, women groups and grassroots association, women in elective offices among others.

c. Building of a Critical Mass

Public consciousness on policy process has been achieved through massive campaigns, awareness raising and lobbying and advocacy. This has not only increased public debate on key policy issues but also built agency within the citizenry.

d. Gender and Equity Budgeting

A key achievement registered has been through building capacities of key stakeholders to track and monitor budgets, mobilizing citizens to actively engage in budgeting processes and lobbying parliament on budgetary allocations as well as institutionalizing gender and equity budgeting at local and regional levels.

e. Building a Pool of Gender Policy Champions

CSO actors have built a pool of public policy champions within technocrats, parliament, local councils and politicians with whom they work with to promote policymaking processes.

f. Successful Engagement Models

A number of tried and tested models has been used that promote women's rights in public policy making processes. These include among others: the women Caucus model employed since the Constituent Assembly in 1995 and still being used to date by women in parliament and in local councils; the male engagement and champion model and the citizen mobilization and outreach models.

3.2 Challenges

The Challenges that hinder entry into policymaking processes and the articulation of women's rights in public policy decision making and implementation processes are varied across the continuum of policy making. Key among these are:

3.2.1 Operating Context and State of Governance

In any country, the state of governance and political operating context determines the rights pursued and how effective women just like any other citizens can effectively participate in and benefit from policy-making processes. Findings found out pertinent challenges associated with governance in Uganda that include the following:

a. Closing Civic Space

At national level, the Country Analysis found out that there is a closing civic space for engagement. This is due to constitutional amendments to open age limits of the presidential

age cap limits (*The Togikwatako Campaign*) as well as military raising of the legislature, a strong state yet with weak institutional capacity to deliver, police brutality, raids and close of CSO offices, arbitrary arrests, enactment of retrogressive laws and policies, crack-down of political dissent, opposition and alternative voices and a restrictive legal and policy climate.

b. Shrinking Role of Parliament

The recent past has seen a shrinking role of parliament undermines public policy-making processes. This is due to a number of factors like high political turn-over, reduced quality of legislators, co-option, multi-party-system caucusing, weak links between parliament and local levels and a lack of clear separation of powers between the executive and the legislature.

c. Re-Centralization of Decision-Making Processes

Another challenge comes in the form of re-centralization of decision making yet Uganda operates a decentralization system of governance. For instance, the way the national budget is developed is difficult to influence because allocations are done basing on Indicative Planning Frameworks (IPFs) which come from the national level and decided in spaces where women's representation and participation is minimal. As such, it is difficult to influence decisions at local level if they are not within the threshold of IPFs and sadly most of the funds therein are conditional and focus on for example on infrastructure or administrative costs and less on social development sectors and gender issues. This affects women leaders' oversight role at council level and as a respondent clearly said they just come "to rubber stamp". Yet ideally, the planning of the budget process is supposed to be bottom-up starting at the grassroots but, allocation of resources is top-bottom leaving no room for flexibility. A respondent's statement that "*however much you advocate and can speak well, you cannot change some budget allocations at council*" attests to this. As a result, re-centralization, leaves out a majority of women from policy decision-making processes.

d. Weak Public Institutions

Inadequate capacities of public institutions to deliver on their mandates affects public policy and women's effective participation on these processes.

e. Inadequate Financing of Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment (GEWE)

Inadequate financing towards the sector further challenges the gender agenda in Uganda. This is either through budgetary allocations towards gender and community development as well as dwindling donor funding for Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment (GEWE). Further, funding support as a challenge is manifested as dwindling institutional long-term support that has been replaced by short-term project support yet GEWE initiatives take a long time to shift.

f. National Gender Machinery Gaps

The national gender machinery has limited capacity and resources. The Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development (MoGLSD) has an enormous task in its mandate. Gender focal points in government institutions need support and their terms of reference do not systematically include the internal staffing dimension yet; the focus on gender equality in the public policy-making is weak and needs strengthening.

g. Retrogression on Human Rights

Paradoxically, in spite of the existence of a robust legal and policy climate in Uganda (the laws, policies, standards and guidelines); there has been significant retrogression in as far as Uganda's political commitment to deliver on human rights, rule of law, Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment (GEWE). This is demonstrated by a waning political will to enact enabling laws and policies; inaction on the part of Parliament to enact as law to operationalize some articles of the 1995 Constitution; Uganda's ratification of African Regional Standards with reservations on key articles that impact on women's autonomy²⁴; inaction of political and technical leaders to support GEWE interventions as well as rising fundamentalism and attacks on specific aspects of GEWE by political, religious and cultural elites.

h. Political Patronage

Women in elective positions face gendered challenges that include negative portrayal and trivializing of women leaders in the media, which undermines their leadership. Women also face enormous levels of political patronage that abuses the principle of affirmative action, which has led to co-option of women in state structures making them voiceless hence lending credibility to the system, which is responsible for the marginalization and exploitation of women as a social group. Patronage also normalizes women's insubordination through "The *Deputizing Syndrome*". As such, women are appointed into leadership positions as tokenism.

i. God-Father Syndrome / 'Mzeei' Syndrome

As a deeper manifestation of patronage, the "*Godfather Syndrome*" / "*Mzeei Syndrome*" poses a huge challenge for women that impacts on women effectiveness as appointed and elected leaders participating in policy making processes. The "*Godfather Syndrome*" / "*Mzeei Syndrome*" is an emerging trend where women to enter and survive in public decision making spaces – elective or appointing must have an older man - Mzeei / opinion leader / politician that blesses them and opens doors for them. This is compounded by the increasing monetization of politics and appointive spaces that affects women and reduces their capacity

²⁴ For example, Uganda ratified The Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (Maputo Protocol) with reservations on Article 14(2)

to effectively participate in elective public policy making through ring-fencing off these spaces by men and wealthier women or those that have wider social capital and networks.

3.2.2 Getting into Policy-Making Systems

The study found out that women still face challenges getting into making spaces which are either structural issues such as patriarchal policy making spaces, social issues such as socialization and negative norms and value on gender equality as well as the emerging trend of male domination of public policy making spaces at all levels (as indicated in Table 3 below).

Findings from Northern Uganda pointed to the fact that, in the political sphere; women lack the requirements needed to take political office such as formal education, experience and specific skills. This is because girls are not given the opportunity, schooling, skills training and mentorship as the boys to groom them into places of leadership.

“Even the traditional courtyard dialogues; “Wang oo” excludes women as they are required to remain in the house with the older women, helping with domestic work and taking care of the younger children. This leaves them unprepared for leadership. And because they lack the education they lack the kind of language to speak on the council floor”.

Key Respondent, Gulu District

To substantiate this, according to the 2018 Equal Opportunities Commission (EOC) Report on the Status Of Women Employment In The Public Sector In Uganda , women make up 39.8% of the staff in the 21 Ministries that the Commission. The report notes that, “The majority of the women employed in the public sector hold lower ranking positions e.g. officer entry level and support staff” (EOC 2018: XII). Women are generally employed in the public sector but occupying lower positions (like secretaries, office attendants, data clerks, cleaners, assistants, etc) so do not access to decision-making spaces in public policy making spaces – all they do is to provide administrative support to men. Also, these positions are not only feminized but also attract lower salary, are characterized by alot of stagnation, limited career growth and transition, sexual harassment as well as hard working conditions. In addition, the reports notes an emerging trend of men also dominating the support / administrative staff category. This report notes that, there is a reduction in the overall number of women in public sector employment from 39% in 2014 to 37% in 2018; only 3 sectors out of the 23 had 50% or more women in leadership in policy making processes as men are increasingly also occupying roles traditionally occupied by women and women being pushed into civil society, private sector or informal sector.

Table 3: Percentage of Staff by Sex below Officer Level (U5-U8)

	Ministry	2018					2014				
		Female	Males	Total	% F	% M	Female	Males	Total	% F	% M
1	Office of the President	159	154	313	51	49					
2	State House	173	343	516	34	66					
3	OPM	39	72	111	35	65					
4	MoAAIF	105	142	247	43	57	66	92	158	34	66
5	MoD	30	32	62	48	52					
6	MoEAA	9	18	27	33	67	6	17	23	26	74
7	MoEMD	32	69	101	32	68	0	0	0	0	0
8	MoES	207	294	501	41	59	65	71	136	48	52
9	MoFA	25	25	50	50	50					
10	MoFPED	63	77	143	44	55	79	66	145	54	46
11	MoGLSD	64	67	131	49	51	28	22	50	56	44
12	MoH	73	117	190	38	62	116	171	287	40	60
13	MoIA	25	28	53	47	53	31	60	91	34	66
14	MoICT	20	18	38	53	47	10	13	22	45	59
15	MoJCA	56	54	110	51	49	42	55	97	43	57
16	MoLG	21	45	66	32	68	22	36	58	38	62
17	MoLHUD	124	127	251	49	51	77	77	154	50	50
18	MoPS	47	57	104	45	55	30	55	85	35	65
19	MoSTI	7	10	17	38	59					
20	MoTIC	22	33	55	40	60	18	29	47	38	62
21	MoTW	31	66	97	32	68	27	42	69	39	61
22	MoWE	52	70	122	43	57	52	133	185	28	72
23	MoWT	90	185	275	33	67	100	193	293	34	66
	Total	1474	2103	3580	41	59	711	999	1715	42%	58%

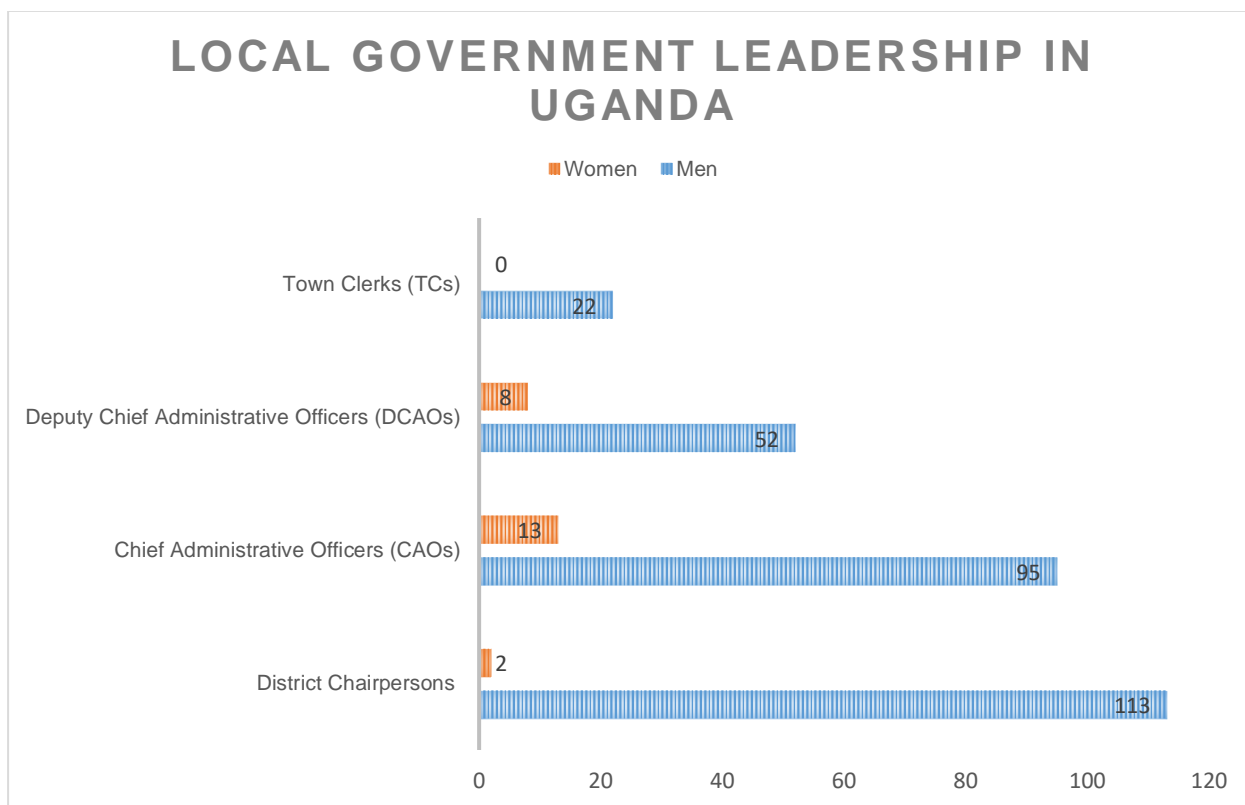
Source: Equal Opportunities Commission (2018)

The above therefore indicates that the number of women in policy making spaces (as technical staff and officers) or as administrative staff are shrinking.

Over time, districts have been created from 16 in 1959 to 115 districts to date. This was intended to bring services to the people ensuring effective administration, democratization and people empowerment. With decentralization, more resources and decision that impact on the lives of women are made at Local Government levels yet, key decision-making

appointive positions at local government are also majorly male dominated. Nonetheless, the empowerment is questionable as more women still find themselves still not participating at local government levels where decisions are taken. The Ministry of Local Government Fact Sheet 2016 indicates that in the 115 Districts of Uganda²⁵; out of the 108 Chief Administrative Officers (CAOs) 95 are men (88%) as compared to 8 women (12%); out of the 60 Deputy Chief Administrative Officers (DCAOs), 52 are men (87%) as compared to 8 women (13%) and out of the 22 Town Clerks all of them are men (100%) and no woman town clerk. And, out of the 115 district leadership, there are 113 District Chairpersons are men (98%) and 2 women (2%). Graph 1 below demonstrates:

Graph 1: Local Government Leadership by Sex



Source: Ministry of Local Government Fact Sheet 1st July 2016

Accessed at <https://molg.go.ug/sites/default/files/MoLG%20-%20%20Fact%20Sheet.pdf>

Findings from Northern Uganda indicate that at the political front; within the various political parties, during candidate selection / political party primaries; women are still encouraged to vie for lower political office as they believe that their male counterparts stand a better

²⁵ <https://molg.go.ug/sites/default/files/MoLG%20-%20%20Fact%20Sheet.pdf>

chance in competitive positions of leadership. A key respondent from Arua District intimated:

“Women are seen as ‘flower vases’ - to be seen and admired and not heard. When a woman shows ambition for a higher office against a man, she is seen as a bad woman. She is accused of being a bad example to her fellow women. She is seen as one who wants to bring the political party down.”

Key Respondent Arua District – Northern Uganda

Findings also indicate that men threaten women occupying public policy making spaces and call them disrespectful and derogatory names when they speak to the full nature of their jobs. This inevitably limits women from getting into higher policymaking spaces as they tend to settle for less so as to co-exist within their communities, families and political parties as well as to get a sense of belonging even within women as a social group.

3.2.3 The Patriarchal Nature of the Notion of ‘Women’s Inclusion’ in Public Policy-Making Spaces

It is worth noting that internationally and in Uganda, there is a rising feminist critique about the patriarchal nature of inclusion of women in policy making spaces which on their purview, do not allow for women to effectively participate and exercise prudent leadership. Pundits argue that the insistence of numbers as equating quality and impact of women in policymaking processes is flawed as it doesn’t challenge the very notion of male-dominated patriarchal power spaces where women are pushed and expected to survive and deliver on gender equality outcomes. Ahikire (2009)²⁶, Ahikire (2017)²⁷ and Cornwall (2000)²⁸ note that, there are flaws that come with the politics of inclusion of women in male-dominated structures and their continued scrutiny in terms of how they transform these patriarchal structures and systems. In Uganda for instance, through the 30% Affirmative Action policies, inclusive approaches tend to focus on women as “special interest groups” along with the youth, elderly and persons with disability (PWDs). The idea of collectively identifying women as a category along with children, youth, elderly and PWDs conceals women’s agency and produces them as a group with problems that need to be fixed. Further, scholars that evaluate women’s effectiveness in political institutions without similar scrutiny of men’s roles,

²⁶ Ahikire, J. (2009), Women’s Engagement with Political Parties in Contemporary Africa: Reflections on Uganda’s Experience. No. 65. Johannesburg

²⁷ Ahikire, J. (2017) “Please ‘Daddy’, ... Give Us some more: Recognition Politics and the Language of Special Interest Groups”, in Oloka-Onyango, J. and Ahikire, J. (eds), Controlling Consent: Uganda’s 2016 Elections. New Jersey: Africa World Press, pp. 193–216

²⁸ Cornwall, A. (2000) ‘Missing Men? Reflections on Men, Masculinities and Gender in GAD’, IDS Bulletin, 31(2), pp. 18–27

simplifies the understanding of gender in institutional processes. Ahikire 2009 describes this as the *'contradictory scrutiny'* of women, a practice that reproduces men as the standard upon which women have to be assessed.

Concurring with this view, key national and regional level respondents noted that:

“As long as we are still seen as not being worthy of the space, it is self-defeating... whoever says they have included you defines how you utilize that space”

“We worked hard on laws and policies that legitimize women’s presence at the policy making table however our programming was majorly skewed towards being women-centered. This creates the assumption that the problem is women. We need to engage with men and have a clear programming for them because only focusing on women creates the assumption that its only women who are responsible for gender equality – men also have a role to play!”

3.2.4 Women’s Personal Hindrances

Once women enter decision making spaces, their struggles are far from over as their capability to effectively influence decisions and articulate women’s concerns is affected by several hurdles at local and national levels. Hindrances to women leaders making a difference in public policymaking and implementation processes can be personal, procedural or structural.

a. Technical Capacity Challenges

Having technical expertise and knowledge in decision making processes in public policy making and implementation processes can enhance women leaders’ voice, credibility, capacity for influence and also ensure a degree of oversight (Domingo et al, 2015)²⁹. However, the more generally women lack literacy and numeracy skills to enable them effectively participate in policy making at local and national levels. The bare minimum academic qualification required for positions of parliamentarians and other elective offices ushers in candidates based on trustworthiness, integrity and trust rather than competence. It is reported that leaders do not have the proficiency required for quality debate³⁰, and that Parliament of Uganda was failing to scrutinize government business effectively (Chandrika and Holden, 2015)³¹. The challenge is greater for women given their low education levels compared to their male counterparts. This hampers policy implementation which is heavily

²⁹ Domingo, P et al (2015) ‘Women’s Voice and Leadership in Decision-making, assessing the Evidence’ Overseas Development Institute Report

³⁰ Accessed at: <http://parliamentwatch.ug/a-memo-to-the-voters-choose-leaders-wisely/#.W9a5yDFRXIU>

³¹ Dr. Chandrika, N and Dr. Holden, K. (2015) “Evaluation of the POST Programme in Uganda” July 2015

dependent on the ability to analyse information, debate and influence resources allocated to issues concerning women's rights.

Women leaders at Council Level also admitted that it is difficult to speak authoritatively, argue convincingly as one respondent asserted that:

“It’s not about working hard but how you argue and present your ideas”.

Another respondent from Wakiso District, Central Region pointed out:

“Although council debates are conducted in both English and Luganda, sometimes women fear to speak out and don’t know how to approach the debate”.

Studies on NGOs working with women show that programs on capacity building of leaders have not been sufficiently designed to tackle persistent systemic inequalities (Ahikire, Musimenta and Mwiine, 2015)³². The NGO focus in capacity building has been designed to address immediate concerns rather than in addressing long-term issues and enhancing their ability to pursue women's rights agenda in their legislative, oversight and representational roles. Programs for enhancing women's capacity have also been targeting women in politics while leaving out women technocrats in public service, women in the informal sector, media and arts, and other sectors. Women technocrats interviewed confirmed that there were no ongoing programs or initiatives to build their capacity as women leaders. This therefore calls for the need to build capacities over time to enable women leaders address systematic inequalities and build a collective force championing women's rights across elective and appointive positions.

b. Intervening at the Tail-End of the Policy-Making Continuum

Study findings pointed to the fact that while there are existing interventions targeting policymaking processes, they are not systemically connected and often key actors engage at the tail end and not working through the whole continuum. In as far as policy implementation is concerned, in addition to women leaders having technical expertise they also need to intervene along the whole continuum.

For example, in order to influence decisions within the Public Finance Management cycle in order to influence budgetary allocations; also requires timeliness and engagement with the whole cycle and continuum. Findings from primary data sources of this study indicate that many female political leaders who were interviewed spoke very clearly of their role in approving budgets at either Parliamentary or Local Council level but not within the other

³² Ahikire, J; Musimenta, P; and Mwiine, A.A (2015). 'Making a Difference: Embracing the challenge of Women's substantive engagement in Political Leadership in Uganda', in Amina Mama (2015) Ed. ***“Pan - Africanism and Feminism” in Feminist Africa***, Volume 20.2015

stages of Public Finance Management Cycle. Beyond the budget, The Public Finance Management Cycle includes other pertinent aspects such as: revenue, taxation policies, public investment management, debt, public loans and payment terms, central banking rate, audit, public procurement among others. The study findings point to the fact that while stakeholders engage with some aspects such as budget monitoring, gender and equity budgeting and monitoring compliance of the Certificate of Gender Equity (CGE); they aren't engaged with other aspects of the whole public finance management continuum that affect government priorities, policy and subsequently impacts efficient service delivery. If women leaders were engaged in all processes of public finance management prior to budget approvals they would be in position to influence for example at the stage when government is preparing to procure resources to ensure that women's issues are integrated from the onset. This is problematic as it then becomes almost impossible to influence decisions at the tail end of the financial process. Respondents at Local Government level in Central Region in demonstrate this:

“The technocrats at district level hardly ever listen to us when we say that they should change some of the budget lines and increase on other budget lines”

“The technical people allocate very little money to gender issues and it is hard to influence them to increase resources. They ask you: ‘Where should I get the money to add?’”

“When the Auditor General prepares his reports, after reading no one goes back to follow and see through what happened... Yet it has an implication on policy”

The lack of expertise in Public Finance Management is also reflected in women leaders' failure to effectively conduct their oversight role. One respondent who holds an elective office at council intimated:

“When the Community Development Officer (CDO) submits an accountability or expenditure on gender issues, we can't really track to see how they spent the money because when they say there were 10 trainings we were not there and we can't tell if they really happened”

These statements all point to the failure of women leaders to effectively engage in the stages of Public Finance Management continuum, which significantly affects policy implementation hence the failure to translate gender sensitive policies into tangible action.

c. Inadequate Conceptualization of Women's Issues in Public Policy-Making and Implementation Processes

Women leaders sometimes fail to recognize, acknowledge and point out women's practical and strategic gender concerns because of their inadequacies to conceptualize issues and make linkages with women's rights at regional, national and local levels. Sometimes women may not have enough political influence or in some instances, women in power do not automatically share women's rights causes. To demonstrate this, a technocrat at national level explained that:

“At the time when the World Bank queried Uganda about cases of SGBV during the road construction in Western Uganda, the Chief Executive Director of Uganda National Roads Authority (and a woman at that) in their response to the World Bank argued that ‘roads have no gender’ ”

Respondent, Government MDA

Another example is that of Kampala Capital City Authority (KCCA), the city governing authority which had a series of accusations of violation of the rights of women vendors yet the head of the authority and a reasonable number of technical staff are women and; KCCA has a fully-fledged Gender and Community Development Directorate. This speaks to the fact that the leadership in KCCA hasn't fully conceptualized the practical and strategic needs and interests of women (especially the women in the informal sector) whose rights are often violated by KCCA law enforcement. And as such having women at the helm of public policy making spaces doesn't necessarily translate into gender-responsive policies and improved lives of women.

This indicates that not all women leaders can make linkages between their work, public policy and how it impacts on women's everyday life and therefore fail to influence policy making and implementation for women. Women's failure to conceptualize issues has led to their inability to make linkages of women's rights equality and equity with broader issues resulting into a failure to identify entry points and which frameworks to work with. To reiterate this, a senior technocrat asserted that:

“Commitments outside policy frameworks do not have easy entry onto the policy agenda”

Women leaders need to have the ability to conceptualize marginalization and discrimination in order to make a case for women's rights. In the wake of the gender mainstreaming agenda, the failure to conceptualize accompanied with limited consciousness among leaders, the women's agenda has been overridden by 'gender men-streaming'. For example,

a respondent pointed to a thorny issues within the women's movement where the appointment of a male representative for UN Women office in Uganda despite protests from women leaders. The justification was that all UN agencies should have 50-50 representation of females and males.

d. Negative and Limiting Perceptions about Women's Leadership Abilities

Negative perceptions of women can take the form of objectification of women as sexual objects rather than as leaders which poses major obstacles to women's effectiveness in the public arena (Ahikire, Musimenta and Mwiine, 2015). This manifests in patronizing behaviors, sexist jokes, and derogatory media representations.

Women leaders at all levels complained of the ways in which they were referred to in terms of their bodies, dress style, and social interactions to intimidate, confuse or divert their attention during policy-making processes and debates. The use of negative and sexualized language undermines and deters even the most resilient women from actively participating thereby obstructing their ability to influence and push for women's rights during public policy decision making. Further, women who succeed in getting into places of leadership face stiff competition from the men and they are forced out through blackmail, coercion, intimidation and sex scandals. A woman leader in Northern Uganda noted that:

“The men have turned to use of sex scandals whereby they get young, handsome men to lure the women into sexual affairs, document these and later publicize them on social and other media, thereby humiliating them out of office.”

The study also found out that women who asserted themselves in public policy making spaces were ridiculed. For example in 2016, a male colleague publicly criticized a female parliamentarian who filled in for the Prime Minister and other ministers, for her *“kitchen-sink approach of management”*³³ while others are labelled as *“prostitutes or rebels”*.

A respondent noted that she was told:

“Don't talk so much, women aren't supposed to talk like that”

Key Respondent, Woman Technocrat

In addition, another respondent added:

³³ <https://observer.ug/news/headlines/50567-most-active-and-silent-mps-in-2016>

“In our office (a Government Ministry), males often warned young women not to interact with us older seasoned women technocrats who were termed the ‘gender people’ because they claimed we were confused and frustrated”

Key Respondent, Government MDA

Ultimately, women leaders may conform to behavior and practices to fit the prescribed societal notions of what good women should be. Failure to conform to prescribed norms for women may affect their public score as woman leaders, worse still resulting into defeat for those contesting for elective offices. The negative perceptions of women leaders also affects their ability to access positions of influence. For example a female councilor noted that her attempts to contest for the position of Chairperson of the Works and Infrastructure Committee was thwarted with negative statements such as:

“That committee you will not handle. Leave it to the men who can manage it”

Women too have self-defeating perceptions about themselves and lack self-confidence. To illustrate this, a respondent mentioned that:

“The way females present their reports during council meetings, you just bear with them and say okay finish but it is very un-professional and they lack confidence”.

The same sentiment was echoed by a senior technocrat who noted women’s lack of confidence when appointed to positions of authority, which would increase their influence during policy decision making. The lack of confidence is sometimes connected to lack of knowledge about the topic they are discussing or not believing in one’s own ability and agency. They reflected as:

“When women are appointed they say ‘I am comfortable where I am. Maybe recommend another person”.

Generally, respondents at the local government levels pointed to the fact that there are high levels of discrimination of women by men in leadership that is brought about by prejudice on the assumption that women cannot be good leaders and thus deserve the ‘deputy jobs’. Women are not paid attention and they are not taken seriously in leadership as they are seen as weak and thus they are urged to smile and be soft in their leadership – hence replicating feminine notions of socialization as women. Any woman deemed as strong is scorned and seen as aggressive, domineering and so she is ridiculed. This discourages women and since they have a reputation to keep or a husband to “not shame” they fall out completely.

3.2.5 Structural Challenges

a. Institutionalized Patriarchy

Patriarchy is one of the biggest challenges for women to effectively participate in public policy making processes - be it in the private or public spheres. Patriarchy manifests itself in the state in which political processes provide a conducive environment to men as political actors whereas women have to constantly justify their presence and their issues. It is also manifested in how traditional gender roles and notions of dominant masculinities versus submissive femininities are replicated in public policy-making processes. Males often dominate debates and meetings which enhances men's power while undermining that of women even when the formal positions of men and women as leaders or decision makers were equal. Some women leaders also confessed to shying away from pushing women's rights issues for fear of being labelled "feminists" a term which is loaded with negative connotations befitting a female who doesn't conform to the prescribed social behavior of a 'good woman'.

At other levels of leadership, patriarchy plays out in institutions such as political parties that nurture women and men differently, conferring gender-differentiated social capital that limits women's effectiveness in political parties. Women are portrayed as weak and incapable of making smart decisions and depicted to be only capable of trivial matters, constantly engaged in gossip and hearsay, utterly incompetent and less intelligent. Women's inferiority is projected and reinforced in the way women rarely take up lead positions of authority such as Party Chairpersons. Below is a table that shows the gender composition of the Central Executive Committees since the inception of multiparty politics in Uganda in 2005.

Table 4: Gender Composition of National Political Party Leadership

Position	2006							2011							2016						
	POLITICAL PARTY							POLITICAL PARTY							POLITICAL PARTY						
	NRM	FDC	UPC	DP	JEEMA	% F	% M	NRM	FDC	UPC	DP	JEEMA	% F	% M	NRM	FDC	UPC	DP	JEEMA	% F	% M
Chair-person	M	M	F	M	M	20	80	M	M	M	M	M	0	100	M	M	M	M	M	0	100
1 st Deputy	M	F	M	F	F	60	40	M	F	M	M	F	40	60	M	F	M	M	M	20	80

Source: Isis WICCE (2014), and WLEDE (2014, 2016)

With the constant reinforcement of the notion that women are inferior in every aspect, it becomes hard for women to assert themselves and actively pursue women's rights in public policy decision making spaces. To emphasize this is a respondent's observation that ***"women are still seen as not worthy of leadership"***.

Relegation of women's issues in public policy is also demonstrated in instances where government sectors fail to comply with the Certificate of Gender Equity (CGE), but it is difficult to sanction those sectors to ensure compliance with the certificate. One respondent noted that ***“things to do with security are complied with but gender things are not”***. As a result, there is a lot of resistance about the CGE in most sectors and a debate about its necessity is looming.

Similarly, during debates or discussions, women's interests like education, health, and family are often perceived as less prestigious and less powerful and described as 'soft' issues in comparison to for example finance, defense, infrastructure, and foreign affairs described as the "hard" issues. A senior technocrat pointed out that ***“health will not be a priority when you have security or elections”***. The state itself is patriarchal in the way, which it operates which affects the priorities determined at national level. In addition to that, the priorities change according to the needs of the State that is why a respondent explained that ***“government priorities keep changing and very often they are not in alignment with the national frameworks”***. While the state is patriarchal, the practices also are reflective of poor governance and democracy where the regime will prioritize issues for its survival at the expense of gender and equity. Consequently, there is an increase in spending on sectors like security while there is a decline in the social sector. The budget allocation towards "soft" issues is meagre compared to the burden.

In terms of programming, NGOs have focused a lot of attention on equipping women with skills and information to break the chains of oppression and marginalization borne out of patriarchy. However, the males in society have not been targeted and their patriarchal attitudes towards females have remained intact resulting into perpetual obstacles in the form of negative attitudes, perceptions and practices towards women.

Historically, in traditional societies of Northern Uganda, communities were matriarchal where, women especially the elderly were consulted on all major decisions, from marriages, funerals and even acquiring property. This, has since changed and patriarchy is exercised in public space and used to deter women to engage in public policy through patriarchal notions. Today women struggle to make decisions even those that pertain their sexual and reproductive health or their bodies. And since the men are usually the holders of the family resources like land and proceeds from the land; women are forced to comply with the men's decisions. As such therefore, the voices of the women even at community level engagements are silenced:

“Don’t speak...Sit down! You are embarrassing your husband, women are supposed to talk through their husbands. I was once told at a village meeting discussing about social services in our area”

Woman at Grassroots Level – Focus Group Discussion, Northern Uganda

b. Militarism

Franklin (1988)³⁴ defines militarism as a threat system, which when stripped of all its extraneous verbiage simply says “Do what I tell you – or else”. Consequently, militarism is not just about war and armed forces but it is an ideology whose basic value is power over others, doesn’t tolerate differences and ultimately creates enemies out of difference (Ahikire, Musimenta and Mwiine, 2015).

Dr. Stella Nyanzi, a scholar and activist was jailed for advocating for the implementation of a promise made by the President to provide sanitary pads for girls in school³⁵. Her use of non-conventional advocacy methods jolted the militaristic nature in government into action not with arms or forces but with threats. Even though menstrual hygiene is a well-known and documented cause for girls’ school drop-out, but because of the threats, hardly any woman leader in the public sector came out to publicly support Dr. Stella Nyanzi’s call for implementation of the President’s promise.

In addition, the military’s raid on Uganda’s Parliament in 2017 reflects Uganda’s highly militarized politics, which left some women parliamentarians treated in undignified ways³⁶. As a result, women leaders are cautious and fearful about pushing agendas that are not popular with government lest they are targeted³⁷. While militarism undermines the exercise of democracy, generally women are more vulnerable to the threat of force. There has been a transition from mobilisation politics to a politics of regime survival, which has seen constitutionalism undermined. In this context, the space for pushing a substantive gender-equality agenda in the political dispensation has narrowed dramatically.

c. Lack of a Common Women’s Rights Agenda in Public Policy Decision Making and Implementation Spaces

Women organizing with other women around shared interests builds their capabilities for voice and influence. The experience of group cohesion and solidarity can contribute to self-affirmation at the individual and collective level, give support and legitimacy to gender

³⁴ Franklin, U (1988) “Women and Militarism” *Canadian Women Studies Reader 9:1*

³⁵ <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/apr/22/activist-uganda-president-buttocks-jail-stella-nyanzi>;
<https://allafrica.com/stories/201704120278.html>

³⁶ <http://www.monitor.co.ug/News/National/Speaker-Kadaga-asks-President-Museveni-explain-House-raid/688334-4166396-gad91xz/index.html>

³⁷ https://www.newvision.co.ug/new_vision/news/1463295/women-activists-condemn-harassment-female-politicians

equality agendas and enable women to exert the collective power needed to influence for women's rights (Domingo et al, 2015).

It is worth noting that the women's movements esp. CSOs have developed *Women's Manifestos* in 2001, 2006, 2011 and 2016 prior to the general elections. Although the *Women's Manifestos* are commendable achievement but unfortunately the women's movement has not been able to follow up and maintain connectivity with women political leaders and women technocrats to follow through the demands and ensure that they are actualized.

In matters of public policy decision making, women leaders have portrayed a lack of a common agenda to advance women's rights in decision-making spaces. To illustrate this, during the debate to pass the long shelved Marriage and Divorce Bill, several women parliamentarians came out to strongly express their opposition for the Bill (FDH/FHRI , 2012)³⁸. As a result, in 2010, the reading of the bill was cancelled for lack of quorum despite the numbers of women in parliament to achieve the required quorum. This was a major setback in the campaign for passing the bill, which has lasted close to 3 decades. This also provided an entry point to antagonists of the Bill to hit hard at the campaigners and alienate women MPs and the Speaker of parliament who supported it. The lack of a common agenda is worsened by the emergence of multi-party politics where women leaders' allegiance sways between political parties versus the women's ticket as will be discussed in the section on political patronage.

To achieve a common voice, women's organizations at the national level have invested heavily in training women political leaders at local levels and supporting them to start women caucuses – at parliament and at local levels. Women leaders have endeavored to form women's caucuses at both national and local levels to help promote the women's agenda. However, when an issue concerning women's rights will negatively affect the party, then the party position will be taken over the women's issue. One respondent noted that:

“Women are more affiliated to the party caucus than the women's caucus”

To illustrate this a Woman Councilor noted that:

“During the council elections for committee chairpersons, the women's caucus flagged a candidate and the party also flagged a candidate. So it was difficult to choose who to vote especially when either was not from your party!”

³⁸ FIDH/FHRI (2012) 'Women's Rights in Uganda: Gaps Between Policy and Practice'. No 582a

Another respondent added:

“It is very hard to make women agree on an issue. We only agreed on elections in the council but on the other issues it is hard.”

Women in public policy decision-making have failed to garner support and influence some policy decisions based on the accusation that they push for an elitist agenda that doesn't address needs of ordinary women. This results from claims that women leaders are often out of touch with their constituency. An example was during the Marriage and Divorce Bill campaign where some women leaders opposed the clause on sharing of property that a spouse had acquired prior to the union. Ordinary women had no qualms with that particular clause and there lay the accusation of misrepresentation.

Women leaders confessed to shying away from promoting women's issues for fear that they wouldn't be supported or endorsed resulting from the lack of a common agenda. It was also noted that women leaders have failed to reach out to younger women while making public policy decisions contributing to the lack of a common agenda as a respondent noted that ***“policy has not been made consumable for young people, it's up there”***. In other cases, women leaders in public policy have failed to represent the concerns of women in the periphery such as market women or the bulk of women in the informal sector which leads to a disconnect between women leaders and the constituency they represent. Unfortunately, this results into increased marginalization of women's rights in public policy-making processes.

d. Unclear Constituency for Women Leaders

Women leaders particularly those in elective office argue that they do not represent only women but both men and women from their constituencies and therefore it is not their role to push for women's rights. They claim that whatever they decide on in public policy should be for the benefit of all constituents and that the women's movement claim for them to advocate for women's rights is uncalled for and unfair. It was also argued that ***“sometimes the bar is set too high for women leaders and yet there are some successes they have achieved but this doesn't seem to be known”***.

e. Multi-Party-System and Political Patronage

Uganda ushered in multi-party politics in 2005 which has created polarized differences based on party agendas (Ahikire, Musimenta and Mwiine, 2015). Women leaders from the ruling party NRM and opposition are “always pulling and pushing at each other irrespective of the issue discussed” a councilor intoned. In public policy decision making, the agendas for political parties often take precedence over other social parameters including the

women's agenda. Women's interests can only be taken up when the party position reflects these and a respondent claimed that "the livelihood program for women - UWEP was passed and implemented only because it was contained in the NRM manifesto". While the national level is overridden by differences due to party affiliations, women from Wakiso District in central region have tried to overcome this through caucusing with the support of NGOs.

A study showed that it was quite difficult to address women's issues because of the challenges in forming a coherent political constituency and an MP noted: "Because the party brought you to Parliament, it can discipline you if you go against its position" (Ahikire, Musimenta and Mwiine, 2015). The same study showed that women MPs from the ruling and opposition parties alike all noted the constraining impact of the multiparty dispensation. Parliamentarians from the ruling party NRM noted that the party caucus offers a party position to abide with. The President's statements calling on voters to ignore the candidates' ability to influence and negotiate but rather focus on one who can vote for the party position when it is time for voting attest to this³⁹. Therefore women leaders particularly from the ruling party will not feel the urge to contribute actively and articulate women's rights issues but only vote in the interest of their party. The women MPs in opposition parties talked of undue witch-hunting often directed at women considered undesirably strong or independent-minded (Ahikire, Musimenta and Mwiine, 2015).

In multi-party politics and where systems of governance are poor, it is difficult to influence the public policy agenda because the party in power is focused on retaining political power and in a bid to do this there is political interference, which suffocates work technically. For example, technocrats may suggest priorities, approaches and methods towards achieving equity and equality in development but they are prone to interference, which frustrates their efforts in promoting women's rights.

f. Sexual Harassment of Women in Public Policy Decision-Making Spaces

Sexual harassment is, above all, a manifestation of power relations and relates to the roles which are attributed to men and women in society. Women are much more likely to be victims of sexual harassment precisely because they more often than men lack power, are in more vulnerable and insecure positions, lack self-confidence, or have been socialized to suffer in silence. This explains why there has been a lot of silence on sexual harassment of women across all levels of leadership. A respondent explained that:

³⁹ <http://www.monitor.co.ug/News/National/Sick-sleeping-NRM-MP-better-active-opposition-MP-Museveni/688334-4340706-4ap8qk/index.html>

“The NGO sector and other women leaders will publicly talk about corruption but not sexual harassment because in cases where women have spoken it has instead been turned around against them to make them look like victims”.

Key Respondent – National Women’s NGO

During policy debates or discussions, women sometimes fail to actively participate to advocate or influence for women’s rights as a woman Councilor elaborately explained:

“You are not sure what they will tell about you or sometimes you are opposed for an issue simply because of your relationship with another person, and other times you can’t debate objectively when the person presenting is an intimate friend”

Woman Councillor, Wakiso District – Central Uganda

Within political parties, women also decried the level of sexual harassment from men within parties. In trying to seek counsel from a party leader to intervene, a woman was asked:

“Aren’t you a woman? Don’t you know what to do?”

Key Respondent – Political Party

Within the civil service, it was reported that for the younger women it was about sex and for the older it was about derogatory statements. The level of sexual harassment was so high at all levels of leadership and this affected women’s active participation.

g. Rising rates of Intimate Partner Violence Meted on Women in Public Policy Making Spaces

There is an emerging trend of physical, sexual, psychological violence meted by male partners/spouses of women leaders who openly participate in public policy-making processes. Key respondents reported that women who engage in public policy making spaces are sometimes not supported by their intimate partners who may sometimes feel threatened by the power these women. Also the fact that sometimes their women work long hours while being still subscribed to gender roles as wives and mothers is problematic. As a result, women in public policy making spaces are often violated (financially, mentally, verbally and sexually). This therefore calls for smarter programming and programs that engage with male partners of women in public policy making spaces.

The rural women leaders in Northern Uganda reported that they still face many challenges that were amplified majorly by the war. There is a lot of sexual and gender based violence from their spouses- majorly after they are drunk. Social cohesion was loosened therefore there is less supervision and family oversight that was given under the clan structures before

the war. Marital rape thrives since the men feel that they will not be punished for it due to the legal and policy lacuna around marital rape. One key respondent intimated:

“I moved from my husband’s house when he attempted to rape me three days after I gave birth to our last child. I couldn’t report him since I was ashamed. I know he was drunk but I was scared for my life so I fled.”

h. Systemic Corruption and Abuse of Office

Corruption and fraud also is a major challenge in the women organizing at the national and local level. The fact that many people do not find gender equality and equality ‘sexy’ or ‘loaded with resources’ deters them from engaging with it. At the local level, many of the government interventions offer support but the resources don’t trickle down to the grassroots beneficiaries as most of the funds are allocated to workshops instead of doing real work at the grassroots. Systemic corruption and abuse of office with impunity has also affected women’s socio-economic groups and associations like Savings and Credit Cooperative Societies (SACCOs) and Community-Based Organisations (CBOs). One respondent intimated that:

“We had savings from our group contributions and this money was stolen from the bank by one of our members. We tried to report at the police and we were told to go to court but since we couldn’t afford a lawyer we failed to recover the money.”

3.2.6 Level of Engagement of Women in Public Policy Making Spaces

Even though women’s representation has greatly increased, they are still few in order for them to waive motions and debates. A respondent explained that at council level, out of the 17 councilors only 7 are female and expounded that *“when we propose an issue and vote it is 7 women versus 10 men and so we lose.”* While the women’s numbers have increased they still cannot comfortably push for certain issues.

The Ministry of Local Government (MoLG) through decentralization is very key in service delivery hence implementation of policies. As seen from the table below, women hardly occupy senior leadership and managerial positions hence their minimal influence of public policy implementation at local government levels.

Table 5: Ministry of Local Government Key Staff Positions

Position	Female	Male	Total	%F	%M
Permanent Secretary	0	0	0	0	100
Deputy Secretary to Treasury	0	2	2	0	100
Under Secretary Director	0	4	4	0	100
Commissioner	0	1	1	0	100
Asst. Commissioner	0	6	6	0	100
Principal Officer Level	7	22	29	24	76
Senior Officers	18	41	59	31	69

Source: Ministry of Local Government Staff List 2013

Similarly, at the national level, still policy decision-making spaces are predominantly occupied by men as opposed to women. For instance, there are 60% Male Permanent Secretaries as compared to 40% women. Table 6 below demonstrates.

Table 6: List of Permanent Secretaries

Ministry / Commission		Gender / Sex Category	
		Male	Female
1.	Commissions - Education Service Commission	1	
2.	Commissions - Health Service Commission		1
3.	Commissions - Judicial Service Commission		1
4.	Commissions - Parliamentary Commission	1	
5.	Commissions - Public Service Commission	1	
6.	Inspector General of Government		1
7.	Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries	1	
8.	Ministry of Defence		1
9.	Ministry of East African Affairs		1
10.	Ministry of Education and Sports	1	
11.	Ministry of Energy and Mineral Development	1	
12.	Ministry of Ethics and Integrity	1	
13.	Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development	1	
14.	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	1	
15.	Ministry of Gender, Labor and Social Development	1	
16.	Ministry of Health		1
17.	Ministry of ICT and Information	1	
18.	Ministry of Internal Affairs	1	
19.	Ministry of Justice and Constitutional Affairs	1	
20.	Ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development		1
21.	Ministry of Local Government	1	
22.	Ministry of Public Service		1
23.	Ministry of Science and Technology	1	
24.	Ministry of Tourism, Wildlife and Antiquities		1
25.	Ministry of Trade, Industry and Cooperatives	1	
26.	Ministry of Water and Environment	1	
27.	Ministry of Works and Transport	1	
28.	Office of Prime Minister (OPM)		1

Ministry / Commission		Gender / Sex Category	
		Male	Female
29.	President's Office		1
30.	State House		1
Total		18 Males (60%)	12 Females (40%)

Source: The Monitor Newspaper

3.2.7 Funding Gaps

Generally all respondents pointed to the fact that there are funding gaps in the area of women's rights generally and more specifically promoting Leadership in Advancing Women's Rights in Public Decision-Making Processes in Uganda. The analysis found out that while there are resources towards some areas like: training women political leaders, gender and equity budgeting, training and supporting women caucusing; work on legislative and policy advocacy on a number of laws and policies, engaging in regional and international processes, etc. Yet even, some of these initiatives are short-term and don't address the deeper social-cultural norms that impact on women's leadership. Further, the findings indicate that there is some resourcing towards women and public policy-making, it's majorly skewed towards short-term process and limited institutional multi-year grants.

At the same time; there is limited engagement and funding for initiatives targeting with women in informal sector, outside CSO organising sector and non-existent deliberate initiatives for women in the public service – technical officers at the national levels (in various MDAs) and at district and lower levels.

The above reality limits deepened engagements and questions impact. One key respondent intimated:

“We are dealing with gender power relations that mutate all the time... Once we register one gain, new other challenges emerge... Therefore, any donor that is working on women in public policy must be ready for the long haul whether its work trade, budgets, leadership development, movement building, sexuality, voice or agency.... So are RBSG ready to invest in the long haul?”

3.3 Opportunities for Promoting Advancing Women's Rights in Public Decision-Making Processes in Uganda

While there are powerful forces that block women leaders from advancing women's rights in Public policy, there are a range of possible actions for positively turning this around. This

section moves on to show how women leaders can use their strengths to move beyond numbers and make an impact for women's rights.

- 1. Supportive Legislative Frameworks (Global, Regional and National):** Uganda is a signatory to several international instruments that promote women's rights such as CEDAW, Beijing Platform of Action, and regional instruments such as the Maputo Protocol and the African Union Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa among others. Uganda is rich in national legal and policy regime that promotes and protects the rights of women. The Constitution of the Republic of Uganda (1995) provides for affirmative action laws enacted include among others; the Domestic Violence Act, the Prohibition of the Female Genital Mutilation Act, and the Gender Policy (revised in 2007); The Ministry of Public Service in 2011 also developed guidelines for mainstreaming gender in human resource management in the public service. The existing legal and policy frameworks provide a basis on which women (leaders and women's movement) may advocate, negotiate and influence for their enforcement to ensure that the role for which they were enacted is achieved.

- 2. Ongoing programming by Women's Rights Organizations:** Women's rights organizations (regional, national and CBOs) are already undertaking a cross-range of programs that promote women's rights such as: leadership training, mentorship programs, capacity building, gender and equity budgeting, political leadership, movement building and policy advocacy among others. This is work that can be deepened, scaled up and re-designed to address the current context in which women leaders operate to advance women's rights in public policy-making. In addition, there is also existing resourcing on women in public policy though most of this is skewed towards women in political leadership, gender and equity budgeting and general policy advocacy and litigation.

- 3. Demonstrated Partnership and Programming Models:** There are already existent partnership models between Government MDAs and CSOs or within and amongst CSOs (within & amongst women's rights organisations as well as with mainstream human rights organising). This can be harnessed for greater efficiency.

- 4. Women's Manifesto:** There have been attempts at creating a shared women's agenda by the Women's Movement spearheaded by Uganda Women's Network (UWONET), Forum for Women in Democracy (FOWODE) and Women Democracy Group (WDG) members - Action for Development (ACFODE), Women's Democracy Network Uganda (WDN-U) and Centre for Women in Governance (CEWIGO). This culminated into the *Women's Manifesto* in 2001, 2006, 2011 and 2016 (The National Women's Manifesto

2016-2021). These manifestos were women's demands during general elections that, presents an opportunity for agenda development and collective organising by the women's movement as well as connecting with the masses of women who participated in the development of the manifestos.

- 5. Ongoing Institutional Change and Citizen Agency:** At the moment, Uganda is undergoing a reform in all aspects of society - be it in regards to civic awareness and debate, or within all political parties, civic consciousness and action or other forms of citizen engagements and contestations. Majority of Uganda's political parties are undergoing change, and new parties and pressure groups are being formed and citizen informal groups are challenging leadership. This kind of democratic transition across the country can be a catalyst for progressive change in gender equality and offers an avenue for pushing for the women's agenda in the new democratic formations.
- 6. National Dialogue:** The National Dialogue is a platform seeking consensus on contentious issues to foster healing created by radicalized politics and a perceived sense of failure by previous and the current government to address the burning needs of Ugandans as well as foster patriotism. This is a space organized by Religious leaders and respected elders in the country and presents opportunities for the women of Uganda to ensure that women's concerns and issues are reflected on the agenda towards building consensus. The Women's Situation Room is part of the members that have organized the National Dialogue but there is need to ensure meaningful participation and representation of women in these processes.
- 7. Legal and Policy Reform in the Offing:** Another key opportunity is the fact that in the next 3 – 5 years plans are underway to draft, enact, amend and implement laws and policies. Key among the new laws and policies in the offing / amendments are:
 - a. Constitutional Amendment Bill 2017 – that seeks to give government powers to compulsorily take possession of private land without prior compensation of the owners and has potential to affect women's land rights.
 - b. The National Health Insurance Policy Scheme - that has potential to guarantee health right yet also effectuate disregarding of a majority of Ugandans - men and women without formal employment.
 - c. Marriage Bill 2017 and Sexual Offences Bill 2016 - that has potential to address rights in marriage, bodily integrity and choice.
 - d. Death Penalty Bill - that addresses needs of women in death row.
 - e. Legal Aid Policy - that has potential to increase access to justice by women.
 - f. Comprehensive Sexuality Education Policy, Adolescent SRH Policy and Guidelines and Lifting ban on The Standards and Guidelines on Reducing

Morbidity and Mortality From Unsafe Abortion in Uganda - that have potential to expand enjoyment of sexual and reproductive health and rights.

- g. Development of the Uganda Tax Policy – Uganda has no Tax Policy in place yet taxation unfairly affects women.
- h. Excise Duty (Amendment) Bill 2018 – This aims to amend the excise duty on telecommunications services; and to introduce excise duty on cooking and on motorcycles at first registration that all have implications on women as a constituency.
- i. The Cooperative Societies (Amendment) Bill, 2016 – This has implications on women as a constituency as they mostly organise socially and economically under cooperatives and social-business units such as Savings and Credit Cooperative Societies (SACCOs) and Village Savings and Loan Associations (VSLAs).
- j. The Administration of Judiciary Bill, 2018 – This strengthens and provides for enforcement of Chapter 8 of the 1995 Constitution (on Judiciary) and hence has potential to increase access to justice by women and buttresses the institutional, operational and administrative independence of the Judiciary
- k. The Anti-Terrorism (Amendment) Bill, 2017 - By amending the Anti-Terrorism Act 2012, through the redefined meaning of ‘terrorism’ this bill has potential to expound greater rights for women or further curtail them and close civic space.
- l. Amendment of the Public Finance Management Act 2017 - to give powers to sanction and enforce gender and equity in sectors.
- m. Amendment of the Refugee laws and policies - that has potential to respond to refugee crises in West Nile Region and Northern Uganda with a majority of refugees being women and girls
- n. Amendment of Electoral laws - that has potential to reviewing of affirmative action in a bid to make it more effective and moving towards gender parity, as well as address monetization of politics and Violence Against Women in Elections (VAWE)
- o. Review of the Social Protection Policies - that has potential to protect women in the informal sector
- p. Review of the Public Procurement and Disposal of Assets Act – to make effect for affirmative action in favor of women for public procurement as it is with the case of Kenya.

8. Upcoming Program and Strategic Reviews: These provide an inroad for women to engage in policy. Key among these are: Review of the second National Development Plan (NDP) and development of NDP III; Review of the Youth Livelihoods Program (YLP)

and the Uganda Women Entrepreneurs Program (UWEP) under the MoGLSD and the Mid-Term Government Strategy Review.

- 9. The Constitutional Review Commission:** The review of the Constitution is an opportunity that women leaders can engage to influence to ensure that identified gaps that have continued to hinder women are addressed. For example, the constitutional provision of affirmative action can be raised from 30% to 50%. This can be done in addition to taking advantage of the wave of gender parity and equality that is ushering in more women in Ethiopia and Rwanda.
- 10. Ongoing Merge and Scrapping of Government Agencies:** Further the ongoing move to merge Constitutional, Government Departments and Agencies bodies will need changing the law, and repealing some articles of the Constitution⁴⁰. This provides both opportunities for greater engagement as women in public policy-making processes as well as possibilities of losing gains earlier registered.
- 11. The UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs):** The adoption of the SDGs in September 2015 marked an important milestone, providing a common framework for the post-2015 agenda. A major thrust of this agenda is its domestication, both in terms of targets and financing. A number of development partners and funders have also invested heavily into various SDGs.
- 12. Roadmap for the Implementation of the SDG Agenda in Uganda:** The Government of Uganda (GoU) released a roadmap for creating a conducive environment to foster the implementation of the SDGs in Uganda by 2030. GoU has integrated the SDGs into the NDP2 and; in this respect Uganda has recognized the need to increase its domestic resource mobilisation to finance development, including through widening the tax base, improving contract negotiation, better customs, tax systems and administration. In addition, civil society organisations through Uganda National NGO Forum (UNNGOF) are also actively engaged on SDGs garnering collective civil society efforts as well as

⁴⁰ In September 2018, Ministry of Public Service (MoPS) published a report on '*Public Service Review and Rationalization of Government Agencies*'. Only 29% of the agencies were categorized as doing policy and regulatory roles, 60% implementing service delivery while 11% were money-making. The report was produced in order to make public administration more efficient, improve service delivery, reduce duplication and overlaps as well as cut down on public expenditure. There is concern that the rate of growth of public agencies has outstripped the capacity of government to sustain them, salary disparities between the agency employees and traditional civil servants have been created leading to disenfranchisement of some class of cadres. The review exercise looked at 22 ministries and 146 public institutions/agencies, which were condensed into 77 agencies. The report had medium term recommendations will be implemented between 2019 and 2022 while the long-term ones will run up to 2028. The report is still under discussion at Cabinet level. Accessed at <https://www.monitor.co.ug/News/National/Why-govt-merged--scrapped-agencies-/688334-4758636-l9r734z/index.html>

linkages with the government processes. Similarly, women's organisations under the Uganda Gender Consortium on SDGs spearheaded by Forum for Women in Democracy (FOWODE) are also engaging on following up on the gender targets across various sectors in the 169 targets, mobilizing women and communities to engage on SDGs as well as providing coordination and getting into partnership with several stakeholders to further pursue this agenda. These various initiatives by Government and CSOs present an opportunity for women citizens, civil society and women in public policy making spaces to partner, influence, advocate, and monitor the implementation of already identified concerns for women's rights.

4 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.1 Conclusions

There is an array of legislation and policy frameworks to ensure that women are represented in policy making and implementation processes. However, women in various positions of leadership have not been able to influence decisions to effectively change the lives of the women they represent.

The overarching reason for this is the patriarchy that is deeply embedded in all rudiments of society to shape and influence attitudes, practices and beliefs. Women are as heterogeneous as their interests and therefore being female in a position of leadership does not automatically translate into the will or the ability to pursue an agenda for women's rights. Women leaders are sometimes bound to the party commitments or agenda which take precedence over the women's agenda. In cases where women feel obliged to pursue the women's agenda, they are constrained by their lack of expertise or technical ability to influence, negotiate or lobby for the advancement of women's rights.

The socio- economic and political context in which women leaders operate is not to be overlooked as they are prone to succumb to the system through cultural beliefs, sex, money and corruption, or are co-opted. There is therefore need for a multi –dimensional approach taking cognizance of the proposed recommendations that take on the diverse needs and interests of women in the given context. The process will bring several players into focus to dismantle the underlying manifestations of patriarchy at all levels.

4.2 Recommendations for Uganda Partners

From the ongoing discussions, the Country Analysis and Mapping makes the following recommendations to respond to the identified challenges that inform programming so as to ensure effective women's leadership in public policy making processes and implementation.

1. Recommendations for Women's Personal Hindrances

- a. For women to be effective legislatures, they must fully understand the functions and learn the rules, procedures and mechanisms of getting things done in parliament. This can be done through specific training and orientation programs for all elected women leaders.
- b. A need to develop networking skills to enable cross-party alliances of women leaders so as to successfully promote the women's agenda. This gets women together across party lines and can even expand to professional groups. This

offers also the opportunity to form support groups for women in the form of offering special training, information or “shadowing” when women leaders need back up confidence.

- c. For women to gain more influence in decision making in relation to women's agenda, there is need for women leaders to develop skills such as political negotiation which often takes place behind closed doors
- d. Women receive training on how to win elections but after winning their training is minimal. There is need for training in for example Public Finance Management Cycle, training in policy documents at different levels of leadership including internalizing the women's manifesto, Gender and equity budgeting among others.
- e. There is need for a mapping out of key strategic areas where women leaders are needed and then later fill them with women capable to push the women's agenda.

2. Recommendations for Conceptualization of Women Issues

- a. There is need to raise consciousness of women leaders at all levels of public office in order to make linkages, identify and support women's issues in their sectors. This can be done by forming alliances with women's groups to share information and provide expertise when needed.
- b. The Analysis recommends massive investment in raising political consciousness with the aim of tackling patriarchal practices embedded within for example gender mainstreaming.

3. Recommendation for Women's Leadership Abilities

- a. Run a campaign to deconstruct negative perceptions of women leaders and demystify women's role as leaders and their ability to make decisions.
- b. Enforce punitive measures for use of sexualized language against women
- c. Design programs for men on women's rights to support rather than belittle and dismiss women as leaders.

4. Recommendations for Institutionalized Patriarchy

- a. One way of building women's visibility, building their confidence to overcome male dominance in debate is to tap into the use of alternative forms of communication such as social media. As women's presence and articulation of women's rights issues in the media continues, they will influence other journalists, broadcasters and even male counterparts to take on some of the issues and influence decision making in public policy.
- b. There is a need to continue stressing the importance of addressing the needs in soft areas so as to increase resources allocated to them.

- c. Encourage women to take up key positions of authority such as Chairpersons rather than simply be members in all policy areas.
- d. Legal Action may be taken to sanction government sectors which do not comply with the Gender Equity Certificate.
- e. There is a need to continue to unpack patriarchy and how it manifests in norms and practices, and not take it homogenously across the State, sectors, regions etc.
- f. There is need for programming for men for women's rights in order to cause attitude change. This is of necessity because males will not accept females just because the law said so.

5. Recommendations – Militarism

- a. With increasing militarism it is of necessity to take on research and analysis of the permeation of militarism in Uganda's politics at all levels to inform antimilitarism activism as a strategy for creating substantive transformation.
- b. Deepen programs for civic education for citizens (males and females) to raise the levels of civic consciousness so that citizens can demand for separation of powers between the different arms of government and institutions.

6. Recommendations – Lack of Common Women's Agenda on Public Policy Making

- a. There is need for a clear women's political agenda that takes on the broader issues of governance and their gendered aspects in a more consistent manner and that is better informed by the systemic nature of the problem.
- b. A concerted effort to bridge the gap between the women's movement and the women of all generations, ethnicity and class to build a force powerful enough to bring about deep changes in Ugandan society.
- c. Women leaders particularly those at national level need to maintain close links with the women's movement to keep in touch with changing often varying women's concerns and policy needs. And the women's movement also has to reach out to those women who have been excluded such as women in cooperatives, trade unions, industry, science and technology, informal sector etc.
- d. There is need to increase awareness for women to coalesce on issues beyond women representations such as ensuring they support women for leadership positions at all levels and urge women leaders to translate their presence into meaningful impact on the lives of women
- e. Women can find ways of holding women leaders accountable to the women's movement beyond ticking a box that we have a woman but what has been each woman's contribution?

- f. Women's leadership is not only at political level. Therefore there needs to be effort to build collective leadership and caucusing across sectors and around diverse issues given that even women's needs are not uniform
- g. Public policy needs to be made tangible, and more practical so that all women can connect it to their everyday lives and livelihoods.

7. Recommendations – Women's Unclear Constituency

- a. Re-think affirmative action and maybe propose alternative ways of representation for women
- b. Identify and support women leaders at all levels who champion women's rights
- c. Clear documentation of the successes that women have achieved and build on that while lobbying for women's appointment to leadership positions

8. Recommendations – Multi-Party-System and Political Patronage

- a. Political parties can be used to promote women's rights and especially when drafting their party manifestos. The party caucuses also present opportune spaces for garnering support for women's rights in multi-party politics
- b. Addressing the gender related issues within the political party systems
- c. Civic education for public and women to promote patriotism will promote interests of the country and women rather than breeding loyalty that serves individuals cum political parties at the expense of the citizens which includes women.

9. Recommendations – Sexual Harassment

- a. Equip women leaders to assert themselves and overcome sexual harassment
- b. Break the silence around sexual harassment in public policy decision making spaces
- c. Specific and deliberate mentorship of young women leaders to equip them with skills to deal with sexual harassment.

10. Recommendations – Number and Levels of Women in Public Policy

- a. Explore other ways in which women's representation can move beyond affirmative action, for example consider 50-50 representation in all decision making spaces.
- b. There is need for a mapping out of strategic public offices where women leaders are needed and then later fill them with women capable to push for the women's agenda.
- c. Promote women's agenda through strategic representation and participation at national level spaces where national priorities are determined which in turn

influence resource allocations in the form of IPFs. Otherwise the current model of representation is increasing women at the “rubber stamp” stage where there is hardly any influence.

- d. Advocate for a bottom –up approach of resource allocation. Right now at council level the form of participation being done at local level in the form of prioritization is to determine for example which sub-county road is worked on first but otherwise the allocations cannot be moved from for example infrastructure to health sector because of the IPFs.
- e. Strengthen the ability of technocrats for integrating cross cutting issues in all sectors and also ensure gender and equity budgeting. Enforce the gender and equity certificate in all sectors and enforce sanctions.

11. Recommendations – Funding Gaps

- a. Explore avenues of providing institutional multi-year core funding for interventions/programs that work on promoting women’s participation in public policy making spaces.
- b. Strategic engagement with donors and funding partners to provide core institutional support.
- c. Investment into key government departments that work towards promoting women’s leadership in public policy-making in the public services. For instance through program of support that ensures nurturing supporting mentoring and linking women in the public sector with women in the CSOs and local governments.

4.3 Recommendations for RBSG

The Country Analyses makes the following recommendations to inform the designing and rolling out of the RBSG Programming in Uganda:

- 1. Support Towards The Wider Public Policy-Making Continuum** – Strategically invest in initiatives that targeting the wider continuum of public policy making for purposes of strengthened synergies, movement building and impact. This will enable connecting women in various policy making processes as well as work along the whole continuum.
- 2. Conceptualize a ‘Women in Public Sector Program’** – Program to support women in public sector (at national and district levels) so as to build their leadership, mentorship and connecting with other women (in political space, women NGOs and CSOs). This program can also use the *Women Caucusing Model of Engagement for Women in the*

Public Service. This program can be through the Ministry of Public Service or through the Equal Opportunities Commission in partnership with National Women's CSO partners.

3. **Widen Target Constituencies** – Engagement with women outside elective political space and include cross section of women who are affected by public policy but not currently not effectively participating in the policy making and implementation. Key among these are:
 - a. **Target women in the informal sector** – Strategically target to reach out to wider spaces where women are located to ensure that they participate in policy making processes and implementation. Such women will include: market women, grassroots women's organizing and CBOs in abid to link them to policy processes
 - b. **Target Non-Conventional Women** – Women organizing in social-economic groups and associations that have hitherto not been actively engaged with public policy such as: artistes, women in business, trade and investments, oil and gas, etc.
 - c. **Target women in minority settings** - Women with disabilities, young women, sexual and gender minorities, women in grassroots organizing spaces/CBOs.

4. **Deepening Existing Work** – Deepening existing interventions undertaken by women rights organizations, human rights organizations, MoGLSD, women district caucuses, and the EOC for greater impact. This can be structured in the form of long-term 3 to 5 year support to deepen existing interventions like:
 - a. Expounding the role of caucusing and networking for women beyond women in political space to women in other sectors and across sectors (MPs, women in public service, women councilors, etc.)
 - b. Expounding existing work on movement building and leadership development specifically aimed at building leadership and agency in public policy making processes
 - c. Investment in rigorous research to assess the impact of women in policy decision making and use the research to inform programing.

5. **Strategic Geographical Investment** – This country analysis further recommends that in the rolling out of its program, RBSG strategically invests in Northern and Central Uganda for purposes of complimenting but also gather regional and national comparative experiences and cross-learning.

6. **Expound Male Engagement and Perfect Programming for Men on Women's Rights** – Working with men in a structured way that doesn't undermine women rights and agency. This could be through expanding existing work on engagement and structuring

men's programmes on gender equality. This would enable for RBSG to contribute towards perfecting '*Programing for Men on Women's Rights*' which is a major gap in Uganda and internationally. This programming should also aim at addressing intimate partner violence through conversations with male partners / spouses of woman in public policy-making spaces.

- 7. Provide Long-Term Institutional Core Support** – In recognition of the fact that shifting attitudes and changing fundamental norms is a long-term ongoing process that requires long-term institutional support; it is recommended that RBSG provides long-term institutional support to its selected partners as opposed to short-term project support. Hence, it is recommended that RBSG invests in deepening already existing interventions and work in the sector through provision of core institutional grants that enable for deepening work on shifting gender norms and attitudes.

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