

**CHALLENGES TO WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL COUNCIL
ELECTIONS IN UGANDA: A CASE STUDY OF 1997 AND 2006
ELECTIONS IN MITYANA DISTRICT**

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DECLARATION

I, ANNA AHEBWA, declare that this is my original work and has never been submitted for an award of a degree or any other award in any other institution of higher learning.

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents, Mr. Edward Isingoma and Mrs. Ruth Isingoma; my brothers, Mr. James Atuhairwe, and Mr. John Agaba; my sisters, Mrs. Grace Mbabazi Katuura,

Mrs. Mary Atugonza Agaba, Mrs. Barbra Kyomugisha Serunjogi and Ms. Betty Asiimwe; and.
my nephews and nieces.

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DEFINITION OF KEY WORDS:

Participation: UN (1981:5) defines participation as “The creation of opportunities to enable all members of a community and larger society to actively

contribute to and influence the development process and to share equitably the fruits of development”.

To participate is to have a share, take part in something. In this case; ‘Women’s participation’ means their taking part in political activities.

Participation is also defined as a process by which community members take part in all stages of a programme right from inception, through planning and design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation to sharing of benefits (Paul, 1987; WB, 1994).

Paul looks at participation in terms of three dimensions, namely: its objectives, intensity, instruments used to foster it where these dimensions involve empowerment, building beneficiary capacity, increasing project effectiveness, improving project efficiency and cost sharing.

Local Council:	Local Council is a group of persons appointed, elected or chosen to give advice, make rules and carry out plans and manage affairs especially of lower levels of government such as a district, sub county or municipality.
Elections:	Refer to the democratic process through which citizens of a particular country change their leadership/leaders.
Women:	They are the female human beings and in this case we refer to those above 18 years of age.
Democracy:	On the basis of its Greek language origins, democracy is defined as a system of government in which power is vested in the people. Democracy originated from ancient Greek philosophy in the form of two words: ‘demos’ meaning ‘the people’ and ‘keratos’ meaning ‘rule’.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	Affirmative Action
ACFODE	Action for Development
CAO	Chief Administrative Officer
CBO	Community Based Organisation
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women
DEM GROUP	Democracy and Election Monitoring Group
DP	Democratic Party
EC	Electoral Commission
EOC	Equal Opportunities Commission
ESSAI	Eastern African Sub regional support Initiative for the advancement of women
FDC	Forum for Democratic Change
FOROWODE	Forum for women in Democracy
GOU	Government of Uganda
ISSIS-WICCE	Women's cross cultural Exchange Centre
IPU	Inter parliamentary Union
IRI	International Republican Institute
LC	Local Council
LGA	Local Government Act
MGLSD	Ministry of Labour Gender and social development
MP	Member of Parliament.
NAWOU	National Association of Women Organisations –Uganda
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NRM	National Resistance Movement
NR	National Resistance Army
NRC	National Resistance Committee
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Sciences
UPC	Uganda People's Congress
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UWONET	Uganda Women's Network

ABSTRACT

This study set out to analyse challenges facing women's participation in local council elections in Uganda with specific reference to the 1997 and 2006 elections in Mityana district. The study was guided by three objectives, namely: to investigate women's attitudes toward their participation in local council elections, to analyse the challenges that hindered women participation in local council elections; to establish the opportunities for enhancing women's effective participation in local council elections both as candidates and as voters. The study was carried out in four sub-counties and it adopted a case study design which study targeted a population of 100 respondents. Data from primary sources were gathered by use of questionnaires, focus group discussions and interviews where both qualitative and quantitative instruments were employed to analyse field data. The study found out that women's attitudes toward their participation in local council elections was low due to lack of interest in electoral activities especially as candidates. Women also faced social-cultural, political, economic and election management challenges that hindered their participation both as candidates and voters. The study also found out that there were opportunities from different stakeholders that were available for women that enhanced their participation both as candidates and voters. The study therefore concluded that there was need for both men and women to be sensitised about the importance of joining local council elections, and for adult literacy programs that targeted mainly the women to lessen the illiteracy levels. There was also need for empowerment (socially, economically) so that women have enough resources to join local council elections and for women to be united as a group to fight for their rights. It was therefore recommended that government should increase the one third provisions to enable more women join local council elections. There was also need for continuous sensitisation programmes to be put in place even after general elections; for the Electoral Commission to operate independently without any political or foreign influence and desist from practicing partisan politics; for the Electoral Commission to keep the electorate informed of upcoming electoral events, and for women to be empowered economically and to be united to fight for their rights.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 BACKGROUND

Elections, as one of the pillars of democracy, have demonstrated practically the capacity to usher in good, responsible and accountable leadership. They have also demonstrated equality between men and women through political participation on the basis of one adult citizen, one vote (Ferris, 2003). Nsibambi (1998) observes that participation in electoral activities is important in decision-making and in developing a nation. More so, Muhumuza (2003) asserts that democracy cannot thrive unless space is given to civil society to operate effectively through people empowerment. However, Clark (1995) argues that empowerment and democracy should not only be measured by the right to vote, but is about a whole range of rights which citizens must be accorded if governments are to be open, accountable and participatory.

In Europe, it is reported that over 95% of the countries have granted women democratic rights to vote and to be voted (www.ideanet.com). In England it was through the war between the feudalists and capitalists that a continuous organised campaign of forty-eight years (1866-1914) that resulted in women's enfranchisement was born (Pateman, 1989). In the United States, suffrage movements were led by upper and middle-class women which produced a reformist rather than a radical social agenda that led to the nineteenth equal rights amendment in the constitution and the right of women to vote and participate in political parties was eventually granted in 1920 (Louise, 1990:151). In Latin America, the wars of independence against Spain in the early nineteenth century to the guerrilla wars of the 1960s-1970s where women were active and joined political parties even before they had a right to vote (Jacquette, 1994) led to women being granted the right to political participation. For example, Ecuador, a country known for its quasi-feudal social relations not for its liberal democratic traditions enfranchised women in 1929. Brazil, Uruguay and Cuba followed suit in the early 1930s, Peru and Mexico in the mid 1950s and Columbia in 1957 (Jacquette, 1989). In France, elections existed since the 1789 French Revolution that was based on liberty, equality and fraternity (Odoobo, 1999) and involved the institution of representative, democratic forms of administration in political and economic spheres (Clegg, 1971). In the Nordic countries (Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden) besides granting rights to inheritance, women were also granted rights to vote and to be elected between 1905-1920 (Osterberg and Hedman, 1997). In both Germany and Italy, elections were started

through the Unification process in which women gained franchise (Phillips, 1993). Asian countries like India adopted constitutional amendments in 1993 that required that one-third of local council seats be reserved for women; hence Ghandi being elected the first woman president in the world. Similarly in Pakistan, the 2000 Devolution of Power Plan reserved 33% of local legislative seats for women (Dem-Group, 2001). However there are other countries that still deny women the right to vote and to be voted for, for instance the United Arab Emirates and Kuwait (www.associatedpress.com).

In Africa, the demand for democratisation of society, honest and efficient government and participation of the populace and women in particular had become a new phenomenon as Mc. Greal (1994:6) observes. As a result of democratisation, the nature of participation seems to be concerned with the increase in the number of women entering the public arena rather than issues that enhance their rights. The liberal forms of democracy re-introduced by this democratic wave narrowed the political space and assigned it to the privileged few leaving out the marginalised majority most of whom are women (United Nations study, 1990). Electoral politics in Africa is different because of colonialism where women were not given the franchise. Anti-colonial movements demanded the contributions of everyone - women, children, youth, which therefore became a passport for all of them to vote and to be voted for (Odoobo, 1999). Even then the highly patriarchal colonialists ensured that they left power in the hands of men, which was enshrined in the constitution that was imposed on the people.

As countries gained independence, multiparty politics set in as part of the colonial reform that sought to stabilise and contain the situation made fluid by widespread popular struggles (Mamdani, 1995). However, some countries have reformed the electoral process to promote women's participation for example, in Rwanda, women occupy 48.8% of seats in the local council. Gambia, Swaziland, Burundi, Zimbabwe, Peru, Lesotho reformed electoral processes to enhance women's political participation through legislated party quotas that required that at least one-third of the electoral candidates be women (International Parliamentary Statistics report, 2007). Countries like Mali had registered the lowest percentages worldwide in enhancing women's participation (Bratton et al, 1999).

In Uganda during the pre-colonial period women were confined in private spheres with no right to

political participation where policies focused on delineating a clear distinction guided by an ideology that perceived men as public actors and women as private performers (Tamale, 1999:9). The colonial governments did not provide for women's participation more so they set up political and administrative units such as districts, councils, chieftaincies which virtually included no women which remained the position until 1962 (Tamale,1999:206). The post-colonial governments (Obote and Amin) considered women as "political minors" who could only vote (Ahikire, 2004d). Women's participation by then was seen through forming women's groups and clubs aimed at community development but with no political intentions. Central governments in operation by then played major roles in electing leaders through a system of chiefs where women were not included eventually became unpopular (Muzaale, 1996). Later Independence governments in place exhibited patriarchy practices with men firmly holding the substantive reins of power and authority. Women were denied active and public political participation. Their political participation came in full force when the National Resistance Movement (NRM) took over power in 1986 under a no-party democracy.¹ It challenged patriarchal beliefs and practices, imposed unconstitutional restrictions on political parties, co-opted a number of traditional party members into its ranks and opted for 'No party democracy' to foster inclusive politics (Wabwire and Ddungu, 1991). It distinguished itself from previous governments by fulfilling its pledge to create political space for women and encourage their active participation (Ddungu, 1994:376). This marked the beginning of an increased presence of women in decision-making positions through the local level. Laws were enacted to create special seats in the National Resistance Council (NRC) where every district council would nominate one woman (Secretary for women) to serve on the executive (Makara et al, 2007). These resistance councils which were ushered in by the NRM (promoting popular democracy) have now been transformed into more conventional local government units referred to as Local Councils (after formulation of 1995 Constitution and the 1997 Local Government Act) that encompassed all people through electing their representatives (Liberal democracy) through a system of decentralisation (Makara et al, 2007). The National Resistance Movement introduced elections in local councils (Makara et al, 2007), enhanced affirmative action through enabling laws in the 1995 Constitution and the enactment of the Local Government Act 1997 which provided for a third of local government political seats be reserved for women to enable their active involvement (Tamale,1999; Tripp, 2000; Goetz, 2002; Kwesiga, 1995). However, few women seemed to utilise that opportunity to engage in local

council elections. This study therefore aimed at finding out whether Mityana District has fully utilised the 1/3 local council seats in enhancing women participation.

The 1997 local council elections were held under a “No party democracy” which was introduced by the National Resistance Movement after it assumed power in 1986. On 23rd February 2006, Uganda held multiparty elections after a stretch of two decades (Makara et al, 2007). The shift from movement (One-party democracy) to multiparty system brought forth a number of challenges as well as opportunities for the Uganda populace in general and women in particular. The multiparty elections saw other political parties besides the NRM coming on board like Forum for Democratic Change, Democratic Party (historical), Uganda People’s Congress, Justice Forum and others. These political parties created rival politics, which in turn affected affirmative action policies as some could not field women to their ranks. Despite these different affirmative actions and efforts, women’s participation is still low in some districts like Mityana compared to the male counterparts. Thus the research aimed at finding out the reasons for the low participation (Electoral Commission Districts Status Report, 2006).

The move from Resistance Council to Local Council structures through decentralisation created more opportunities for women as their numbers in local government structures increased through elected representatives (Liberal democracy) common under multipartism, the case of 2006 elections than self-managed democracy which was ushered in by Resistance Councils (Popular democracy) which is common with single party/No-party systems which was the case with the 1997 elections where women just had one representative on the committee comprising majority men even when women were more active as voters and having played a role in the NRM struggle (Luwero Triangle) (Muzaale, 1996). It is realised that women who actively participated during the NRM struggle were given ministerial positions when the NRM took over power under a No-party system; but under the multiparty system, the question arises why of the women that participated then, few come up to participate mainly as candidates under the multiparty system. This is because Mityana is one of the areas where low levels of women’s participation in elections were registered (Electoral Commission District Status Report, 2006). Thus the need for the study to find out whether such cases were true in Mityana district.

Mityana came into existence as a district in 2005 having been carved out of Mubende District. It

is found in the central south part of Uganda. Mityana is 75 km from Kampala City and it borders Kiboga and Nakaseke districts in the North and North East, Kibaale district in the North West, Mpigi district in South, Wakiso district in the East and Mubende district in the West (Uganda Districts Information Handbook, 2005-2006). It comprises of nine sub-counties, 64 parishes, 2 counties that is Mityana (Mityana North and Mityana South) and Busujju, 233 polling stations (Electoral Commission District status report, 2006). The district has a total population of 706,256 people with 344,636 males and 344,894 females (Statistical Abstract, UBOS, November 2004). The major economic activity is agriculture which amounts to 43% out of a total of 100% average with emphasis on food crops like maize, beans, sweet potatoes, Irish potatoes, groundnuts, bananas, finger millet, simsim (sesame), and yams. Cash crops are also grown like coffee, cotton and tea (Senda Tea Estate). Some fruits and vegetables are also grown though the bulk of it is put to the market for sale which includes tomatoes, pineapples, passion fruits, onions. There is also some diary farming and cattle ranching practised in the district. Trade is also carried out which amounts to 15.2% out of a total of 100% (Uganda Districts Poverty Report, 1999-2000). Mityana district is inhabited by people of different ethnic groups. These are mainly Baganda, Banyoro, Banyarwanda, Bakiga, Batooro and others who mainly use the Luganda language.

Mityana district has an area of 6,197.7 sq km and has a climate which lies at an attitude of 1,372-1,448 metres above sea level with high temperatures and remarkably low rainfall (Mityana District Population Office, 2009). The district has a total population of 706,256 with 351,263 males and 354,993 females where 51,092 are based in the urban centre and 655,164 are based in the rural area (Mityana District Population Office, 2009). This showed the area comprises more women than men according to this survey. However, the question remains why women who are the majority exhibited low levels of participation when they would vote as a block basing on their majority as the study will find out.

In terms of women's political participation, they actively participate through the reserved seats at the national level. At the local council level, there is a lot of reluctance to the extent that some seats remain vacant because there is no aspiring candidate and a lot is yet to be done to enhance their active involvement as candidates (Electoral Commission District Status Report, 2006). Though a number of studies have been carried out to explain the trend of events in a number of districts concerning women's participation in elections (Mulyampiti, 1999; Ahikire, 2004;

Lubanga, 2002; Muhumuza, 2003; UWONET, 2007), none of them explain women's participation in local council elections in Mityana district, hence the challenges that constrain women from their active participation in the district elections.

1.1 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

When the National Resistance Movement captured state power, it found women disfranchised by previous governments where they were denied their right to participate in elections both as candidates and voters. It put in place laws and constitutional amendments to enfranchise and empower them who had been rendered political minorities and ensured that these were operationalised. These were in parliamentary and local council elections in which women could participate. Despite these provisions in place, there are reports of low participation of women in these fora, which were constructed for them of particular significance, women in Mityana appear to remain less participative in local council elections yet no studies have been attempted to analyse the problem in Mityana. This study therefore sought to analyse women's participation in local council elections basing on the 1997 and 2006 elections in Mityana district.

1.2 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

1.2.1 General Objective

The general objective of the study was to explore the challenges to women's participation in the 1997 and 2006 local council elections in Mityana district.

1.2.2 Specific Objectives

- 1) To investigate women's attitudes toward their participation in local council elections as candidates and voters.
- 2) To analyse the challenges facing women's participation in local council elections.
- 3) To explore the opportunities available for enhancing women's participation in local council elections as candidates and voters.

1.3 SCOPE OF THE STUDY

In terms of content scope, the study analysed women's attitudes towards their participation in local council elections; the challenges which they faced in participation in local council elections; and opportunities available for supporting women's participation as candidates and voters.

In terms of geographical scope, the research was carried out in Mityana district. Mityana district was chosen because it is one of the districts where not much research on women's participation in elections has been carried out.

The period scope of the study was the 1997 and 2006 local council elections. This was because it aimed at bringing out a historical comparison in participation both under a no-party system and a multiparty system.

1.4 JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY

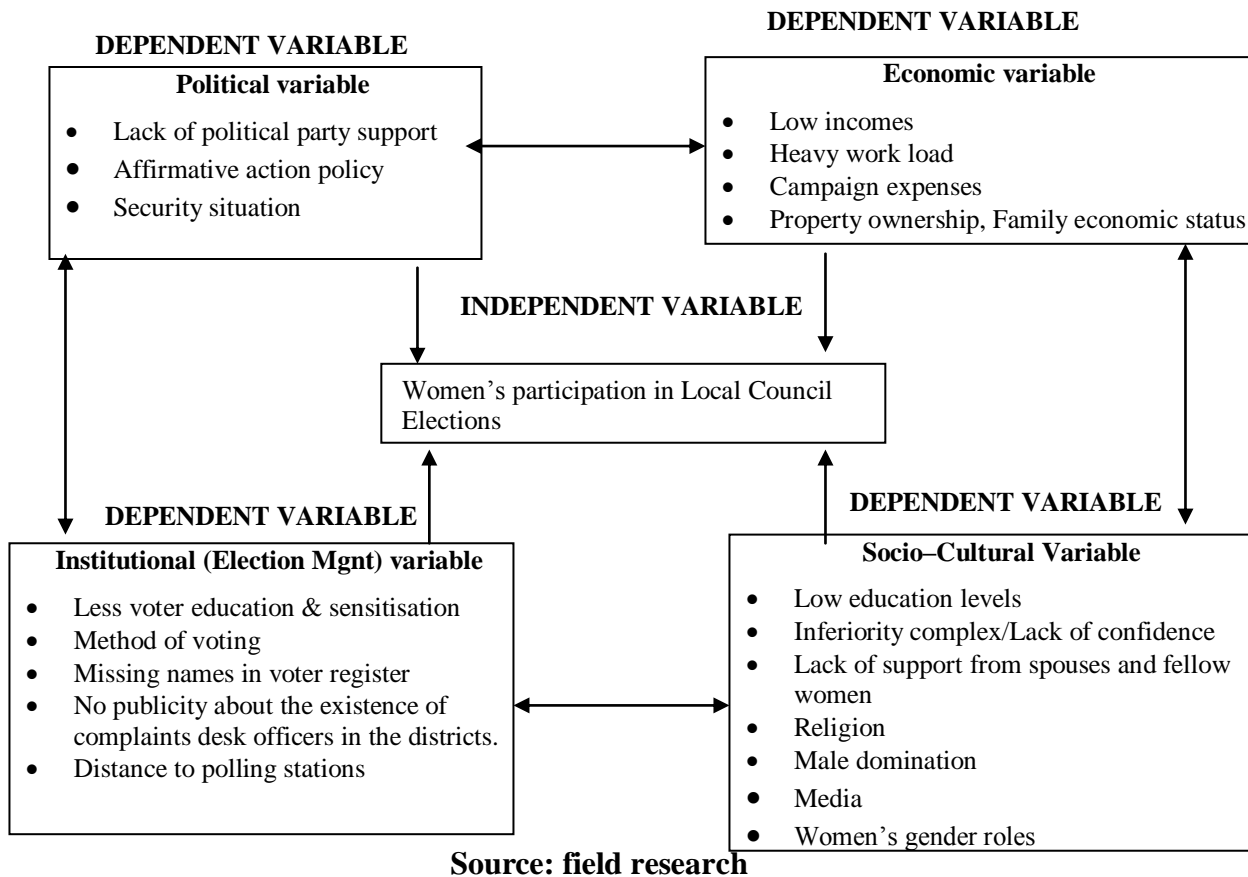
The study was carried out to examine women's participation both as candidates and voters in the local council elections in Mityana District. This was because women had for long been left out in the politics of their country where their participation especially at the local council level had been low compared to the male counterparts.

It was hoped that the study would benefit policymakers in designing policies geared towards enhancing women's involvement in local council elections, women's organisations through advocating and sensitising women about their rights and the Electoral Commission in increasing the quality and quantity of women's participation in politics and decision-making through designing appropriate policies. The study was expected to contribute to the existing body of knowledge on women's political participation.

1.5 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The conceptual framework defines key variables of the study, and discusses the relationship between dependent and independent variables and how they relate to women's participation - the dependent variables being socio-cultural, political, economic and institutional management and the independent variable being women's participation in elections.

FIGURE 2.1: A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DEPENDENT AND INDEPENDENT VARIABLES IN RELATION TO WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION



The electoral process is a continuous process that begins with the demarcation of constituencies, registration of voters, nomination of candidates, voter education, campaigns, training, declaration of results, handling petitions/complaints lodged and formation of government. When the political variables are in place through political party support to women candidates, this does encourage women to contest for all the positions meant for them and even competing with men. With sensitisation of affirmative action policies, this enables women to know that these are not the only positions on which they are to compete but also on the directly elected councillor positions. When security is provided to create a peaceful and conducive atmosphere, it enables women to compete for elections other than when there are non state-actors like rebels, state intimidation, presence of thugs and rapists. Such would threaten and bar women from active participation both as candidates and voters. More so, if w, it is likely to enable them have some money set aside which

could be used to cater for the period during electoral activities.

Reduction in workload especially for women engaged in farm work, say, through provision of farm equipment like tractors and pesticides would ease their work and hence avail them more time to engage in electoral activities. Provision and intensification of voter education will enable people to be in the know and hence more women will know the positions on which to compete. When distances to polling stations are shortened, it is likely to encourage more women as voters to go and cast their vote, unlike when the distance is long. it hinders many from casting their votes. Creating educational opportunities for the girl child will enable many women to be enlightened and have exposure and confidence to engage in electoral activities. Support from spouses and fellow women should be encouraged through sensitisation as this will enable the building of confidence in women contesting especially as candidates. But when such support is lacking, it hinders many women from competing as candidates.

Religion was also cited as another challenge which hinders women from competing should be revised because some religions like Muslims prevent women from engaging in active politics which hinders competent women from active participation especially as candidates but when such rules are relaxed, this will enable competent and capable women to even compete on directly elected councillor positions. When strict media principles are instilled through strict enforcement of laws this will hinder the media that look out for the negative aspects on women especially as candidates and concentrate on the positives to enhance women participation.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviewed literature on women's participation in local council elections and based on the subthemes which were to analyse women's attitude towards their participation in local council elections, to establish the challenges (political, social-cultural, economic and election management) towards women participation in local council elections, to examine the opportunities available for enhancing women's participation both as candidates and voters. Literature was reviewed from documentary sources, newspaper articles, and previous studies on women participation with the aim of establishing whether the facts found out from the literature sources were proved to be true in Mityana district.

2.2 Women's Attitudes toward their Participation in the Elections

Literature reviewed on the 1997 elections by (UWONET, 1998) revealed that most women shied away from participating because they lacked the confidence to fit in the public arena which was then new to them. To most women, whether as candidates or voters, the 2006 multiparty elections came out as a rushed process which they did not have time to organise for. Accordingly, there was enormous uncertainty, especially when a referendum on the need to open up political space was held in July 2005, less than 12 months to the general elections meaning that the promise to open up was not obvious (UWONET, 2007). The position of women remained largely invisible in the debate on the transition. For instance, the question of how to position women to compete in multiparty elections was not adequately addressed (Makara et al, 2007). Efforts by women organisations to raise the voice of women were lost in the maze of the rush UWONET, 2007). Thus our study sought to find out whether limited time to organise was a hindrance to women in Mityana District.

2.3 Economic Challenges

There is a link between economic status and women's participation. The gender gap in earning is registered world over with the women's average wage equal to 75% of men's average wage. This, according to the UNDP Report (1990), indicates the risk of poverty for women becomes higher hindering their participation as they are preoccupied with making ends meet. Survival becomes their pre-occupation leaving them with no time for activities like political participation (Mikkel,

1997:428). In a study carried out in South Africa, as is the case with many developing countries in Africa, it was established that most female-headed households in the rural areas were the poorest of the poor. In 1995, it was further established that 54% of women were classified as economically inactive compared to 37% of men. This in one way hindered women's participation ([www.unctad](http://www.unctad.org) report).

Ssali and Atoo (2007) revealed that access to finances was a great challenge to women's participation. Money is required to finance campaigns and sometimes to buy voters (Kapampara, 2002), which was also the case with the 1997 elections. It was also noted that many who attempted to stand as independents, having lost in their party primaries, cited limited funding from their parties which barred would-be contestants in the local council elections (UWONET, 2007). Candidates contesting for the different posts had to pay a non-refundable nomination fee. Some potentially good leaders were prevented from standing because they could not raise the non-refundable fee (Electoral Commission Report, 1998). However, the above studies rest on the assumption that having access to finances would automatically mean one would be victorious in the elections, which is not the case, especially in enlightened societies. Hence the study would help us to test this assumption in the context of Mityana district.

2.4 Social Cultural Challenges

Bonepath and Stoper (1988:11) identified women's gender roles as a challenge and argued that lack of political recognition of women's reproductive and labour roles made it difficult for them to campaign because they were busy washing dishes, dispensing cough syrups to children and cleaning the house. More so Mahatma Gandhi, in his writings was a believer in harmonising and equalising productive roles of men and women which were referred to as so called 'women's Jobs'. Joshi (1986) quotes Gandhi, "More often than not, a woman's time is taken up, not only by the performance of essential domestic duties, but in catering for the egoistic pleasures of her remnant of barbarism. It is high time that our woman kind freed from this incubus". Thus the study will find out if women's gender roles inhibited their political participation in Mityana district.

A report by the Associated Press dated 1 June, 2002 cited religion as a hindrance where, for example, the Imam of the Afghan capital's main mosque Qariubai Durahman was quoted as

saying that the participation of women in the then upcoming Loya Jirga (elections), on equal basis with men, contravened the rule of Islam and could undermine the system. He argued that the votes of women delegates to the Grand Assembly should not carry the same weight as those of men. He also said that the Koranic teachings dictated that the Assembly, which was due to select a new transition government for Afghanistan, could not choose a woman as the country's leader. He was quoted, "Men's views have to be accepted because they are higher than women's, from an Islamic point of view, a woman cannot be elected the leader of an Islamic country because women are unintelligent."

In Uganda, though religion not that prominent, it featured as a hindrance where some headlines could not be ignored like, "Tabliqs will not support Miria Obote", so the responsibility of leadership goes only to men" (*Daily Monitor*, 29 December 2005). According to the Tabliq Muslim sect leader, Sheikh Suleiman Kakeeto, Tabliq Muslims would not support the UPC presidential candidate, Mrs. Miria Obote because she was female. Accordingly, they would not back any female candidate seeking political power because it contravened Islamic teachings. Supporting a woman to attain political power therefore was a breach to God's law. His other reasons included the following:

----- Women are naturally very weak and cannot manage big positions, --- this could drive the country into chaos--- Islam supports women's freedom but should not go beyond the limit. --- Islam guards women under hard situations but not to oversee home affairs. When God created man, he allocated specific responsibilities and it is clear in our religion. So the responsibility of leadership goes only to men----- no woman can head a family. It is on record that a man marries a woman but not a woman to marry a man. I advise all Muslim women with plans to stand for any post to drop the idea. We will not support them. They should do it at their own risk. (*Daily Monitor*, 29 December 2005).

Culture and gender stereotyping in politics, lack of leaders as role models, coupled with lack of self-confidence and skills to function in the public forum, further hinders women's participation. Appeals to change the culture is met by stereotypes who claim that Africa is entitled to her cultural heritage, consequently women are subjected to various forms of human rights violation in the name of culture. In Uganda, culture and patriarchy are still deeply entrenched in many societies; hence women's participation is seen as a 'gift' from the movement government rather

than a right, which undermines the respect they have earned in their own right to be elected to positions of leadership. Affirmative action is still a ‘ceiling’ rather than a stepping-stone that constrains their participation in directly elected seats. In many places, women are still perceived as subordinate to men. For instance, married women often find it difficult to find a constituency to run in. If they contest in the constituency where they were born, they are told to go to the constituency where they are married. When they contest in their husband’s constituency they are told, “You came here to marry not to rule.” Women candidates have to project an image of absolute devotion to their husbands and families and of being good wives, mothers to a degree not required of men as one candidate in Gulu Municipality put it:

If you are intending to become a woman candidate to contest a seat, you cannot put on trousers and go to the village. You have to wear a *gomesi* (formal women’s attire); you have to look as a mother. For the men they can go away and drink their *malwa* (alcoholic drink) in the most unexpected places and no one bothers them. It is patriarchal” (Christine Lalobo, Woman candidate).

Another candidate Victoria Sekitoleko narrated her experience during the 1996 elections and was quoted as follows:

I was the most popular at the beginning----- then I was told that I was a woman and they wanted a man. That I was not a Muganda. It was insinuated that because I was a widow, I could easily go back to my area of birth, after they had given me their votes. Culture dictates really affected my performance (*Arise Magazine*, 1996:19).

Intimidation by spouses. Observers noticed that some husbands prohibited their wives from participating in elections. Others coerced them into supporting candidates of their (husbands’) choices. Those that would go against their husbands’ wishes were threatened with divorce. In other instances, those that were lucky to have participated in the women council elections were prohibited by their husbands from taking part in village council elections, as was the case in Kiboga district. One observer was quoted as saying, “Husbands told their wives that their elections were over (women councils) so there was no need to vote or contest again in the village councils” (UWONET, 1998) Thus the need for the study to find out whether this intimidation from spouses is the case in Mityana district.

Lack of support from fellow women due to cultural beliefs regarding the place of women in

society. The “Pull her down Syndrome”, a phenomenon which prevented women from supporting fellow women. Victims of this tendency were mostly the highly educated, rich women contestants. In a research by UWONET in Pallisa district in 1998, a woman voter was quoted as saying, “Why should I vote for a woman who will not remember me after getting her wealth? I would rather vote for men who are in most cases generous with wealth.” Male candidates easily bribed voters, a practice very expensive to female contenders. Voters therefore resorted to booing women contestants in an effort to intimidate them out of the race. The study will investigate if such cases existed in Mityana District.

Low levels of literacy (DEM Group, 2006). The Uganda National Household survey 1999-2000 put the literacy rate for women at 51% compared to 77% for men indicating that only 30% of the Ugandan women can exercise control over decision making as well as national policies. In relation to strategic decision-making, women constitute only 39% of the over 17,000 persons in prominent positions, showing 44% compared to the non-political one (12%) (MGLSD, 2000). In a study by UWONET, 1998 in most districts on the 1997 elections revealed that only the elite women emerged to take up the challenge of occupying posts on local councils. Most voters confessed that lack of education hindered them from participating in the elections, as they did not know what was expected of them as candidates and voters hence the study aimed at investigating whether lack of education was a hindrance to women participation.

Women’s social status. In Africa women are discriminated against based on their marital status whether married, single, separated, divorced or widowed (Tamale, 1999). Married women contestants were accused of neglecting their husbands and families while those who were single were accused of being prostitutes (Tamale, 1999). To her, women were considered as “Trespassers” in the political arena. Those outside their parent tribe were labelled as “Outsiders” and told to go back and represent areas where their husbands came from. The ‘tribal ticket’ was played more against women than men; even fellow women promoted this kind of discrimination (Kawamara, 1998). A woman candidate in Kampala against whom a tribal ticket was played responded, “As women we do not belong to any tribe. Once one is married you are expected to belong to your husband’s tribe and yet your in-laws will never accept you wholeheartedly.” She lamented over her loss. Thus the study aimed at finding out whether social status affected women’s participation.

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

2.5 Political Challenges

Limited numbers of women in politics. The fewer they are, the more difficult it becomes for them to push for women's issues. In a country like Uganda where the majority numbers of the leaders are male, lobbying becomes very difficult. Drude (1997) a political scientist in an extensive research on women's participation quoted a respondent saying, "Don't expect us to make much difference as long as we are only a few in politics. It takes a critical mass of women to make a fundamental change in politics." His research, however, contradicts with Novelist countries where the significant numbers of women in elective positions show they could make a difference in pushing for women's concerns. Though this was the case mainly during the 1997 elections, the study aimed at investigating whether there was improvement during the 2006 elections.

Political instability especially in the northern, western and eastern parts of Uganda affected the 1997 elections especially as voters. It was difficult for voters to move freely to the polling centres to cast their vote (UWONET, 1998). This was observed in parts of Soroti, Lira, Kabarole and Gulu districts. The study aimed at finding out if political instability hindered women's participation.

Lack of political party support. A research by UWONET (2007) revealed that parties other than

the NRM expressed inability to attract women in their ranks. This was confirmed by the 2006 nomination roll released by the Electoral Commission clearly indicating that only NRM was able to field candidates on all posts for the district women seat (*Uganda Gazette*, February 14, 2006). Parties performed poorly in fielding women on open seats, which would have been the single most important litmus test for gender inclusiveness on the part of the parties that participated in the 2006 elections. Women principally remained in the 'ghetto' of the district seats and out of the total 808 contestants on open parliamentary seats, only 33, constituting 4% of the electoral contest, were women. One woman activist was quoted thus:

All political parties are highly lacking in accommodating women. They have supplied hot air for the women; they have engaged them yet they have not translated what they promised in reality. For example they promised a minimum of 30% posts for women in elective offices but when you look at their line-ups, most women have been thrown out. All they are getting is lip service---- (*Daily Monitor*, February 1, 2006).

The study investigated the support political parties gave to women candidates in Mityana district.

Intimidation by security agencies. Though 2006 elections were relatively peaceful unlike the 2001 elections where security agencies including the army were largely involved in perpetrating overt violence (UWONET, 2007) the 2006 elections witnessed a shift to more structural forms of violence. The involvement of security agencies in the electoral process created an environment characterised by fear and uncertainty which largely undermined the principles of transparency, free and fair electoral process. The Commonwealth Observer Group (2006) noted that, "There was widespread use of intimidation and harassment tactics by the security forces and some armed NRM-O supporters against the opposition party executives, supporters and district representatives at national and district level. The security environment worsened as polling day approached. The air was filled with charges and counter charges that had the effect of increasing the feeling of insecurity among the population." Hence to many women due to fear decided to opt to stay at home than participate in the exercise as voters for fear of violence and death. The study aimed at investigating whether insecurity/harassment prevented women from participating.

Affirmative action hindered many women from participating in the local council elections (Tripp, 2000; Ahikire, 2004d). In Uganda while Affirmative Action has been lauded for paving way for

women's involvement in politics through reserved seats by exposure, political experience, and confidence to run their own open electoral contests (Tripp, 2000), and increasing the number of women in the electoral contest (Ahikire, 2004d), it has been observed that it has been a hindrance for women to contest on the directly elected seats (*Daily Monitor*, 8 March, 2006). Many perceived it as the NRM's way of cultivating women as a vote bank (Goetz, 2003). Affirmative Action also reinforces the view that these are the only spaces for them to participate and at the local council through the women's quota. Ahikire (2004d) observed that Affirmative Action created a political space for women outside the mainstream politics, hence 'ghettoising' their participation. This suggests that mainstream politics is for men and affirmative action seats for women. This 'add-on' policy of Affirmative Action to Ahikire (2004) puts women's political legitimacy in jeopardy as women politicians are perceived as representatives of women. Subsequently, the electorate is more interested in voting for women on the Affirmative Action seats rather than when they contest to unseat male candidates, especially under the directly elected council elections. The study aimed to establish if such cases existed in Mityana district.

2.5.1 Election Management Challenges

Inadequate voter education: A research by UWONET (1998) on the 1997 elections revealed that the Electoral Commission failed to fulfil its obligation to impart civic and voter education in time. More so, a study by UWONET (2006) acknowledged that civic education was generally inadequate. People particularly from rural populations were principally left in the dark in terms of the transition and politicians only transmitted information that favoured them like 'vote me'. Lack of information affected women more due to time constraints and other gender-related factors. One woman voter was quoted as saying:

The transition was not well handled because there was no civic education. We depended on hearsay and the majority women knew only about contesting on the affirmative seats than directly elected posts.

Another woman MP contestant asserted, "No one had done civic education in my area." The information that had spread was that anyone going against the NRM was against the national interest. Opposition is portrayed negatively and voters had no voter education on the elections and their rights. "I spent more time doing voter education than talking about my manifesto." DEM

Group report on 2006 elections observed that some women candidates did not have enough information about the elections. One woman candidate from Mbale District only learnt on the voting day that she was supposed to have two agents in all the polling stations. Women who contested as directly elected councillors (candidates) and whose photographs appeared on the ballot paper with men were thought to have appeared by mistake, hence leading to their loss of votes.

Inadequate voter education (lack of political consciousness) led to the overwhelming number of 300,000 invalid votes (4% of all votes cast). The voter turnout of 65.8%, which means that 3.5 million registered voters did not cast their votes, may in part be explained by limited voter education (EC Report, 2007). A survey conducted by the IRI concluded that by the end of January 2006, 47% of Ugandan voters were not aware that the elections were to take place beginning 23 February 2006. Even then, only 33% were aware that the presidential, parliamentary and women MPs elections would take place concurrently (*New Vision*, 10 February 2006).

Though voter education was a challenge as many studies reveal, to the EC, it could have been a result of inadequate funds. The study was to examine if inadequate voter education was a hindrance to women participation in Mityana district.

The Move from Electoral Colleges to Universal Adult Suffrage. Prior research revealed that electoral colleges though could easily be manipulated and had held women at ransom (UWONET, 2007). Voices from women on the 2006 elections showed that Adult Suffrage had discouraged many would-be aspirants and had favoured incumbents. Considering the use of resources, multiparty politics proved to be more expensive than single-party campaigns. Women had to spend both in the primaries and the actual elections, given the coverage of some districts, the issue of finance for women was more crucial in multiparty politics. The study aimed at finding out whether electoral college method of voting was better than universal adult suffrage.

Missing names in the voters' register hindered their participation as voters. Creation of new polling stations from voters exceeding over 700 and merging those with less than 200 voters, voters' names were posted to new polling stations than the previous ones where they had originally been registered as voters. Gender roles prevented some women from checking their names during the 'display of the voters' register' they only turned up on polling day to find their

names missing. A report by International Observers revealed that election officers (presiding) denied possibly hundreds of thousands of registered voters, especially women, the right to vote because they were allegedly not on the voters' registers. The final national voters' register of 2006 showed that of the 10,450,788 registered voters, 6,880,484 (65.9%) had cast their ballot in the elections. Carrying a voter's card was not enough to be allowed to vote until your name was found on the register (Makara et al, 2007). Both domestic and international observers remarked that the significant number of names missing from the register affected the fairness of the elections, but they appeared to regard this as a problem of capacity rather than intent on the part of the EC (EU, 2006; Petersen, 2006; DEM Group, 2006). The study aimed at investigating whether missing names on the voters' register hindered women's participation, especially as voters.

2.5.2 The Opportunities available for Women to effectively Participate in Elections

United Nations Report (2001) recommends institutional changes to establish gender equality in basic rights as the cornerstone of greater equality in political participation and voice. Similarly, policies and programmes that promote equality in education and access to information (including legal literacy) can strengthen women's urgency and their capacity to participate in the political arena.

Internationally, the legal framework CEDAW to which Uganda is a member through Article 7 (a) and (b) and strategic objective (GI) of the Beijing platform of action all geared towards effective participation of women. In Uganda, through the 1995 Constitution where Articles 32(1), 33(2), 22(3), 33(4), 33(5), 78 (1) (b) all of which encompass affirmative action seats for women. More so National Objectives XV and VI also encompass affirmative action which objectives led to the establishment of the equal opportunities commission. The Local Government Act 1997 through section 180 (2) (b), Art. 205(2) (b) has the potential to strengthen women's participation in Local Government decision making. The Electoral Commission Act 1997 which mandates the commission to organise elections and cater for women's quotas, the Political Parties and Organisation's Act 2005, the Press and Journalists Act and the Electronic Media Act where negatisation of women that stand for political posts is prohibited. These acts aim to specify laws, which help to enhance women's active involvement. Women's organisations like UWONET in a bid to enhance women's participation drafted the 2006 women's manifesto and some other, for

instance FIDA, organisations supported women financially to participate as candidates (UWONET Report, 2007).

However, much as all these legal provisions are in place, few women have been competing with men on the directly elected positions. We realise that it is the reserved seats for women that have increased their participation and has restricted how far they can go especially in the rural communities where the law is misinterpreted to mean that women can only compete under the reserved seats than the directly elected positions which is the case in Mityana district as the study investigated.

While reviewing literature, issues of class were ignored where some people could present their candidature for elections while others could not. Therefore what was left was to choose from those that had presented their candidature. Only those who had property and were able to acquire a good education in good schools where they met other future leaders were the ones who stood for elections. Hence the study aimed at investigating whether such scenarios existed in Mityana district.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with how the study was carried out. It explains the research design, area of study, study population, sample size, data collection methods, research tools, data management, data analysis and presentation of research findings, ethical considerations and limitations to the study.

3.2 Study Design

The research adopted a case study design (Sarantakos, 1998). The design was chosen because it provided opportunity for an in-depth analysis of many specific details that are often disregarded by other methods, it also demonstrates a causal argument about how general social forces shape and produce results in particular settings (Neuman, 2003). The focus was on one group and an in-depth research was considered, given the time available. Secondly, the choice of the case study design was based on the assumption that the case under study was typical of cases of a certain type so that after intensive analysis, the generalisations found were applicable to the entire district. Both qualitative and quantitative research methods were employed. This was aimed at getting opinions from the targeted population and to also establish a link between social cultural, political, economic and election management challenges in relation to women's participation in elections.

3.3 Area of Study

Mityana district comprises two counties (Mityana and Busujju), three constituencies, nine sub-counties and 233 polling stations. The study was conducted in four sub-counties of Mityana district namely: Kakindu, Malangala, Mityana Town Council and Bulera.

Mityana district is one of the newly created districts in the central south region of Uganda carved out of Mubende district in 2005. The district was selected because it was registered as having had low levels of women's participation in local council elections (E.C District Status Report, 2006).and to also find out how women participated under the no party system of government and under the multi party system of governance.

3.4 Study Population

The study population consisted of elected members, appointed officials and the masses. Elected officials included women councillors. local council chairpersons; while appointed officials included local government officials like sub-county chiefs, parish chiefs, CAO, town clerk, Returning Officer / district registrar, government leaders within the district like RDC, DPC. Others interviewed included key informants like political party leaders, opinion leaders like priests and registered voters who comprised the masses. This was because these were the people who keenly followed the trend of elections within the district and were believed to have key information. The masses comprised the registered voters.

3.5 Sample Size

The respondents were selected within the counties of Mityana district. A sample of 100 respondents was selected using random sampling. The selected people represented the opinion groupings of the entire district. Four sub-counties were selected through random sampling to take care of the two counties that comprise Mityana district, that is, Mityana (North and South) and Busujju. To manage the data, four focus group discussions were conducted one in each sub county comprising of majority women councillors. The aim was to capture women councillors' experiences and their own evaluation on women's participation. Fifty registered voters from the four sub-counties were selected. Ten key informants were purposively selected for the study. Random sampling method was used without any personal bias.

Table 3.1 1: Selection of Respondents

4 Focus group discussions	Questionnaires	Key informant interviews
Targeting women councillors with each having 10 participants (10x4=40 respondents)	50 registered voters	10 Key Informants

Source: field research

3.5.1 Sampling Technique

The study used three sampling techniques, that is, purposive, stratified random sampling and simple random sampling. Purposive sampling was used in selecting Mityana as the district of

study. It was also used in selecting key informants due to the assumption that they had the most reliable and representative information by virtue of their positions within the district. Simple random sampling techniques were used to select the four sub-counties to cater for the two counties where the research was carried out. This involved writing names of various sub-counties on pieces of paper, placing them in a basket, shaking the basket and then picking to realise the required number of sub-counties. This helped in selecting the sub-counties where the focus group discussions would be held. Stratified sampling was used in selecting registered voters because they belonged to different strata (Sarantakos, 1998). Names of registered voters in a particular sub-county were identified. The members of the FGD were got by choosing two villages in every sub county and five women from each village. One man, who in most cases was the chairperson of the village, was interviewed separately .The women were not scientifically but randomly selected due to resource constraints. The registered voters were sampled conveniently due to resource limitations within the specified sub counties.

3.6 Research Tools

3.6.1 Qualitative Data

The study used an interview guide targeting key informants and a focus group discussion guide for focus group discussions. These were employed to get opinions from the targeted population which generalisations would be applicable to the entire district.

3.6.2 Quantitative Data

The study used semi-structured questionnaires in order to establish a link between social, cultural, economic, political and election management environment and women's participation in elections.

3.7 Data Collection Methods

The study employed both qualitative and quantitative methods. This was because the research aimed at ensuring triangulation.

3.7.1 Qualitative Data

Interviews were employed targeting key informants because they had the technical information regarding the matter in question and these included local government officials (sub-county chiefs,

councillors, parish chiefs, L.C chairpersons, town clerk), district officials like RDC, CAO, district registrar, district police commander, opinion leaders, political party leaders. Given their busy schedules brief interviews were conducted. Focus group discussions were employed targeting mainly the women because they are the ones faced with challenges in participation. Focus group discussions were held in each of the selected four sub-counties and each sub county focus group constituted 10 members.

3.7.2 Quantitative Data

Semi-structured questionnaires were used. Registered voters were selected conveniently or those who voted during the 1997 and 2006 elections. This brought about a general perception from the people about their attitudes on what hinders women's participation and also allowed for responses not provided for to be included. These were in an attempt to collect data on all study objectives.

3.8 Data Management and Analysis

3.8.1 Qualitative Data

For key informant interviews and focus group discussions, responses were analysed, tabulated and coded. Data were presented using themes under study and also using content analysis and matrices (tables).

3.8.2 Quantitative Data

Questionnaires were checked and edited in the evenings after each day's work to check for consistency and accuracy. Responses were then entered into the computer after all the fieldwork and were edited and coded. Answers for open and close-ended questions were listed and assigned numbers through developing categories and assigning corresponding value labels to each question which information was then coded. Data were analysed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) software programme. This programme was used because it enabled simultaneous testing of a large number of variables. The data was then presented using percentages and frequencies where pie charts and tables were used to facilitate report writing.

3.9 Study Procedure

The researcher acquired an introductory letter from the Department of Political Science and Public Administration at Makerere University addressed to the district authorities seeking

permission to conduct research in the area. The researcher then presented her credentials to the district authorities explaining the purpose of the study.

3.10 Ethical Considerations

First and foremost, the researcher sought permission from the people/respondents and gave them reasons why she was conducting the interview. In this case respondents were allowed the right to or not to participate in the interview. Respondents were informed that their honest opinions were welcome and confidentiality maintained where they would not be quoted without their permission. This helped to create confidence between the respondents and the interviewer who tried, as much as possible, to use friendly language.

3.11 Limitations to the Study

Transport to some sub-counties in very remote areas was a problem yet the only means of transport available were bicycles which were unsafe especially given the steep terrain in some sub counties. To overcome this problem, a bicycle rider or motorcyclist and a research assistant were hired. Communication was a problem in cases where the researcher had to fix appointments with some local government officials for interviews, as they were some of the key informants. In some areas the mobile telephone network kept on fluctuating and at times went off completely. This was overcome by making appointments with targeted respondent's days before the interview.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the data collected and analyses and interpretes the findings in relation to the objectives of the study.

The objective of the study was to analyse the challenges to women's participation in local council elections as candidates and voters comparing the 1997 (under no-party system) and 2006 (under multiparty system) local council elections; to investigate women's attitudes toward their participation in local council elections as candidates and voters; to analyse the challenges facing women's participation in elections; and, to examine the opportunities available from different stakeholders in enhancing women's participation in elections as candidates and voters.

The findings were interpreted and discussed basing on the aim of the study. By use of qualitative and quantitative methods, the findings were presented using tables, pie charts, graphs and content analysis for easier understanding. This chapter combines both findings from FGDs, interviews and questionnaires. For the interviews and questionnaires, out of the 100 targeted respondents, 91 responded.

Table 4.1 1: Sub-counties and Number of Respondents Selected for the Study

		Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Bulera	24	26.4	26.4
	Kakindu	21	23.1	49.5
	Malangala	16	17.6	67.0
	Mityana Town Council	30	33.0	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	

Source: Field Research

Kakindu and Malangala sub counties were chosen from Busujju county, Mityana Town Council from Mityana South and Bulera sub county from Mityana North.

4.2 DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS

The researcher probed to find out the age of respondents. Figure 4.1 below shows the age of respondents that participated in the study. They included those between 18-27 years, 28-37 years, 38-47 years, 48-57 years and 58 years and above.

FIGURE 4.1: Age groups of Respondents

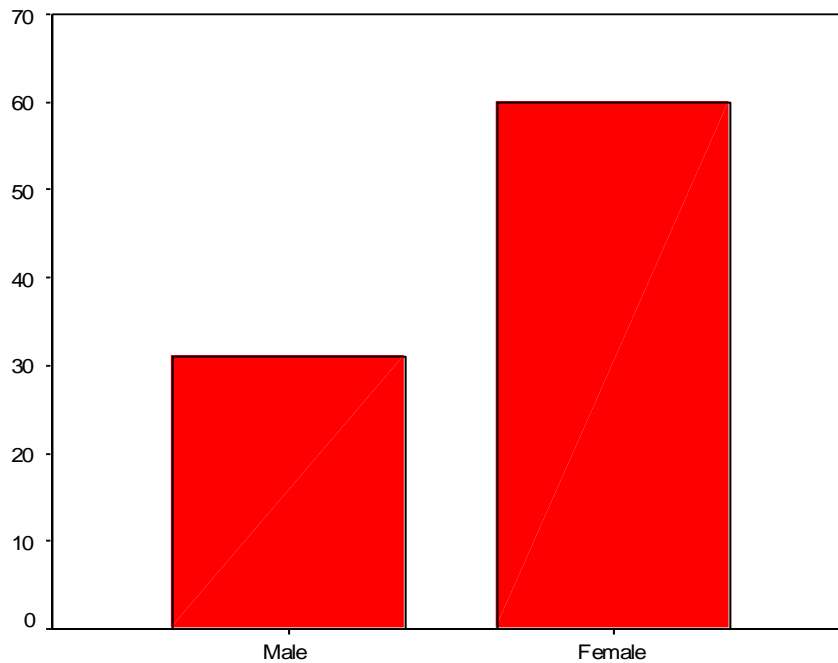
	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 18 - 27	25	27.5	27.5
28 - 37	24	26.4	53.8
38 -47	21	23.1	76.9
48 -57	11	12.1	89.0
58+	10	11.0	100.0
Total	91	100.0	

Source: Field Research

According to Figure 4.1, 20% of the respondents were between 18-27 years, 34% aged 28-37 years, 25% between 38-42 years, 12% between 48-57 years while 9% were 58 years and above. These statistics show us that most respondents that participated in the study were those aged between 28-37 years.

The researcher was also interested in the gender categorisation of the respondents. Figure 4.2 shows the number of females and males that participated in the study.

FIGURE 4.2: Gender categorisation of the Respondents

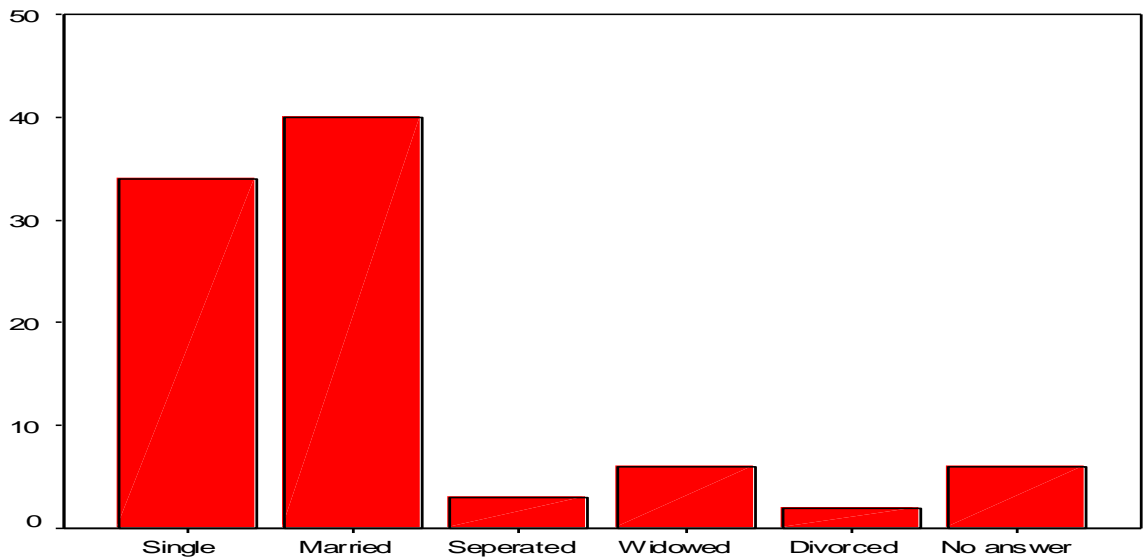


Source: Field Research

Figure 4.2 shows that 34% were male and 66% were female. The purpose was to establish the views of all categories of people where only 31 men were interviewed so as to avoid bias in the whole process and to cater for the issue of gender.

The researcher probed to find out the marital status of respondents. Figure 4.3 shows the number of respondents that participated in the study who were single, married, separated, widowed, divorced and those respondents that did not state their marital status.

FIGURE 4.3: Marital Status of Respondents



Source: Field Research

Figure 4.3 shows that 37% of respondents were single, 45% were married, three per cent were separated, seven per cent were widowed, two per cent were divorced and six per cent did not give their response. From the study, it was discovered that most of the respondents in Mityana district were married.

Respondents were asked their levels of education. Table 4.2 below shows the education level of respondents indicating those that had no formal education, primary level of education, secondary, technical, diploma, degree, post graduate and others.

Table 4.2 1: Respondents' Levels of Education

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
No Formal education	2	2.2	2.2
Primary level	3	3.3	5.5
Secondary	5	5.5	11.0
Technical institute	14	15.4	26.4
Diploma	28	30.8	57.1
Degree	27	29.7	86.8
Post graduate	6	6.6	93.4
Others	6	6.6	100.0
Total	91	100.0	

Source: Field Research

Table 4.2 shows that seven per cent of the respondents had no formal education, 18% had primary level of education, 14% had secondary level of education, 23% had attended technical institution, 12% had diploma level, 18% had degree level of education, two per cent had postgraduate level of education and seven per cent did not give their response who were listed among the others. The study revealed that majority of the respondents interviewed had Technical level of education, Primary education, degree, and some diploma levels of education which is an indication that the respondents were knowledgeable about the challenges to women's participation in local council elections in Uganda, and more especially in Mityana district.

Respondents were also asked their religion. The aim of investigating the respondent's religion was to find out whether religion had got something to do with women's participation in electoral activities. Table 4.3 shows the number of those respondents that are protestants, catholics, muslims, seventh day adventists, pentecostals, and those that did not reveal their religion.

TABLE 4.3: Religious Affiliation of Respondents

		Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Protestant	22	24.2	24.2
	Catholic	41	45.1	69.2
	Moslem	13	14.3	83.5
	Pentecostal	6	6.6	90.1
	Others	9	9.9	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	

Source: Field Research

Table 4.3 shows that 22% of the respondents interviewed said they were Protestants, 40% were Catholics, 13% were Moslems, 17% were Seventh Day Adventists, seven percent were Pentecostals and 10% did not give their responses. From the study, it was revealed that most of the respondents in Mityana district are Catholics.

In order to understand what the respondents did for a living, the researcher endeavoured to ask for their occupations. Table 4.4 shows the number of those respondents that were students, small-scale farmers, large-scale farmers, business persons, local council officials, those employed by private companies and NGOs, herbalists and those that did not state their response.

TABLE 4.4: Occupation of the Respondents

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Student	7	7.7	7.7
Small scale Farmer	3	3.3	11.0
Business person	9	9.9	20.9
Government employee	24	26.4	47.3
Local council official	16	17.6	64.8
Private company/NGO	17	18.7	83.5
Herbalist	5	5.5	89.0
Others	10	11.0	100.0
Total	91	100.0	

Source: Field Research

Table 4.4 above revealed that eight percent of the respondents were students, 23% were small sale farmers, three percent were large-scale farmers these were mainly engaged in tea, maize growing, 10% were engaged in business activities, 29% were local council officials, 19% were employed in private companies/NGOs, six percent were herbalists and three percent did not state what they did for a living. The study therefore revealed that most respondents were engaged in local council activities alongside private business from where they earned a living.

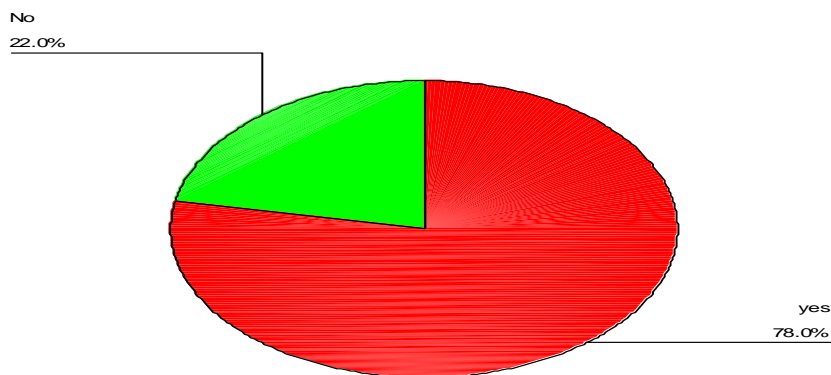
The study further attempted to capture diverse views of the different people in different occupations in an attempt to find out the challenges to women's participation in local council elections in Mityana. The concept of participation is an interesting one to deal with as Ssali and Atoo (2007) put it that participation refers to the actual contesting for political positions and articulation of interest within an electoral process. This means that women ought to have been involved in many different ways: some as voters, voting for candidates of their choice, others campaigned for candidates for their choice and others offered themselves for electoral positions.

However, this research focused on the challenges to women's participation in local council elections in Mityana district comparing the 1997 and 2006 elections.

4.3 ATTITUDES OF WOMEN TOWARD THEIR PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL COUNCIL ELECTIONS

Respondents were asked whether they participated in both the 1997 and 2006 local council elections in their area. Figure 4.4 shows the percentage of respondents that participated during the 1997 and 2006 elections.

FIGURE 4.4 Participation in 1997 and 2006 Local Council Elections



Source: Field Research

Figure 4.4 revealed that 78% of the respondents agreed that they participated in both the 1997 and 2006 local council elections while 22% disagreed. However, women's participation in politics is not new and can be traced way back to 1954 where the first women attempted to join the Legislative Council (LEGCO) (Ahikire, 2007). During the 1997 elections (Tripp, 2000) observed that the number of women members in parliament grew to 52 of which 45 were through reserved seats (affirmative action). In the 2006 elections, Ahikire (2007) observed that the number of women members of parliament rose to 69, 50 of which were through reserved seats (Kigundu, 2004 in Ahikire, 2007).

The findings in Figure 4.4 above reflect that some women did not participate both as candidates and voters and offered various reasons where two per cent said that they did not have any interest in electoral activities; 76% did not give their response; two percent said they did not get any civic

education concerning how they were to participate; while 20% said that they were still underage by then. From the 76% respondents who did not give any answers it was observed that they either participated; lacked knowledge about elections or had cultural beliefs and attitudes that women were not supposed to participate in elections; were underage by then; and also, some participated in the elections during the period not stipulated in the years covered by the study like in 2001.

The 2006 elections showed that the transition was a rushed process and even those that had participated acknowledged this because women did not have enough time and opportunity to organise given the fact that there was enormous uncertainty (UWONET, 2006). A referendum on the need to open up political space was held in July 2005, less than 12 months to the general elections - meaning that the promise to open up was not obvious. Hence the position of women remained largely invisible in the debate on the transition, for instance the question of how to position women to compete in the multiparty system was not adequately addressed (UWONET, 2006). Though there was effort by women's organisations to raise the voice of women, this voice was lost in the maze of the rush. Hence the study did not trace any literature on the reasons why women did not participate thus a future research study on non-participation of women is required.

The researcher inquired whether the respondents were registered voters or not. From the study, 90% out of the respondents interviewed said that they were registered voters while 10% declined. This was inevitable because some respondents could have been underage by then. This was also in a bid to find out whether the right category of respondents (registered voters) was sought and whether registration was mandatory.

Respondents who had 'No' as an answer were asked why they did not register. Six per cent had no answer and 14% said they were underage by the time the 1997 elections took place.

One respondent asserted, "I registered but have never got my voter's card so I do not know whether I am a registered voter or not." It was observed from the study that most respondents believed in having a voter's card as the only prerequisite to vote forgetting the fact that one would vote despite not having a voter's card as long as their names were in the voters' register.

On the side of representation, the researcher inquired whether women in their areas (villages) were well represented in local councils. From the study, 58% of respondents agreed, while 42%

disagreed. In the majority of the FGDs, respondents were of the view that many women lacked skills that built up confidence to participate in the public arena, more so political circles. This view concurred with UWONET's (1998) report which showed that women shied away from participation because they lacked confidence to fit in the public arena thus, the response of 49% who disagreed that women were well represented.

The respondents were asked further to explain why women were not well represented in local councils. Table 4.5 shows factors like gender imbalance, laws in place, male dominance, reserved seats for limited position, rights not addressed being responsible for non-representation in local councils.

TABLE 4.5: Reasons for Non Representation in Local Councils

		Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Gender imbalance	3	3.3	3.3
	Law in place	53	58.2	61.5
	Male dominance	5	5.5	67.0
	Reserved seats for limited position	27	29.7	96.7
	Rights not addressed	3	3.3	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	

Source: Field Research

Table 4.5 shows that three per cent of the respondents argued that there is gender imbalance; 58% argued that there are laws in place in support of women's participation; six per cent argued that poor representation is brought about by male dominance in local councils; 30% argued that the reserved seats were few in number to cater for the now high population of women; and, three per cent were of the view that women's rights were not well addressed hence poor representation.

Though there were reserved local council seats for women and other constitutional laws in place, they had not helped women, as some posts remain uncontested for in the local councils hence the need for bye-elections to fill up the uncontested positions. These findings concur with the Electoral Commission District Status Report (2006) where such remains true in Mityana district.

The researcher further sought to find out whether women in Mityana district were responsible enough to choose a woman representative of their choice without any influence, be it national or otherwise. From the study, 53% of the respondents said yes and 47% said no. These statistics implied that the choice of women representatives is without influence. Olum (2006) noted that the biggest problem in African politics was the business cycle which by nature is a dynamic process yet empirical testing has ignored compirial effects across elections. In the developing world, Africa in particular with many nascent democracies, business cycles were significant and as such the views of 47% respondents could not be simply dismissed. Cohen and Parsons (1996) generalised that in Africa, the voters tended to make their electoral choices based on community approval rather than as individuals. However Cohen and Parsons view contradicted Down's (1957) theory which said that the voter as an individual was assumed to be rational and this would make him vote where he maximised his personal benefit which seems to work more in developed countries. However, in Mityana it was discovered that the respondents had mixed reactions on the choice of women representative where some voters could easily be influenced with items like soap, salt, sugar, money.

The researcher further asked respondents to give reasons for their answers above. From the study, 10% of the respondents reasoned that cultural ties were a hindrance; 15% said that there was discrimination; three per cent said many women were illiterate; three per cent said women lacked confidence; 53% said that women now knew their rights; and, seven per cent said women were still considered inferior. One key informant in support of women being discriminated against was of the view that men shut down women so she was not allowed to vote for the candidate of her choice. In African tradition a man's word could not be contested hence women in such scenarios ended up not voting freely for the candidate of their choice. This view concurred with the 15% respondents who thought so. In one FGD, most respondents in agreement with women knowing their rights were of the view that women these days were more educated and usually had a better sense of judgement on who would become a good leader than men who just voted for someone basing on a candidate's wealth. The three per cent respondents who said that women lacked confidence asserted that it was brought about by not being empowered wholly. One key informant argued that women were just provided for. She cited the issue of 45% of the women MP seats being reserved while economically they were not empowered which hindered their participation.

The researcher further inquired whether women were capable and firm enough to challenge men in local council elections. From the study, it was revealed that 46% of the respondents agreed while 54% respondents disagreed. Respondents were then asked to give reasons for their answers. One key informant in agreement with 46% respondents who mentioned that women were capable enough to compete with men said:

These days women are more enlightened, educated, have money and at times voters usually gave them a sympathizing vote which was the case of the 2006 elections while during the 1997 elections, it was unheard of for a woman to compete with men on the same position theirs was only through the reserved seats.

The 54% respondents who were of the view that women were not firm enough to challenge men in elections had divergent views and one Key informant who concurred with the above view that there was not much sensitisation on the issue of women competing with men and also said: “Women are just provided, for example 45% of the women MP seats were just reserved.” More so, in concurrence with this assertion, another sub county chief who had been following the trend of elections since 1997 till 2006 in line with the 46% respondents asserted:

Women are 100% legally empowered where they have reserved seats like from the parish to the district which men did not have. Though socially there are some things which need to be sorted out for them to be able to challenge men in elections, for example the question of some husbands refusing their spouses to contest especially as candidates.

In the majority of the FGDs, respondents were of the view that women were not empowered enough because they lacked finances, no sensitisation programmes on the issue of DEC positions, cultural issues, inferiority complex, and one respondent from was quoted; “Women do not trust themselves. (They say) *Bekulembeza banandaba batya nga nesimbye nabasajja bajja kumpita wakajanja*” (literally meaning: how will people see me competing with men, they will call me an impositor). More so, on the issue of empowerment, one respondent in a FGD commented that:

In many rural areas, women were not empowered at all due to the cultural beliefs where women were taken as property and they did not own property denying them resources for campaigns. He cited that women needed more than 10 years to be fully empowered to

challenge men. The voice of women is still unheard. When she comes up to contest she is termed as '*Nalukalala, yakula sajja*' (literally meaning she grew up like a man). It is in few cases where women contested with men and win citing examples of Hon. Nampijja (Rubaga), Hon. Betty Kamywa (Rubaga). And in any case if reserved seats are to be removed, there would be few women in politics.

The above citation concurs with a study done by Ahikire (2007:153) where translated '*Nalukalala*' as a Luganda term for women stepping outside general expectations of womanly behaviour, being 'too forceful to be a woman'. Bonepath and Stoper (1988:11) argued that it was in very few cases where women contested with men and won. They identified women's gender roles as a challenge and argued that lack of political recognition of women's reproductive and labour roles made it difficult for women to campaign because they were always busy washing dishes, dispensing syrups and cleaning the house while men had all the time to go and canvass for votes. These and others may be still a hindrance for women to challenge men in elections. Another councillor representing a ward commented in an FGD on the issue of cultural beliefs as a hindrance as follows:

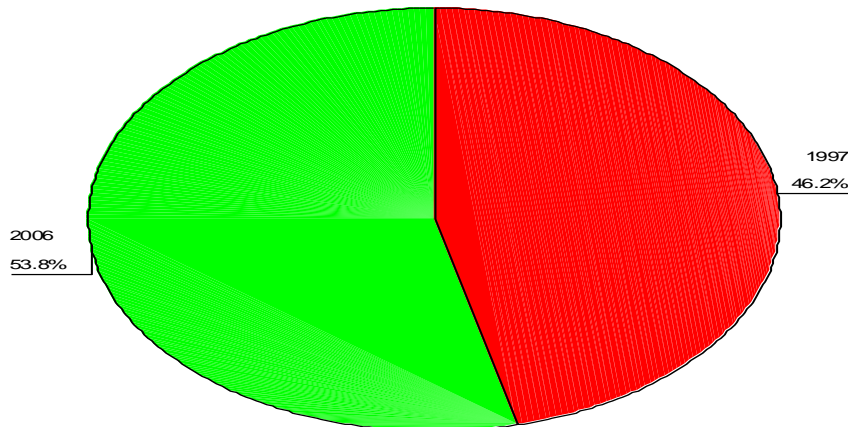
The socialisation process does not model women to be leaders instead women are socialised to be humble, to be led therefore if there are to be women leaders, sensitisation programmes have to start from the grassroot levels.

However, the socialisation process also dates way back to the colonial period where women were relegated to the domestic domain. This created political and administrative bodies based on patriarchal and discriminatory principles, as one writer observed:

Where they had been a blurred distinction between public and private life in Uganda, British structures and policies focussed on delineating a clear distinction guided by an ideology that perceived men as public actors and women as private performers (Tamale, 1999).

The researcher further sought to find out how many women participated as voters during the 1997 and 2006 local council elections. Figure 4.5 shows the number of women that participated as voters during the 1997 and 2006 local council elections.

FIGURE 4.5: Women who Participated as Voters in 1997 and 2006

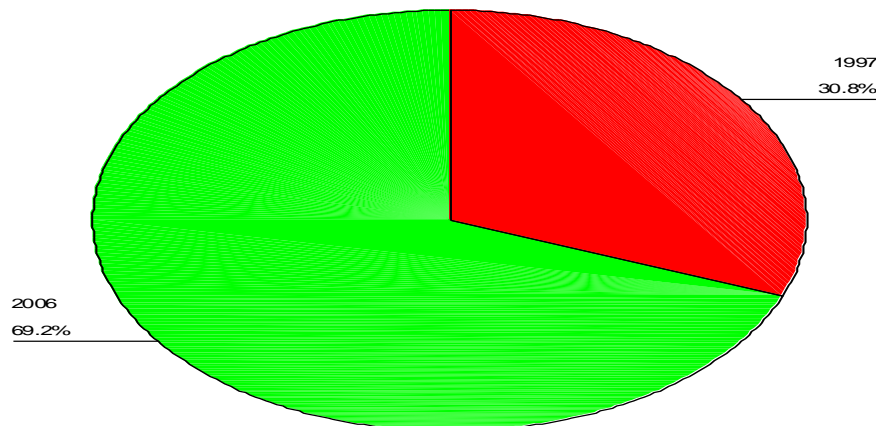


Source: Field Research

Figure 4.5 above indicated that 46% of women participated as voters in 1997 while 54% participated as voters during the 2006 local council elections. From the statistics in Figure 4.5 it was analysed that majority of women in Mityana district participated more as voters during the 2006 than during the 1997 local council elections.

The researcher also sought to find out how many women participated as candidates during the 1997 and 2006 elections. Figure 4.6 below shows the number of women that participated as candidates during the 1997 and 2006 local council elections in Mityana district.

FIGURE 4.6: Women that Participated as Candidates During the 1997 and 2006 Local Council Elections



Source: Field Research

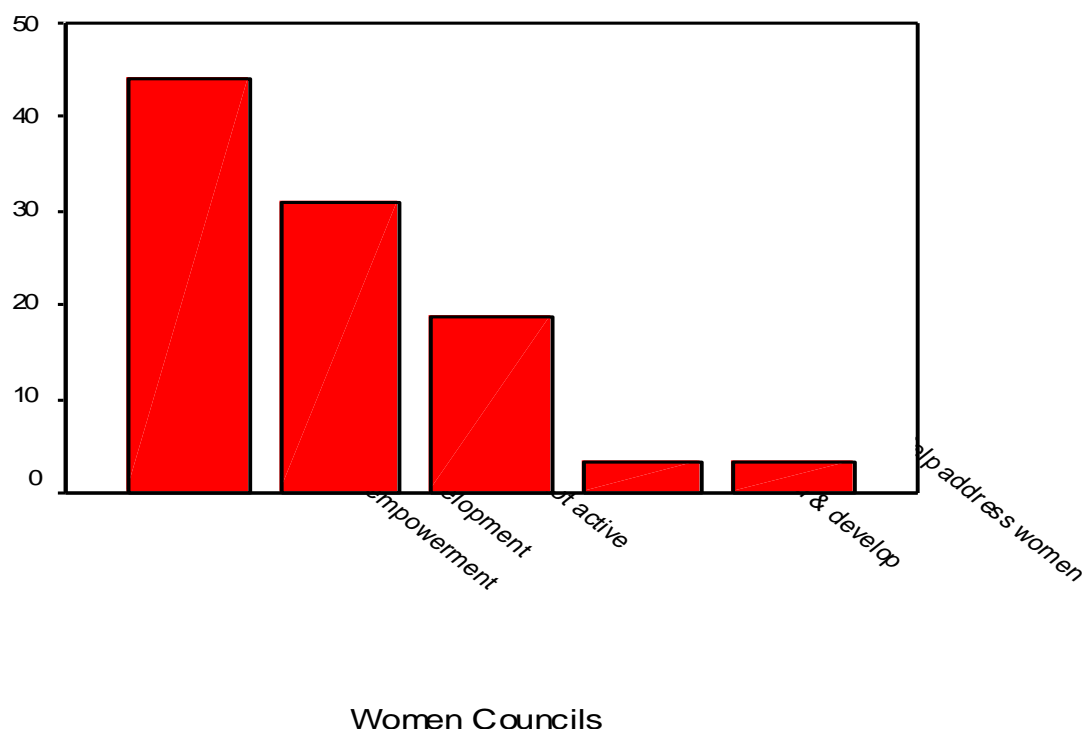
From the analysis in Figure 4.6 above, it was discovered that 31% of women participated as candidates during the 1997 elections and 69% participated as candidates during the 2006 local council elections. The study revealed that women participated more as candidates during the 2006 elections than in 1997 local council elections in Mityana district. Respondents were of the view that the 2006 elections had many candidates because many women, especially those that participated as candidates, were aware of the electoral processes and the rest as voters required sensitisation to know what was going on. During the 1997 elections, there were a few educated women who dared to contest. In relation to this opinion one respondent asserted:

Women are now gaining courage; education has helped many women come up where capacity has been built which was the case of 2006 elections unlike 1997 elections. More so many electoral areas have been partitioned (in) the case of 2006 elections unlike 1997 elections where women had to compete in a wide area.

The researcher further asked respondents whether women's councils were of any use to women. From the study, 69% of the respondents agreed, 19% respondents disagreed and 12% had no answer. This implied that women councils were useful to women.

Respondents were further asked to give reasons for their answers above. Respondents further gave reasons why women's councils were useful where 44% said that women's councils empowered women; 31% said they had brought about development; while 3% said that they helped in addressing women problems; 3% said that they were useful for political and development issues; and, 21% argued that they were not active as indicated in Figure 4.7 below;

FIGURE 4.7: Reasons why Women Councils are Useful



Source: Field Research

The 69% respondents with the ‘yes’ response agreed with Mulyampiti (1989) who raised a concern about the need for women to have an independent institution to mobilise their participation in issues that concerned them. What, however, remained was to strengthen the councils to suit the purpose for which they were instituted. On the other hand, the 19% respondents who contended that women’s councils were inactive based their argument on the fact that they could not do much since these councils were not financed. One woman councillor in an FGD asserted:

Women councils could be very useful in solving women problems but because they are not very effective, all problems which our women face go to the chairperson. The women we elect to these councils are not very helpful and cannot do much because they are not financed.

In the majority of FGDs, respondents accused the government for failing to provide for the women’s council activities. One councillor said:

All women council activities need funds to be implemented successfully. Women want us as leaders (councillors) to provide facilitation yet we are also poor like them. Why should the government put in place a whole institution which has no vote on the state budget ...? Government does not in any way commit itself in making the councils succeed.

The above assertions revealed that poor funding of women's council activities prevented some would-be contenders from participating, especially as candidates, as it was through these activities that their efforts could be felt. The chairperson of the sub-county blamed women's inconsistency for failure to turn up for council meetings and hence making them inactive and was quoted as saying:

Women do not come for meetings. You call for a meeting today, only a handful comes so you postpone and say, tomorrow. Tomorrow another handful will appear, the next day.... How can these make a team? And since there is no facilitation to motivate them, eventually the result is no meetings, no activities thus a silent women council.

The above comment agreed with Bacchi, 1996; Ahikire, 2004 who asserted that giving attention to women did not necessarily mean commitment to them. Women had a whole institution to cater for their needs but there was no facilitation to help them achieve their set objectives and functions. The above arguments, however, brought to light the response of the 19% respondents who argued that women's councils were not useful. They could have based their argument on the fact that these councils were not funded by government, which made them inactive as no visible activity could be seen taking place. More so, women's gender roles hindered the activities as time was a factor which was not considered, and hence in agreement with the assertion of the chairperson above.

Respondents were asked to comment on the perception that some women viewed elections as a "dirty game" which should be left for only men. From the study, 22% of the respondents said that politics was a dirty game and should only be left for men, 58% respondents declined, while 19% did not give their response.

Respondents were further asked to give reasons for their responses above. From the study, 48% of

the respondents said politics being termed a dirty game was an individual opinion of whoever said so: 45% said it was because women felt inferior and thus feared to get involved in elections; three percent said it was because politics involved telling lies and making false promises thus making it a dirty game, and three per cent said that women saw elections and politics as a dirty game just because there was not adequate civic education/sensitisation about the importance of elections.

One key informant in favour of the argument that politics was a dirty game explained that it could lead to imprisonment, especially the way politics was handled and conducted. He said that politics required brave people and few women could take up the risks citing incidents where Betty Namboozie (Buganda Kingdom envoy) was arrested and imprisoned. Another respondent with the same opinion related it to urban centres where it was regarded as dirty since it involved teargas unlike in rural areas where it was relatively peaceful.

In one FGD, some respondents were in agreement that politics was a dirty game because it involved aggressiveness which women could not be unlike men. More so, it could lead to '*Amaka okusasika*' (literally meaning family disintegration) which would result in lack of respect for the husband when a woman happens to join politics. Other respondents were of the view that it was those that were not educated that referred to elections to be a dirty game and thought that it required a lot of energy yet it was more of brain power and less of physical energy that worked. Another key informant looked at the 'dirty game' in terms of culture where women were not looked at as leaders and narrated her experience after assuming office where one man greeted her as '*Oli otya musajja*' (literally meaning how are you man). This assertion clearly explained that much as women were in the political spheres and having been elected by people, they were still considered as people in the back seat and men at the steering. This in one way or another hindered

their participation. In another FGD many of the respondents were of the view that politics was not a dirty game but it was because women were generally regarded as a weaker sex and too emotional and could not stand being humiliated, belittled and teased at campaigns and one respondent was quoted, "*Bajja kunangira*" (literally meaning 'I will be abused or humiliated'). Staudt (1998:73) argued that some women perceived politics as a 'dirty' game and this made them lose confidence in actively engaging in any decision making which was perceived to be political in nature. This assertion was proved to be true in Mityana district. Another key informant rated

elections being referred to as a dirty game because of illiteracy and lack of civic education high among women and was added:

For purposes of development, women are supposed to be educated therefore development cannot be separated from politics which development requires people to be in the know through sensitisation where people will know elections is not a dirty game.

Generally, the study found out that the attitude of women towards participation in local council elections was low because of lack of interest in electoral activities more so especially as candidates.

4.4 CHALLENGES THAT HINDERED WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN 1997 AND 2006 LOCAL COUNCIL ELECTIONS

The challenges women faced as they participated in elections were viewed and analysed in several ways. They ranged from economic, social-cultural, political and electoral management challenges as the study revealed below.

4.4.1 Economic Challenges

The purpose of this sub theme was to establish the relationship between economic factors and women's participation in local council elections as candidates and voters.

Respondents were asked whether women faced economic challenges as they participated in local council elections especially as candidates. The study revealed that 75% of the respondents agreed and 25% disagreed. This proved that women in Mityana district faced economic challenges that hindered their participation.

The researcher further asked respondents according to their opinion what economic factors hindered women from participating in local council elections, especially as candidates and voters. Table 4.6 below shows economic factors like campaign expenses, financial constraints, heavy workload, low incomes, poverty for hindering women's participation in local council elections.

TABLE 4.6: Economic Challenges Faced and Women Participation

		Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Campaign expenses	11	12.1	12.1
	Financial constraints	43	47.3	59.3
	Heavy workload	11	12.1	71.4
	Low incomes	20	22.0	93.4
	Pov erty	6	6.6	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	

Source: Field Research

According to the Table 4.6, 12% of the respondents mentioned campaign expenses; 47% mentioned financial constraints; 12% cited heavy workload; 22% mentioned low incomes; and seven per cent mentioned poverty as a challenge. Many respondents, especially in the FGDs and interviews were agreed that campaign expenses were a challenge. Expenses like printing campaign posters (attractive and good looking posters) (Ahikire, 2007) to pull voters, finances to cover a wider campaigning area, as explained by one former woman MP aspirant:

For us women, the places in which we have to campaign are very large for instance you would find a woman at lower local council campaigning in the two wards representing one constituency and a woman MP here would represent eight sub counties and one town council which means incurring a lot of campaigning costs which I did not have then hence my defeat.

Women were faced with a bigger burden because they had to campaign in more than one sub-county. For instance, if it was district council campaigns that meant spending more than male counterparts. Given the fact that the income of the majority of women, especially in rural areas, was from the sale of agricultural produce; from government work (nurses, teachers); or small scale business-oriented, men had a wider income base hence in better position to finance their campaign. The analysis revealed that women faced more campaign expenses during the 1997 elections than 2006. This was because by 1997, women that contested as candidates had a wider area in which to campaign, hence more expenses than during the 2006 elections where most of the electoral areas had been reduced in size due to creation of more districts. This argument was in consonance with Bagonza (2002) who asserted that money belonged to their fathers before they

(women) got married, money belonged to their husbands and, therefore, given the rising costs of running an effective campaign, this posed a serious challenge to women to contest as candidates in local council elections.

Ssali and Atoo in Makara et al (ed) (2007) established that women participation was hindered by economic factors like access to finances and other resources from political parties. Their view was supported by UWONET (2007) who observed that candidates contesting for different posts had to pay a non-refundable nomination fee. Some potentially good leaders missed out because they could not raise the non-refundable fee. In one FGD, many respondents argued that women faced financial constraints because they did not have enough finances to compete especially as candidates. Finances were needed to print posters, arrange rallies, pay campaign agents and this was the case during the 1997 elections unlike the 2006 elections where political parties provided campaigning agents at free of charge. In this regard, one respondent asserted:

It is the few women who can afford (highly educated with connections) but us the majority in rural areas, it is only when you have a rich brother or father or sister to sponsor you in one venture say, like providing you with funds to print posters then you will have to look for another venture, say, to cater for transport costs; whereas men these things easily come their way without strings attached.

With the above assertion in mind, the researcher further probed the respondents to find out how many had received financial support for their spouses/husbands since they were not mentioned. Most of the respondents gave their views among which was fear by men that their wives could be taken over after they joined local council. Others said that women became unruly and would no longer be submissive to their husbands. More so, one KI who confessed to having received finances with strings attached said women were easily taken advantage of since they were in dire need of finances and those who promised to help them financially demanded for sex in exchange for money. Mikkel (1997:428) noted that women lacked money or finances hence survival became their pre-occupation which left them with no time for other activities like participating in elections. Kapampara (2002) observed that money was required to finance campaigns and sometimes to buy voters. Thus money proved to be a major economic challenge to women participation in Mityana district.

Poverty was mentioned as another challenge that affected women's participation especially as candidates. The majority respondents in FGDs that had previously participated were of the view that if it was not for the support they received from various sources, they would not be holding the positions they had. One of the respondents was quoted as saying: "Politics requires much which us poor women cannot afford given the fact that we do not own property, poverty becomes a challenge." In another FGD respondents mentioned heavy workload which barred many from engaging in electoral activities. Many women are engaged in the agricultural sector where a lot of work has to be done in order to make ends meet. Therefore engaging in local council elections would mean wasted valuable time. One respondent said: "If I engaged in local council elections which is mainly voluntary work of representation, where would I get school fees to take my children to school." This was proved to be true in Mityana district according to the views of 12% of the respondents.

The researcher further examined whether money was an important resource for women's success in local council elections. From the study, 75% of the respondents said yes and 25% said no. Thus according to the respondents, money was an important resource for one's success in elections. A UNDP report (1990) indicated that the risk of poverty among women was high which hindered their participation in elections as they were preoccupied with making ends meet. Some researchers have indicated that women who participated in elections got financial support from goodwill supporters. From these findings, it was proved that money was an important factor for one's success in elections given the 75% respondents that said so.

Respondents were asked to give reasons for their responses above. Table 4.7 shows what money could be used for and responses were as follows: for publicity; money as a motivating factor; for campaign purposes; voting is free.

TABLE 4.7: Reasons for Response

		Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	For publicity	7	7.7	7.7
	Money a motivating factor	31	34.1	41.8
	Money for campaigns	30	33.0	74.7
	Voting cost free	23	25.3	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	

Source: Field Research

Figure 4.7 above showed that 33% of the respondents said that money was an important resource because it was required for facilitating campaigns; 34% said that money was a motivating factor; 25% said there were no costs involved for one to cast their vote; while eight per cent said that money was important for publicity purposes. In one FGD, respondents agreed that money was an important factor, to some extent, and argued that for one to go through, money was required as a motivating factor to be used at times to pay campaign agents, print posters, hire means of transport, and hire a public address system. Money also made contenders popular. In African tradition, sometimes a contender who had lots of money was voted for as it was believed that person would help in quicker development of their area than one who had less money. This argument was in consonance with Kapampara (2002) who asserted that money was required to finance campaigns and sometimes buy voters which was common with Uganda's elections and was proved to be true in Mityana district. The 25% respondents with the view that casting a vote was free could not be left out. They thought that voting was a free choice and that no money was required to vote. They believed that registration as voters was free and casting a vote was also free. However, they forgot that some people were hindered from participation, especially as voters, due to costs involved in moving long distances to polling stations that were far away from their homes. They also based their argument by considering voters and not people that contested as candidates.

Respondents were asked whether women in their areas had any command over resources in the household. From the study, 57% of the respondents said yes and 43% said no. The analysis showed that women in Mityana district had command over resources in their households. The

researcher further probed to find out what kind of resources women possessed and whether these resources could help them participate in elections especially as candidates. The study revealed that 36% of the respondents said that women owned household equipment. It was analysed that this household equipment could not help them to participate in elections especially as candidates. Eighteen per cent (18%) said that they owned economic resources like inherited land which they could sell off and acquire funds to help them in participating in elections especially as candidates and 46% did not state their answer. It was observed that the 43% that did not state their answer could be the respondents who supported the view that women did not have command over resources in their households. One respondent noted:

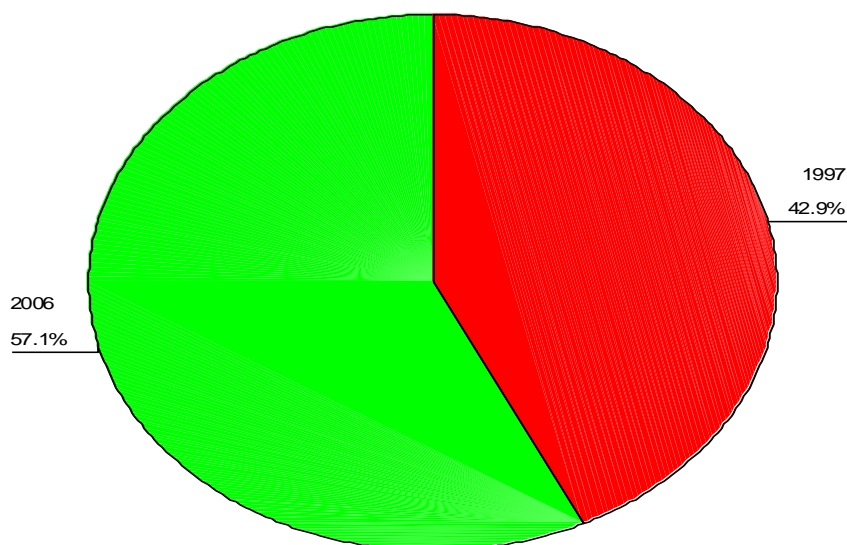
If a man stands he can easily get support; he can look around his resources '*kupangirila*' (lobby here and there) whereas women cannot because they are not bright and do not have money and other resources as men do.

From the analysis and researchers' observation it was realised that few women actually owned resources that could enable them stand for various posts in the local council elections. This was also proved by the 46% respondents who did not state their answer. The research then sought to find out from the respondents that had 'No' as a response where they thought those women that contested for various posts during local council elections got finances from to enable them campaign during the 1997 and 2006 elections. The study revealed that 52% of the respondents said that women got finances through donations from relatives and people of goodwill; 22% said that they got support from their spouse; 15% said they got finances from organisations (NGOs); and 11% said they got finances from political parties. From these responses, the analysis revealed that the majority of women who contested for various posts in elections got funds through donations. Some respondents tried to be specific and mentioned that they got donations from the churches where they fellowshipped. The analysis also proved that other women in Mityana that contested for various posts got finances from people of goodwill and some from spouses (response of 22% respondents).

Respondents were further asked to compare the year 1997 and 2006 in which women faced many economic challenges which could have hindered their participation. Figure 4.8 below compares the years 1997 and 2006 to find out in which year women faced many economic challenges that

could have hindered their participation.

FIGURE 4.8: Comparison of economic challenges between 1997 and 2006 elections.



Source: Field Research

Figure 4.8 above revealed that 44% of the respondents were of the view that women faced many economic challenges during the 1997 elections while 59% were of the view that women faced many challenges during the 2006 elections. Hence from the analysis, it was revealed that women in Mityana district faced many economic challenges in 2006 than in 1997. Other respondents were of the view that women faced economic challenges in both years. One K.I with the view that women faced many economic challenges in 1997 said so because by then there were few women that came up to contest and you would find one woman representing either two constituencies or many wards. For example, Hon. Joyce Mpanga was in charge of Mubende (Mityana) and Kiboga where a lot of economic costs were incurred then. But in 2006 these constituencies were partitioned at least a woman contested either in one or two wards basing on her competence. From this analysis it was found out that women in Mityana faced many economic challenges during the 2006 elections.

4.4.2 Social-Cultural Challenges

In this section, prescriptions, analysis and interpretations of major findings on social-cultural challenges to women's participation in elections were covered. The researcher established some

cultural challenges that affected women's participation in elections especially as candidates and voters. Respondents were asked whether women faced social-cultural challenges which hindered them from participating in both the 1997 and 2006 local council elections. The study revealed that 70% of the respondents agreed while 30% disagreed.

Respondents were asked what social cultural challenges women faced that could have hindered their participation both as candidates and voters during the 1997 and 2006 elections. Table 4.8 below shows social cultural factors such as gender roles, inferiority complex, lack of support from women and spouses, low education levels, male domination, religion, social status, socialization process, as being responsible challenges to women participation in local council elections.

TABLE 4.8: Social-Cultural Challenges Women Face

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Gender roles	15	16.5	16.5
Inferiority complex	2	2.2	18.7
Lack support from women and spouses	14	15.4	34.1
Low education levels	2	2.2	36.3
Male domination	15	16.5	52.7
Religion	15	16.5	69.2
Social status	14	15.4	84.6
Socialisation process	14	15.4	100.0
Total	91	100.0	

Source: Field Research

Table 4.8 above revealed that 32% of the respondents mentioned women's gender roles; 15% mentioned inferiority complex; 10% mentioned lack of support from women and spouses; 20% mentioned low levels of education; 10% mentioned male domination; three per cent mentioned religion as a hindrance; six per cent mentioned women's social status and four per cent said socialization among the factors that hindered women's participation. In one FGD, respondents that mentioned women's gender roles cited reasons that many women could not manage leadership positions alongside home chores which many were already burdened with. Hence

many women excused themselves from participating, especially as candidates, since it required doing a lot of voluntary work at the expense of engaging in productive work like digging and providing for their families (Ahikire,2007). This assertion agreed with Kawamara (1998) who asserted that some women who were evidently capable shied away and told the electorate that they had to take care of patients or young families. This was found to be true in Mityana district.

In addition to the above argument, one KI was quoted as saying, “Women were supposed to be at home looking after children and doing household chores while everything outside the home including politics was meant for the man.” Given the fact that most of women’s gender roles were labour-intensive like food preparation and childcare, these could not be rescheduled compared to men’s activities like cultivation which could be rescheduled, in addition to the assumption that their (men’s) work could be seasonal (Tripp, 2000). Whereas women in urban settings could secure housemaids who could relieve the burden to avail time to join electoral circles, to the rural woman all work had to be done by herself hence there was no time for participation in council elections. This assertion was proved to be true in both the 1997 and 2006 elections in Mityana district.

Bonepath and Stoper (1988:11) argued that lack of political recognition of women’s reproductive and labour roles made it difficult for women to engage in electoral activities because they were busy washing dishes, dispensing cough syrups and cleaning the house. More so Mahatma Gandhi in his writings as a believer in harmonizing and equalizing productive roles of men and women which were referred to as the so-called ‘women’s jobs’ (Bagonza, 2002). This clearly was proved to be true in Mityana as participation was hindered by a lot of domestic chores. More so Tamale (1999) argued that women tended to give priority to societal concerns, such as those mentioned by Bonepath while, on the other hand, male-dominated working pattern was often characterized by lack of supportive structures for working mothers in general and councilors in particular. Indeed, the terms of remuneration for councilors did not cater for lactating mothers who could be accompanied by child attendants to council meetings. Tamale (1999), in support of this argument, pointed out that even women who joined politics did not cease to be mothers and wives with corresponding and demanding roles yet males who attained political office tended to perform effectively without a lot of societal demands. This was more especially so in the multiparty

setting where women were overburdened with advancement of the party agenda and the women's agenda, and if these two were not properly balanced, one could easily lose one at the expense of the other.

The 15% respondents who were of the view that women had inferiority complex cited reasons that women lacked self-confidence and that they needed to be pushed with reserved seats. This proved to be true with the case in Mityana where even when reserved seats were in place, a number seats were not contested for, hence the recent bye-elections (EC District Vacant Posts, 2009). The lack of self-confidence was brought about by the limited capacity to communicate in English. Women feared being challenged, ridiculed and looked down upon (Mbatha, 2003). Because of this, one activist asserted, "*Abakyala bateesa olukiiko nga luwedde*" (literally meaning 'women deliberate when the meeting is over') (Ahikire, 2007). This was proved to be true in Mityana district as some of the people interviewed were of the view that women were always heard grumbling after the meeting was over. This inferiority complex hindered women from participation in local council elections.

Lack of support from fellow women and spouses was cited as a challenge to women's participation. Respondents cited reasons that some men feared supporting their wives especially if they (wives) were more educated than them (men). These men felt society would label them as half men as their wives would no longer respect them. Other respondents gave reasons for not supporting women, such as the view that women normally shied away from competing with men and therefore rarely stood. This argument agreed with Kawamara (1998) who observed that when the names of female candidates were proposed during the 1997 elections, they would opt out vehemently and instead proposed a name of a male to stand for a particular seat even when women could handle the responsibility involved. In another FGD, lack of support from fellow women was attributed to the social status of a woman. Married women were fully supported than single ladies. This had an impact as some capable women were discriminated against basing on marital status, as one respondent put it:

Why would I vote for an unmarried woman to head women in a district (referring to Women MP seat) it means she has failed her responsibility in the home how sure will I be she will manage council affairs. That vote I will have wasted it. But for a man I can vote because he is a man however much his marriage responsibilities may be failing.

The above assertion proved to be true in Mityana as many unmarried women or those not legally married shied away from contesting on some posts for fear of being belittled. One councillor commented on what her unmarried sister-in-law had replied her when she was convinced to contest: “*Si sobola kwesimbawo kubanga bajja kunangira nga bampita Malaya nti nonya musajja*” (literally meaning ‘I can’t compete I will be referred to as a prostitute searching for a man’). This argument agreed with Kawamara (1998) who looks at women’s social status as a challenge to participation. In most local council elections it was asserted by many respondents that women spent a great deal of campaigning time convincing the electorate of their moral aptness rather than articulation of issues. They encountered slurs regarding their marital status, sexuality and in (fidelity) (Ahikire, 2007). A married woman was penalised for neglecting her husband and family. A woman who was ‘unattached’ was put to task to prove that she was not a ‘*Malaya*’ (prostitute) (Tamale, 1999:121). NEM-Group Report (2002) revealed that there were cases where men literally prevented their wives from contesting in elections for fear that they would be taken over by other men in the council.

With the above responses, the researcher asked respondents in FGDs how often they supported fellow women candidates that contested for electoral posts. It was revealed that 55% respondents did not support fellow women while 60% did. One respondent gave reason while she did not support fellow women and she replied:

When women get into political office, they become proud, some do not entertain poor people of society yet they voted them to power, and they are not even generous with their wealth at times even their marriages end up disintegrating due to no respect for their husbands.

The above view agreed with Twongyerirwe (2002) who cited high percentage of divorces among women MPs due to lack of respect for their husbands as a result of entrance into electoral circles. This opinion was also in agreement with one women politician who lamented:

I am a woman on the outside with a man’s heart inside. I am not a feminist although I come from an all-girls family and I would like to protect them. I did not come to parliament to represent women’s issues. I think the biggest enemy of women is a woman. Men are my partners (Salaam Musumba, 2005; UWONET, 2007).

The above assertion clearly showed that such people would not vote or support a female candidate. Such cases were also found to be true in Mityana as some respondents said so. One KI who differed from the opinion that women candidates lacked support from fellow women and spouses viewed such sentiments as being due to lack of political tactics to win an election and failure to convince voters and was quoted as saying:

An opponent is an opponent regardless of sex, therefore you can not say that women do not support fellow women nor that men do not support fellow men but it all depends on individual competence and capability that one is voted into power.

The above analysis revealed that women's participation in both local and national settings had tended to be more personality-based than programme-based (Goetz, 2003, cited in Ahikire, 2007). This was the case during the 2006 elections where candidates and voters tended to draw more on individualised notions of politics where personalities tended to overshadow party manifestos. The study revealed that lack of support from fellow women was also brought by lack of unity among women, more so with the 2006 elections where political parties divided people. Such tendencies were proved to be true in Mityana district.

Low levels of education was also cited as a key challenge which hindered women's participation. Many of the respondents agreed that many girls dropped out of school and got married off at an early age due to economic hardships, and hence had no qualifications to compete for electoral positions. This was proved to be true in Mityana, and it explained why it was always a few among the educated women that kept contesting on the same positions over and over and had remained unopposed because the other highly educated women did not have the interest while those that had the interest did not have required qualifications to unseat incumbents. On this challenge, one member in an FGD commented: "Hon.Namabidde (Mityana District Woman MP) remained unopposed since 1996, 2001 and only got opponents in 2006 who could not also manage her because she already had an established base." This comment agreed with Kawamara (1998) who in a study in Kiboga district cited a similar response: "In her area there was no other woman to compete with because of their low levels of education." One KI was of the view that low levels of education were brought about by parents. In case money got scarce in the home, it

was the boy child that was offered the opportunity to further his education while the girl was denied the opportunity to be enlightened, gain skills to participate especially as candidates while those for girls that managed to attain some level of education, it was inadequate for them to compete for higher political positions. This was evident in local councils in Mityana. Male domination was also cited as another factor contributing to low levels of participation where 10% respondents said so. One KI was of the view that some men decampaigned female candidates and was quoted as saying, “*Sisobola kufugibwa mukazi*” (literally meaning ‘I can not be ruled by a woman’). This was said in support of the male candidates who were proved to be capable. In one FGD, respondents were of the view that a female who dared to compete was harassed and she would be called names like ‘*Nakawanga*’ (literally meaning ‘Cock’). This was proved to be true in Mityana district as many of the women councillors agreed to being nicknamed. One KI commented that a woman had to support the party of the husband since he is the head of the family than what her wish would be. Another lady KI who is a district vice chairperson commented on her own experience. She said that for a woman to contest, she first sought permission from her husband who at times denied her the opportunity citing reasons that she could be taken over by other men hence disintegrating the family and was quoted;

When I informed my husband that I was going away for a week’s workshop he made all kinds of excuses to make me not to go including faking sickness, saying his mother was to visit the next day and needed my attention and culturally, as a Muganda woman, you have to submit to your husband.

The above assertion was proved to be true in Mityana as most of the women in the FGD accepted that that was why few women attended women council meetings.

Religion was also cited as a challenge that hindered women’s participation, hence the answer of three per cent of the respondents. One respondent was of the view that women were affected by religion more in multiparty elections. In case a priest advocated for support of a particular candidate of a particular political party, the church members voted for that candidate because he/she would be looked at as God-sent. Though this was proved to be true in Mityana district, it was not proved to be major challenge basing on the three per cent respondents who attested so.

Socialisation was also cited as another challenge that hindered women's participation where three per cent of the respondents said so. In one FGD, some members were of the view that women were socialised to be humble, to be led and not to be leaders; hence they only saw men at the front and women in the back seat to be led. On this view, one respondent said: "*Omukyala omuganda takola bwatyo nga abasajja kweyingiza mu byabufuzi*" (literally meaning a muganda lady does not do as men do to join politics). Hence with such kind of thinking, many women grew up with such attitudes which later barred them from participating in local council elections.

The researcher asked respondents whether sometimes men (husbands) discouraged their wives from participating in elections and dictated the kind of candidate their wives had to vote for. From the study, it was revealed that 57% of the respondents said yes while 43% said no. From the analysis it was proved that men in Mityana district dictated which candidate was to be voted for.

With the above responses, the researcher asked respondents to give reasons why they thought so. Table 4.9 below shows the reasons why men discouraged their wives from participating in elections and they cited issues like fear of insubordination; husband determined political direction; low status of women; women seen as men's property.

TABLE 4.9: Why Men Discouraged their Wives from Participating in Elections

Response	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Fear of subordination	8	8.8	8.8
Husband determines political direction	22	24.2	33.0
Low status	10	11.0	44.0
Not Applicable	6	6.6	50.5
Women seen as men's property	45	49.5	100.0
Total	91	100.0	

Source: Field Research

Table 4.9 showed that 24% of the respondents said that it was the husband who determined political direction; 50% said that women were property to their husbands; 11% said that women were of low status; nine per cent mentioned that men feared insubordination, and seven per cent

had no answer. The study noted that women's voting was not free. More often, women were instructed by their husbands, in-laws or relatives to vote for a particular candidate not of their choice as one respondent commented: "Have you not heard cases of domestic violence due to failure to vote for a man's choice of candidate?" This comment agreed with Tamale (1999) who argued that traditional and patriarchal attitudes were a challenge to women's participation as candidates. However, this comment disagreed with the fact that the public domain was reserved for men. The differences could be explained by the fact that culture was related to development and as development increased, women's standing in society relative to men became equal (Tamale, 1999). This was proved to be true in Mityana whereby many of respondents said so and one councillor who came out boldly as a victim of such election (voting) related violence was recounted:

My husband told me to vote for a person whom I was not in favour of but I did not tell him I would not or else he would kill me so I waited for voting day and good enough my candidate won so I jubilated silently because I did not want my husband to be suspicious.

One KI was of the view that normally domestic violence occurred when the man's command was not adhered to and to some women they had been sent packing as he said: "*Oba towagira gwengambye genda ewoyo gyoba ofumbirwa*" (literally meaning 'If you are not in support of my candidate go and get married to that candidate you are supporting'). More so election observers during the 2006 local council elections observed that some husbands prohibited their wives from participating in elections, others coerced them into supporting candidates of their (husbands') choice, other women were threatened with divorce as one observer noted, "Husbands told their wives that their elections were over (women councils). So there was no need to vote or contest again in the village council elections" (Election observer, 2006). From the analysis it was proved that men in Mityana district had a great say in determining which candidate excelled during the elections since they had a say on who was to be voted for. This was proved true in Mityana district given the fact that most of the respondents proved to be married (45%), in which case it could be said that political direction was determined by men.

Respondents were further asked in which year women were faced with many social cultural challenges which could have hindered their participation. From the study it was revealed that 74%

of the respondents were of the view that women faced more social cultural challenges in 1997 while 25% mentioned the 2006 elections. This was proved to be true in Mityana basing on the number of respondents that mentioned 1997. The challenges faced during the 1997 elections seemed to have lessened during the 2006 elections due to economic developments and advancements and the previous elections that had already been held. The researcher observed that culture did not view women as leaders. Most women and a majority of men still associated political leadership to be a domain for men. The way women were socialised instilled low self-esteem and often made them feel lacking the ability of leadership. This was further aggravated by the prevailing societal attitudes which did not encourage women to be leaders. In some societies in Uganda, the traditional view of a woman leader was an elderly woman who was past child bearing age. In those communities, women were elevated to male positions during menopausal age as pregnancy was seen as a handicap to leadership.

4.4.3 Political Challenges

The purpose of this sub-theme was to find out the relationship between political challenges and women's participation in elections. It was believed that political challenges limited women's participation in electoral activities. Respondents were asked whether women experienced political challenges which could have hindered their participation during the 1997 and 2006 local council elections as candidates and voters. The study revealed that 71% of the respondents agreed that women experienced political challenges which hindered their participation, while 28% of the respondents disagreed.

Respondents were further asked what some of those political challenges that women experienced which could have hindered their participation both as candidates and voters were.

Table 4.10 shows the political challenges that hindered women participation in local council elections. Factors like affirmative action policy, lack of political party support, local government influence, and security situation were cited in the study.

TABLE 4.10: Political Challenges that hinder Women Participation

Valid	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative percent
Affirmative action policy	14	15.4	15.4
Lack of political party support	55	60.4	75.8
Local government influence	7	7.7	83.5
No answer	3	3.3	86.8
Security situation	12	13.2	100
Total	91	100.0	

Source: field research

Table 4.10 above revealed that 13% of the respondents based their argument on the security situation where they gave factors like intimidation of candidates by either people charged to ensure security within the district. As voters they were intimidated by security personnel from going to vote for a candidate of their choice, especially if one was thought of supporting an opposition candidate, 60% based their views on lack of political party support. Eight per cent based their view on local government influence whereby respondents were of the view that if a particular local government had majority members from a specific party, they would back up a fellow candidate that was based in their party or if they knew a particular candidate had political influence in one area or another. Fifteen per cent (15%) of the respondents mentioned affirmative action policies which were used as a government mechanism to gain support from women and not to cater for their concerns.

In one FGD, respondents were of the view that appearance of policemen or Securiko personnel at polling stations moving around with guns was enough for women not to participate as voters. Some of these security men intimidated women with threats in case a particular candidate did not go through. This was evident especially during the 1997 elections and was proved to have been the case in Mityana as some of the respondents attested to this. In an interview, it was observed that intimidation that was present was in form of threats if a particular choice of candidate was made. Another respondent observed that intimidation affected all sexes and was not limited to only women but sometimes also affected men who were at times also threatened or beaten. In

another interview with the sub county chief, he was of the view that intimidation affected mainly women as voters not as candidates and observed: “Intimidation in most cases starts after nomination of candidates and intensifies during campaigns, therefore it only affected voter turn-up not women contesting.” His view however contradicted Kawamara’s (1998) view who asserted that intimidation hindered women to contest especially as candidates. However Bagonza (2002) viewed Kawamara basing her argument and referring to the districts where insecurity was a major problem then (Gulu, Kitgum). Such cases were not proved extensive in Mityana district basing on the number of respondents that pointed out the security situation as one of the challenging political factors.

The study also noted that intimidation of voters was brought about the highly selective support of particular members of a particular political party by even religious leaders which highly confused the electorate and on this one respondent was quoted as saying: “The candidate who was being backed up showed he had enough money to solve the electorates’ problems.” This was in agreement with Kawamara (1998) where such a candidate was viewed as having ‘been anointed to contest’. The study observed that such tendencies hindered participation of the less privileged particularly individual women contestants. This was proved to be true in Mityana district especially during the 2006 elections where such scenarios were common as many respondents asserted.

Affirmative action was also pointed out as another challenge to women participation if we take note of the views of 15% of the respondents. Many of the participants in the FGDs held were of the view that it was because of this policy that many women were reluctant to compete on the directly elected councillor positions, as one woman councillor commented:

Due to the presence of affirmative action, women are reluctant to compete with men on the directly elected councillor seats and even for the fear of losing an election as abuses would follow you and you may end up ‘*kwejusa*’ (regretting) why u (sic) ever contested.

However, an opinion leader who looked at affirmative action in a positive sense was of the view that it had improved the political status of women or else there would not be any women in local councils since they feared to compete with men. This assumption agreed with Kawamara (1998)

who observed that women feared to contest with men and that there was a positive relationship between policies that promoted gender equality and women's participation in elections as candidates. Though affirmative action was lauded for enhancing women's participation and ushered in more women into the political field, Tamale (1998) and Kasente (1994) asserted that it was a highly debatable issue as there were concerns that quotas would perpetrate separate status for women (Gevisser, 1994 cited in Ahikire, 2007). Some women activists critiqued affirmative action as having something intrinsically wrong about the state giving rights to women (Tamale, 1998). More so Kyarimpa (2004) looked at affirmative action in terms of a 'favour' and critiqued it as a favour that could easily be withdrawn. This favour had tended to be class-centric and it benefited minority elite women who were themselves unable to respond to the needs of the majority peasant women.

Lack of political party support was also cited as another major challenge. Political parties were blamed because of their failure to fulfil what they had promised women, especially women as candidates. Financial support which was promised was not provided and was cited as a major problem by most respondents in the FGDs. This view agreed with the assertion of one woman activist who was quoted as saying: "All political parties are highly lacking in accommodating women. They have supplied hot air for the women. They have engaged them yet they have not translated what they say in reality. For example, they promised a minimum of 30% posts for women in elective office but when you look at their line-ups, most women have been thrown out. All women are getting is lip service" (*Daily Monitor*, 1 February 2006).

In this regard it was also noted that some political parties had lost out in the previous elections because they did not have support for women, as one woman MP was quoted saying:

FDC had no support for women that is why they lost as the majority of women gave Museveni (NRM) a block vote ---- Any party that does not win the hearts of women cannot succeed (*Daily Monitor*, 10 March 2006).

This above assertion contributed to DPs failure in the April 1962 elections because it had ignored women by not considering their involvement (In Muscat, 1984). Considering the fact that women comprised a high population as voters, being ignored would mean no support. Much as political

parties did not support women contenders during multiparty elections, the question remains where and how women were being supported during the period when they were governed under a one-party system of government. This remains a question for future research.

In a study by Sali and Atto (2007) it was realised that lack of access to finances and other resources from political parties was a great challenge especially during the 2006 elections. It was also noted that many women contenders who attempted to stand as independents, having lost in their parties' primaries, cited limited funding from their parties as a challenge which barred those that would have contested during local council elections. For example, one feminist activist Miria Matembe, who contested as an independent in Mbarara district attributed her defeat to her NRM competitor having more financial resources (*Daily Monitor*, 28 February 2006). This, however, was not proved to be true in Mityana as some women that had lost during primaries did not bar other women from competing for local council seats.

Respondents were asked what political challenges women faced while contesting on the one-third seat set aside for them through the Local Government Act. Table 4.11 shows factors like women being denied from competing on DEC posts, influence from local government, intimidation, lack of interest, lack of political party support as hindrances to women competing on the one-third seat.

TABLE 4.11: Challenges Women go through while Contesting on the 1/3 seat Set Aside

Valid	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative percent
Denied competing on DEC position	17	18.7	18.7
Influence from local Govt	12	13.2	31.9
Intimidation	8	8.8	40.7
Lack of interest	24	26.4	67.0
No answer	11	12.1	79.1
Lack of political party support	19	20.9	100.0
Total	91	100.0	

Source: field research

Table 4.11 above showed that 19% of the respondents were of the view that women were denied an opportunity to compete on DEC positions; 13% were of the view that such positions were influenced by local government; nine per cent cited intimidation; 27% said that women lacked interest to compete on these positions; 12% did not state their response; and 21% were of the view that political parties did not offer support to the women, especially as candidates.

Lack of interest in electoral activities was mentioned by the majority of respondents as a challenge in FGDs. Respondents agreed that some of them were either funded or begged to contest as candidates but it was not fully their wish to contest, as one respondent put it:

Haa!!!! as for me if it was not for the former chairperson who saw capability in me and having been approached by a number of people in this village I don't think I had even ever thought of standing as a candidate.

It was observed that such kind of attitude was brought about by the lack of political awareness. The electorate was not sensitised enough to know the essence of participating in electoral activities. Ahikire (2007) observed that lack of political awareness greatly affected women especially as candidates. Ahikire's argument concurs with Kwesiga (1995) who observed that in the early 1990s the then existing resistance council institutions had political bearings designed to propagate government interests and political ideology. This lack of political awareness was proved to be true for the case in Mityana basing on the fact that a number of posts on the reserved seats remained uncontested for (Mityana District Bye-election Report, 2009). It was observed that while there was lack of interest to compete on the one third (1/3) seats set aside for them by the Local Government Act (proved by the vacant posts left uncontested for) (Mityana District Vacant Posts List, 2009), the question arises why there is eagerness to compete on the DEC positions as mentioned by the 17% respondents. This finding, however, remains a question for future research. On the other hand (*Sunday Vision* of 19 April 1998) on the 1997 elections revealed that lack of interest was cited mainly among voters who shunned women's polls because they were simply tired of voting as they had been many elections and hence widespread voter fatigue (UWONET, 2006). Respondents were asked whether, according to their opinion, political parties supported

women candidates of their parties especially during 2006 multiparty elections. The study revealed that 76% of the respondents said ‘No’, while 24% respondents said ‘Yes’. From these responses, it was noted that political parties (majority) did not offer much support to women candidates.

Respondents that had answered ‘yes’ were further asked what form of support political parties offered to women contesting especially as candidates. Table 4.12 shows the kind of support women contesting as candidates received from political parties and factors like campaign agents, financial support, moral support were cited as illustrated below.

TABLE 4.12: Support to Women Candidates by Political Parties During 2006 Multiparty Elections.

Valid	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative percent
Campaign agents	15	16.5	16.5
Financial support	6	6.6	23.1
Moral support	17	18.7	41.8
No answer	53	58.2	100.0
Total	91	100.0	

Source: field research

From Table 4.12 above, 17% of respondents mentioned that political parties had provided campaign agents; seven per cent mentioned that political parties provided financial support; 19% said political parties had offered moral support; and, 58% did not give their response. In the majority of FGDs, respondents were of the view that the main thing political parties did was provision of campaign agents. The campaign agents provided, it was asserted, did not make impact since they were few, hence not effective. Given the financial implications to the party, a candidate would be given a few campaign agents who would not really make an impact. Some of the respondents attested that the financial support provided was also inadequate to run a full campaign programme. From the study, it was observed that it was mainly provided to women that contested on MPs’ posts not women that contested in lower local council seats. This was proved to be true in Mityana as some of the candidates attached their failure to lack of financial support from their political parties even when they were offered moral support to compete against other

candidates as the party's flag bearers. In general, the study proved that there was no substantial support provided to the women candidates which was a big challenge that hindered the participation of women as candidates, especially during the 2006 multiparty elections. While as voters, women were not affected by lack of political party support. On the other hand, respondents who said that women did not get any support from their political parties gave differing reasons. Ten per cent of the respondents were of the view that political parties based on capability of a particular candidate to provide financial support; 13% mentioned that political parties feared defeat from other parties; and 76% mentioned that political parties did not have funds to support women candidates. From the study, it was realised that political parties lacked funds to support women candidates and that the little support that was mainly offered was in form of moral support and some campaign agents.

Respondents were further asked whether women in their area competed favourably with male candidates on the directly elected councillor positions. The study revealed that 85% of the respondents said 'No' while 14% said 'Yes'. From the study it was realised that women in Mityana district did not compete with men of DEC positions. Respondents were asked to give reasons for their responses above. Table 4.13 below shows reasons for and against women not competing on the DEC posts and reasons like: inferiority complex; lack of voter education; men and women were equal in politics; women contested directly with men and won were cited as illustrated below.

TABLE 4.13: Reasons for the Above Responses.

Valid	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative percent
Inferiority complex	22	24.2	24.2
Lack of civic education	38	41.8	65.9
Lack of funds	10	11.0	76.9
Men and women are equal	6	6.6	83.5
No answer	9	9.9	93.4
Women contested directly and won	6	6.6	100.0
Total	91	100.0	

Table 4.13 above revealed the following: 24% of the respondents said that women had inferiority complex which hindered them from competing with men on DEC positions; 41% were of the view that women lacked civic education about competing on DEC posts; 11% were of the view that women lacked funds to compete with men on such positions; seven per cent were of the view that men and women are equal in politics; seven per cent were of the view that women contested with men in elections and won; while 10% did not give their answers. The researcher is of the view that the 10% respondents who did not give an answer implied that women could not manage to compete with men on DEC posts. It was, however, noted by some respondents in interviews and focus group discussions that women mainly faced a challenge of lack of sensitisation and inferiority complex. More so, affirmative action which had earlier been mentioned was also one of the challenges to women competing on the DEC positions where women viewed it and reserved seats as the only posts for which women could contest. This view, however, contradicted Kwesiga's (1995) view that reservation of special seats as well as freedom to run for mainstream constituency seats and mandatory seat of secretary for women affairs on local councils saw an increase in the number of women involvement in politics.

NEM-Group (2002) report revealed that many women embraced the ghetto of women's seats as some of them said: "The government has given us an opportunity to occupy leadership positions through the women councils, why should I leave these seats to compete for men's seats." A report issued by EC (1998) on the 1997/1998 countrywide local council elections reasoned that some women misunderstood the women's quota of one-third as meaning that women were barred from standing on the general ticket (DEC seats). The report also revealed that few women participated as candidates on DEC seats as seen in the Table 4.14

Table 4.14 Directly Elected Councillors by Gender

Level/Category of councillor	Total No.	Females	Males	% Females
District	886	23	863	2.6
Municipality	111	5	106	4.5
S/c Municipal Division	4,270	51	4,219	1.2
City Division	133	6	127	4.5
Town	41	4	37	9.8
Total	5,441	89	5,352	1.6

Source: A report on Local Council elections 1997/1998, E.C.

From the analysis of Table 4.14 above, it was observed that women's participation, especially as candidates during the 1997 elections on DEC posts was less than two per cent. However, during the 2006 elections the trend improved, though to a small extent, and women participated more on DEC posts in urban than rural settings (Ahikire, 2007). As mainstream elections maintained a male character, a woman candidate contesting a direct seat was symbolically construed as an aberration more so she needed to justify her candidature (Ahikire, 2004). Such attitudes brought forth another debate about the conceptualisation of women's political agency where the goal is measuring up to men. Ahikire (2007) commented that if 'measuring up' to men became the norm, women would have to be absorbed in masculine politics rather than challenging the male-defined political space.

Respondents were asked what, according to their opinion, would motivate women to compete on the DEC positions with men and how they could be enabled to participate in those positions even better. Table 4.15 shows the factors that could enable women participate on DEC posts among which were economic empowerment, encouraging girl child education, financial support, moral support and voter education as illustrated below.

TABLE 4.15: Women Motivation to Compete on the Directly Elected Councillor Positions.

Valid	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative percent
Economic empowerment	19	20.9	20.9
Encourage girl-child education	20	22.0	42.9
Financial support	17	18.7	61.5
Moral support	6	6.6	68.1
Voter education	29	31.9	100.0
Total	91	100.0	

Source: field research

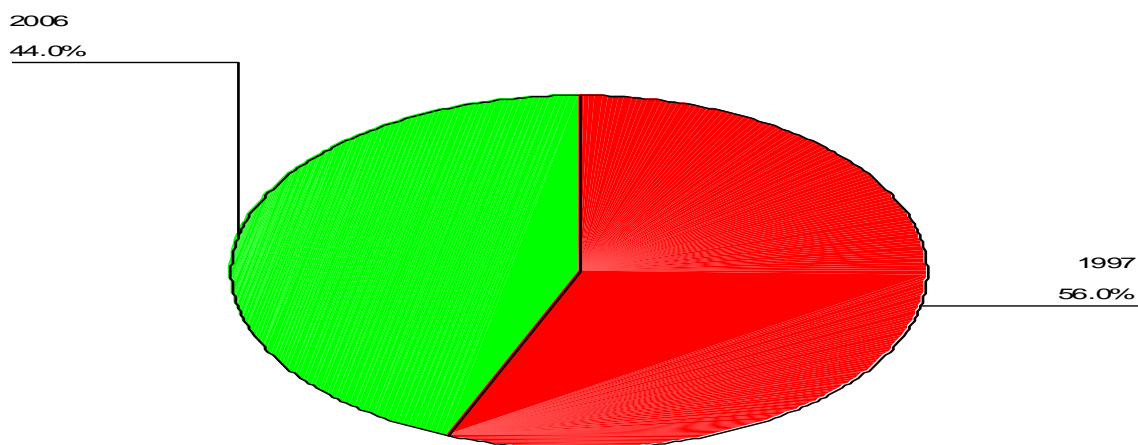
Table 4.15 above revealed that 21% of the respondents mentioned economic empowerment as a factor that would motivate women to compete on DEC positions; 22% mentioned promoting girl child education; 19% mentioned financial support; 32% mentioned voter education; and, 7% mentioned moral support. While lack of economic empowerment was cited as a challenge to women participation, it was up lauded to be a major motivator. Lack of economic empowerment had led to many women being dependent on their husbands for everything. Availability of economic empowerment, it is believed, would increase the participation of women, especially as candidates. This assertion, however, contradicts with that of Munyarugerero (2000) who argued that Ugandan women had been so much empowered and that empowerment had overflowed. His view was, however, not proved to be the case in Mityana district as the study discovered since empowerment involved much more than was happening. Empowerment by definition would mean being politically, socially, economically in the know. This was not the case in Mityana district, hence a hindrance.

Clark (1995) remarked that empowerment involved being aware of one's human rights, exercising the privilege of influencing policies, checking the power of political authorities, supporting a political party of one's choice without fear of intimidation. In Mityana such attributes were observed to be lacking given the fact that one of the already mentioned factors that spouses (husbands) determined political direction, and hence empowerment, required more. The study observed that there was a general assumption that women had been empowered by affirmative

action. This view contradicted that of Tripp (2000) and Ahikire (2004c), who viewed affirmative action as a factor that hindered many women from participating in the local council elections.

Promotion of the girl child education was also cited as another motivational factor. Respondents were of the view that parents that segregated the girl child should be penalised. Other respondents were of the view that women needed to be more voter sensitised so as to be imparted with knowledge that DEC posts were not for only men. This could be embraced through functional adult literacy programmes implemented at every sub county. On this, one KI commented: “If NAADs programmes are put in place, why could the government not think about us women and attend to our educational needs.” Respondents were asked to compare the years 1997 and 2006 to determine in which year women experienced many political challenges that could have hindered their participation as candidates and voters. Figure 4.9 is a tabulation of the results of this comparison.

FIGURE 4.9: Comparison of political challenges between 1997 and 2006



Source: Field Research

Figure 4.9 reveals that 56% of the respondents were of the view that women experienced more political challenges in 1997 while 44% of the respondents were of the view that women experience more challenges during 2006 elections. From the analysis it was observed that women in Mityana district experienced more political challenges in 1997 than in 2006 though this was to a small extent in comparison to that of 1997.

4.4.4 Election Management Challenges

The objective of this theme was to analyse the election management challenges that hindered effective women's participation during the 1997 and 2006 local council elections. Election management challenges in this sense refer to challenges that are encountered by the Electoral Commission a body mandated to carry out electoral activities within the country which challenges in part hindered women's participation. Barkan (1996) defined elections as that process which creates "legitimate representative government". At the minimum, therefore, this meant that an election was an action in which all significant players competed and accepted the outcome.

Respondents were asked whether there were any election management challenges which could have hindered women participation during the 1997 and 2006 local council elections. From the study, 68% of the respondents were in agreement that election management challenges hindered women participating in local council elections while 40% of the respondents declined. The analysis therefore proved that women experienced management challenges related to the election. Respondents that answered 'yes' were asked some of the election management challenges that could have hindered women's participation. Table 4.16 below shows the management challenges that could have hindered women participation among which were: biased electoral commission; distances to polling stations; inadequate voter education; method of voting; missing names in the voters' register; no publicity of complaints desk officers, short campaigning period as illustrated in Table 4.16 below.

Table 4.16: Election Management Challenges Faced

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid			
Biased Electoral Commission	6	6.6	6.6
Distance to polling stations	14	15.4	22.0
Inadequate civic/voter education	23	25.3	47.3
Method of voting	15	16.5	63.7
Missing names in voters registers	20	22.0	85.7
No publicity of complaints desk offices	8	8.8	94.5
short campaigning period	5	5.5	100.0
Total	91	100.0	

Source: Field Research

Table 4.16 reveals that seven per cent of the respondents mentioned a biased Electoral Commission; 15% said long distance to polling stations; 25% were of the view that inadequate voter education; 17% mentioned method used for voting; 22% cited missing names on the voters register; nine per cent were of the view that no publicity was made about the presence of complaints desk officers, 16% mentioned shorter campaigning period. Inadequate and untimely voter education featured as one of the major challenges which affected women participation as many respondents attested to this. One key informant commented:

Civic education is untimely and it is usually done close to voting day. Because it is contracted to independent civic educators and at times done at the last minute where it happens to be done, information is not well translated on posters into local languages for easier understanding. The hired organizations do not even reach here in the villages and by the time it comes to voting day, voters are still asking fellow people on what to do, how to vote.

The above comment agreed with Kawamara (1998) who argued that inadequate civic education resulted in polarization which was not well understood by the voters, candidates and polling officials. Many of the respondents were of the view that the contracted organisations that carried out civic education were given a short period which caused failure to satisfactorily cover all parts

of the district. One respondent put it: “It was us candidates who did civic education.” Other respondents were of the view that the civic education of 1997 was done better than that of 2006 and the previous elections. The researcher posed the question whether the councillors knew what their roles were in the local council. The answers recorded proved they did not know their roles which was proof that some lacked information on their responsibilities. This answer agreed with a study by UWONET (2001) where many women confessed total ignorance about the trends of voting with expressions like. ‘Why should I vote? What will I gain?’ One key informant asserted:

The non-governmental organisations used to carry out voter education were not facilitated, lacked funds to organise and all they did was to register their presence at the district administration visitors’ book and ended up moving on their vehicles that had loud music but the impact of imparting civic education was not felt and people were left in suspense.

Literature reviewed revealed that the electorate thought that since there was provision for a female councillor from each parish, it was automatic that other councillors had to be a male. This was, however, not proved to be the case in Mityana district as it was in some districts where the names of females that had contested with males on DEC positions were thought to have been misplaced hence not voted for the case of the 2006 elections. In an interview with the former woman MP, she suggested that civic education should have been imparted like that of 1996-1997 where civic educators were based at parishes. She complained that it was because of contracting out civic educators that led to the high number of invalid votes especially during the 2006 elections; and cited an example of NAADS officials where staff carry out agricultural training themselves. The same was required of officials of the Electoral Commission. These views clearly showed that there was no close monitoring and supervision of civic educators which led to lack of information on the part of voters and some candidates. This was proved to be true in Mityana based on the number of respondents that expressed concern over the inadequate civic education.

Missing names in the voters register was also cited as another major challenge to women’s participation as 22% of the respondents acknowledged this. In an interview with the District Returning Officer, it was revealed that this was due to the reluctance of voters to go and check anomalies concerning their particulars during the display exercise. The display exercise is defined as an activity carried out either a month or a few weeks to polling day where voters’ registers are

sent out to every village and registered voters are called upon to crosscheck their particulars anomalies found are sent back to the Electoral Commission headquarters for correction and then corrected registers are returned on polling day. This was proved to be true in Mityana. When it was put to the FGDs, many of the respondents were of the view that they lacked time to go and crosscheck their particulars; hence some were denied the right to vote. This view agreed with UWONET (2007) who accepted that many voters whose names were missing in the register admitted that they neither checked the registers nor collected their voters' cards during the display exercise. Many of the respondents also complained of their names being transferred polling stations other than those where they had originally registered, as one respondent complained:

I registered at Naama Polling Station but on voting day only to find my name was not in register of Naama. I was later told to go to Railway or COU polling stations. I eventually found my name which was so disturbing and I almost gave up voting.

The rules issued by the Electoral Commission were that not having a voter's card would not stop someone from voting. But people did not get this message clearly during the 2006 elections unlike the 1997 elections. This was proved true in Mityana district as some voters missed out on voting because they did not have or had misplaced their voters' cards. This was brought about by inadequate civic education where having a voter's card was not a prerequisite for one to vote.

Short campaigning period was also registered as another challenge to women's participation. Many respondents acknowledged that the period stipulated for campaigning was short in the case of the 2006 elections unlike the 1997 elections where the campaigning period was long. In an interview a respondent commented:

These days the campaigning period is short for just one month but in 1997 it used to be long like for say six months. These days we end up voting for half baked contenders since we had not gauged the consistency of the candidates contesting.

The above comment was proved to be true not only with the case in Mityana district but also in other districts (literature reviewed). Many of the respondents accepted that it was only later when candidates who succeeded in the elections had assumed office that the electorate realised how

incompetent they were. Long distance to polling stations was also cited as another challenge to women's participation. Many of the respondents (14%) acknowledged that the long distance hindered them from participating as voters. Transport costs would be involved and, since voting was optional, some women ended up not voting given the financial implications involved.

Method of voting was also cited as a challenge. Some of the respondents were in favour of electoral colleges while others were in favour of secret ballot. By show of hands in many of the FGDs it was observed that it was those that had previously won under the electoral college system that were in support of the electoral college system and not those that had been elected using secret ballot. From the study, it was proved that the majority of the candidates preferred secret ballot as it was more transparent than electoral colleges that used to be bribed and had held women at ransom. Prior research had revealed that electoral colleges could easily be manipulated. A research by UWONET (2007) on voices of women during the 2006 elections revealed that adult suffrage had discouraged many would-be aspirants and had favoured incumbents. One woman who contested (and won) had this to say:

The mode of election destroyed affirmative action because we were given the same resources and it turned out to be more expensive to women. There is need for redefinition of that concept for example my colleague had 3 gombololas (sub counties) while I had 24. In terms of money it was expensive. We were given 3 million each.

Though the lining up method was popularised during the early years (especially during the 1997 and 1986-1989 elections) as being transparent and a cost-effective measure to combat vote rigging, it lost legitimacy overtime. Its cumbersome nature was the reason it was discouraged during the 2001/2006 elections (Ahikire, 2007).

Respondents were asked whether there was enough voter education or sensitisation before elections. From the study, 43% of the respondents said 'yes' while 57% of the respondents said 'no'. The analysis showed that there was less civic education carried out in Mityana district. The DEM Group (2007) Report on the 2006 elections revealed that some women candidates did not have enough information about elections. It was also noted in the Electoral Commission Report (2007) that inadequate civic education had led to the overwhelming number of 300,000 invalid

votes (4%) of all votes cast in Uganda the voter amount of 65.8% which meant that 3.5 million registered voters had not cast their votes which in part was explained by limited voter education. It was, however, observed that the respondents who had ‘yes’ as an answer happened to be literate and knew what to do.

In line with the ‘yes’ responses, the researcher probed to find out the people, organisation or radio station that carried out voter education within their district and whether it was adequate in informing people in the area about elections. Table 4.17 below shows the organisations and radio stations that carried out civic education in Mityana district.

TABLE 4.17: People/Organisation/Radio Station which Carried out Voter Education

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Flyers from Electoral Commission	32	35.2	35.2
Individuals	6	6.6	41.8
No Answer	6	6.6	48.4
Radio stations (Sky net & CBS Fm)	33	36.3	84.6
UJCC	8	8.8	93.4
UPIMARK	6	6.6	100.0
Total	91	100.0	

Source: Field Research

Table 4.17 above showed that 35% of the respondents said they got civic education from flyers and brochures distributed by the Electoral Commission; seven per cent said they got information from their friends/individuals (hearsay); seven per cent did not give their response; 36% mentioned radio stations like Radio Sun (Sky Net) and CBS; nine per cent mentioned staff of UJCC; and seven per cent mentioned staff of UPIMARK.

The researcher further asked respondents to state ways in which civic education was made. From the study, 37% of the respondents said civic education was made through use of flyers; nine per

cent mentioned newspapers; 22% mentioned posters pinned at the sub counties in the trading centre; 22% cited radio talk shows on local radio stations like CBS, Radio Sun (formerly Sky Net); Civic educators moving on cars; and political party candidates. According to the analysis, it was proved that civic education was passed on to the people by use of flyers which the majority of people in rural areas did not pay attention to and had no interest to read, especially since illiteracy is high in areas far from the main town. Many of the flyers proved useless since they were not translated in the local languages that the voters were familiar with.

On the 'No' answer, the research probed how the respondents came to learn about the voting procedures during election days - for example, that presidential, parliamentary and women MPs were to be elected on the same day and local council elections to follow on the proceeding days especially during the 2006 elections. From the study, 52% of the respondents mentioned they learnt about the voting procedures from their friends; 23% said from political parties; 20% did not give their response; eight percent mentioned opinion leaders like priests. This analysis showed that people came to learn about the voting procedures mainly from friends, parties affiliated to and opinion leaders. This generally proved that such ways were not adequate in informing the electorate based on the fact that some information got from friends could be misinterpreted. The above view was supported by a survey conducted by IRI at the end of January, 2006 which indicated that 47% of Ugandan voters were not aware that the election of presidential, parliamentary and women MP's would take place concurrently. This was an indication that there was inadequate civic education.

Respondents were asked to compare the years 1997 and 2006 and indicate in which period civic education was extensive in informing the voters about the local council elections. From the study, 58% of the respondents were of the view that civic education made during the 1997 elections was better and had impact while 33% of the respondents were of the view that 2006 civic education was better. In line with the above responses, one of the respondents was of the view that civic education conducted during the 1997 elections was better and commented: "If anything the radio communication gave people some information and few posters hanged at community centres during the 2006 elections but during the 1997 elections information from civic educators was more widespread." More so, another key informant was also quoted:

Civic education was intensive in 1997 beyond that there has not been any civic education. There were two civic educators per parish in 1997 supervised by a parish chief which was a consortium of the Interim Electoral Commission, Civic Education Joint Coordination unit (CIJOKO) and Uganda Joint Christian Council while in 2006 people knew through their local leaders which information was non formal and was liable to be misinterpreted.

In support of the above assertion, most of the respondents were of the view that the 1997 civic education message was better than that of 2006. As one respondent put it:

I was one of the civic educators during the 1997 elections and the message about elections sank to the grassroots unlike in 2006 where civic education ended in the town. More so civic education imparted in 1997 had a bigger coverage because other civil servants participated unlike contracted companies that were money minded that appeared to be the case during the 2006 elections.

Another respondent commented that:

There was some civic education during 2006 elections though it was not intense as was the case in 1997 and 2001 elections. They used NGOs who did not have enough funds to organise and such NGOs just moved on vehicles touring the district. People were left in suspense and did not what was going on. Therefore, there was more civic education in 1997 than 2006.

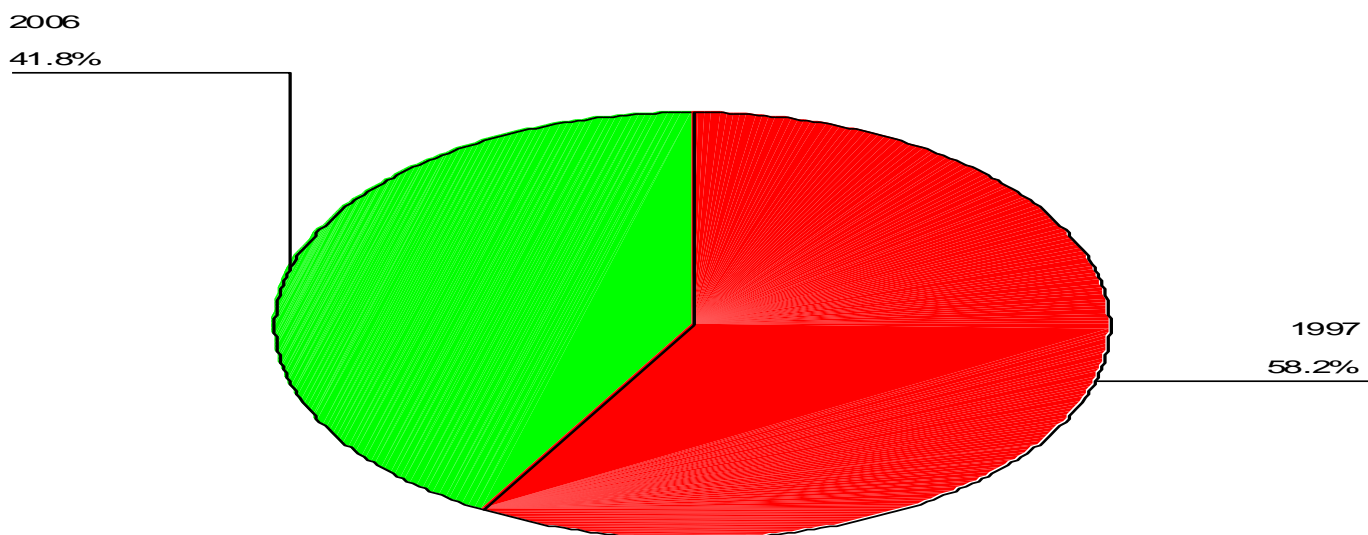
The analysis revealed that civic education in Mityana district had more impact during the 1997 than 2006 elections. Respondents were also asked whether they found their names on the voters' register for the 2006 elections. From the study, 88% of the respondents agreed and eight per cent disagreed. The analysis indicated that many of the respondents found their names on the voters' register. The eight per cent respondents cited reasons related to missing names which were linked to system errors and failure to check their names during the display exercise, and transfer to other voting locations.

The researcher probed as to how, according to the respondents' opinion, civic education could be imparted to enable women participate in electoral activities. From the study, 31% of the respondents suggested that civic education could be administered through continuous radio talk shows; 12% respondents suggested reinstating civic educators at the parish level; 25% suggested

the translation of election literature into local languages; and 31% respondents suggested use of banners and flyers printed in local languages. All the suggested avenues were good for effective management of elections but analysis revealed the use of radio talk shows as one of the key methods. However, the question arises of how many households especially in the rural areas do own radios and how often do those that have listen to them. This calls for further research on how many women, men and youth have radios and are able to listen to those talk shows.

Respondents were asked to compare the years 1997 and 2006 in which women experienced many election management challenges that could have hindered their participation as candidates and voters. Figure 4.10 compares the years 1997 and 2006 in terms of election management challenges experienced.

FIGURE 4.10: Comparison between 1997 and 2006 in Relation to Election Management Challenges Experienced and Women's Participation.



Source: Field Research

Figure 4.10 revealed that 42% of the respondents were of the view that women experienced many election management challenges during 2006 elections while 58% were of the view that women experienced many during the 1997 elections. From the analysis in Figure 4.10, it was proved that women experienced many election management challenges during the 1997 than 2006 elections.

4.5 Opportunities Available for Women

Under this theme the objective was to examine the opportunities available for women from different stakeholders in enhancing women's participation in local council elections as candidates and voters. The United Nations Report (2001) recommended institutional changes to establish gender equality in basic rights as the cornerstone of greater equality in political participation and voice.

Respondents were asked according to their opinion whether the multiparty dispensation had any opportunities available for women in as far as their participation both as candidates and voters was concerned. From the study, 64% of the respondents agreed while 36% disagreed. From the study it was revealed that there were some opportunities for women to enable participation.

Respondents were further asked what opportunities were available from government with the opening up of political party space to enable women's participation. Table 4.18 shows the opportunities from government in enhancing women's participation among which was affirmative action, campaign support, financial support, laws available, moral support and voter education.

TABLE 4.18: Opportunities from Government

		Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Affirmative action	33	36.3	36.3
	Campaign support	20	22.0	58.2
	Financial support	26	28.6	86.8
	Laws available	3	3.3	90.1
	Moral support	3	3.3	93.4
	Voter education	6	6.6	100.0
	Total	91	100.0	

Source: Field Research

According to Table 4.18, 36% of the respondents were of the view that affirmative action was a major opportunity for women to participate; 22% mentioned support during campaigns; 29% mentioned financial support to enable women participate; three per cent mentioned available laws

in place; three per cent mentioned moral support; seven per cent mentioned voter education. From the analysis, it was agreed that most respondents in both interviews and FGDs advocated for the maintenance of reserved seats through affirmative action as one of the major ways through which women would participate. Other respondents argued that the seats should even be increased from what they were today. However, some of the respondents were of the view that AA seats should be removed and cited reasons that the policy was discriminative and that women got to higher positions through favouritism instead of merit. This view agreed with Byanyima (1996) who argued that AA was not a good policy because it put women separate from men, yet separateness did not mean equality.

To Byanyima, AA procedures went against the women's cause of pursuing equality. However, it was observed that the advocacy for the maintenance of reserved seats was due to the fact that in Uganda men were at a much higher level than women in almost all aspects of life whether political, social, economic and developmental. This view agreed with Ahikire (2004c) who observed that women were not at the same level with men. While men had money, power and could employ force, women could not do so and they needed political aid to be able to catch up and make an impact. Hence Ahikire's assertion disapproves Byanyima's argument that AA be done away with and women compete alongside men. However Byanyima's argument could not be ignored totally because there were actually some women who have proved themselves by challenging men politically especially those that competed with men on DEC positions and defeated them, for example the late Winnie Makumbi (Chairperson LC 111 for Rubaga Division), Hon. Betty Kanya (MP for Lubaga Division), and the LC V Chairperson for Kanungu District (Josephine Kasya). This proved that women were capable of making it without the need for affirmative action. While this seemed possible for the minority, it is not the case for the majority who argued that without AA women would be nowhere politically. From the study, it was found out that cases of women competing on DEC positions with men were not registered in Mityana District.

Other respondents mentioned provision of financial support from political parties and campaign support to women especially as candidates. These finances were used for printing posters, paying campaign agents, paying nomination fees. Available laws were also advocated for to be

maintained and strengthened through the constitution and supporting bills in parliament that favoured women participation. The shift to multipartism was also mentioned by a number of respondents interviewed who were of the view that it had created space for more women to contest with in their political parties.

To this response, the researcher probed respondents to find out what opportunities were available for women from political parties where women were affiliated that enabled their participation during the 1997 and 2006 elections. The study revealed that 20% of the respondents were of the view that political parties provided campaigning agents; 26% said that political parties encouraged women to contest; 19% cited that political parties offered financial support; and 35% were of the view that political parties did not offer any opportunities. It was observed from the analysis that some political parties did not offer any opportunities to enable women's participation which was proved to be true in Mityana district to some extent.

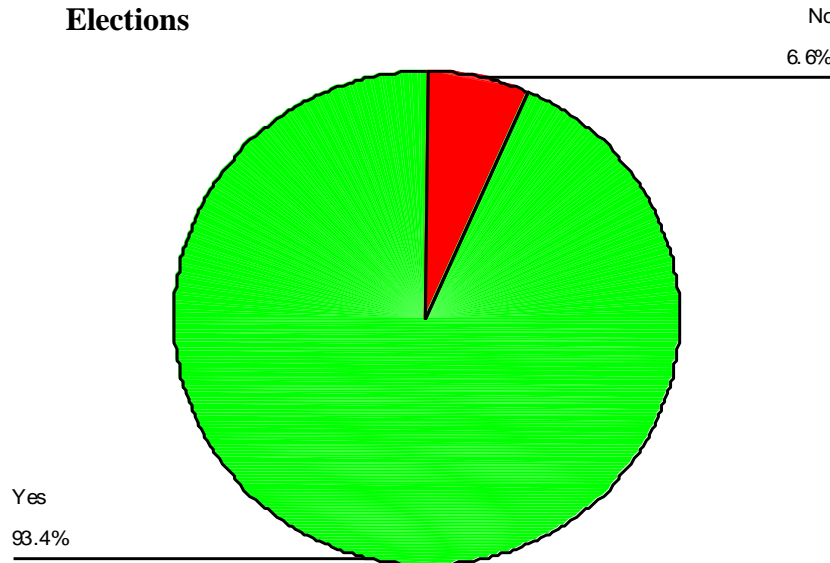
Respondents were further asked about the opportunities available from NGOs in enhancing women's participation in during the 1997 and 2006 elections. The study revealed that 23% of the respondents were of the view that NGOs like UWONET, FIDA, FOWODE, ACFODE advocated for women's rights. Fourteen per cent (14%) revealed that NGOs carried out sensitisation programmes; 25% said that NGOs encouraged women to contest; 11% said that NGOs provided moral support; and 26% were of the view that NGOs supported women financially. It was also observed that NGOs advocated for women's concerns through women activist programmes, educated women on their rights as voters and participants in Uganda's democratisation process. NGOs further provided financial and technical support to level the ground, particularly for the upcoming women politicians. During the 2006 elections NGOs like UWONET drafted the women's manifesto, advocated for amendments for several proposals for constitutional reforms that were forwarded to the parliamentary committees among which were proposals by women's organisations to increase and enhance women's political representation, for instance with the experience of the limits of AA where one-third tended to be a ceiling rather than a minimum. Women's organisations also articulated for a gender parity of a 50/50 representation especially during the 2006 elections.

Other NGOs agitated for the minimum demands that required political parties and organisations to apply affirmative action through ensuring that women formed at least 40% in all political party and organisation governing structures which resulted into the preparation of the 2006 women's manifesto crafted as an advocacy tool to ensure women's voices were heard. As a result, the majority of the leading contending parties had provisions for 40% of women in their party structures (UWONET, 2006). During the 1997 elections, organisations like FIDA, UWONET, ACFODE also spearheaded the move to ensure affirmative action policies stipulated in the constitution were adhered to. These organisations also helped to fight for women's rights in electoral policies.

Respondents were asked whether the enabling laws in place through the reserved local council seats for women and other constitutional laws (international and local) in place had helped women to fully participate in local council elections. From the study, 64% of the respondents said 'yes' and 37% respondents said 'no'. It was noted in an FGD that if it was not for laws that created reserved seats for women, they would not have come up openly to contest politically. The analysis therefore indicated that the reserved local council seats for women and other constitutional laws in place like Articles 33(1), 33(2), 22(3), 33(4), 33(5) and 78(1)(b) of the 1995 Constitution which encompassed the right of affirmative action. Article 33(5) without prejudice to Article 52 of the Constitution of Uganda stated that women shall have the right to affirmative action for the purpose of redressing the imbalances created by history, tradition or custom. AA was believed to have placed Uganda well above the regional (sub-Saharan Africa) average of 14.3%, second only to South Africa (27%) and Nordic countries (39.7%) (IPU, 2001). More so Article 78 (1) (6) also says that there shall be one woman representative for every district. Article XV also mentioned recognition of the role of women in society. Thus the constitutional laws in place provided enabling laws for women's participation in electoral activities.

Respondents were asked whether according to their view women during the 2006 elections had many opportunities in their favour compared to the 1997 elections. Figure 4.11 below reveals that 93% of the respondents said yes, while seven per cent said no. This indicated that there were opportunities for women under multiparty system of government than during 1997 elections when Uganda was governed under Movement system of governance

FIGURE 4.11: Opportunities in Favour of Women during 2006 Compared to 1997 Elections

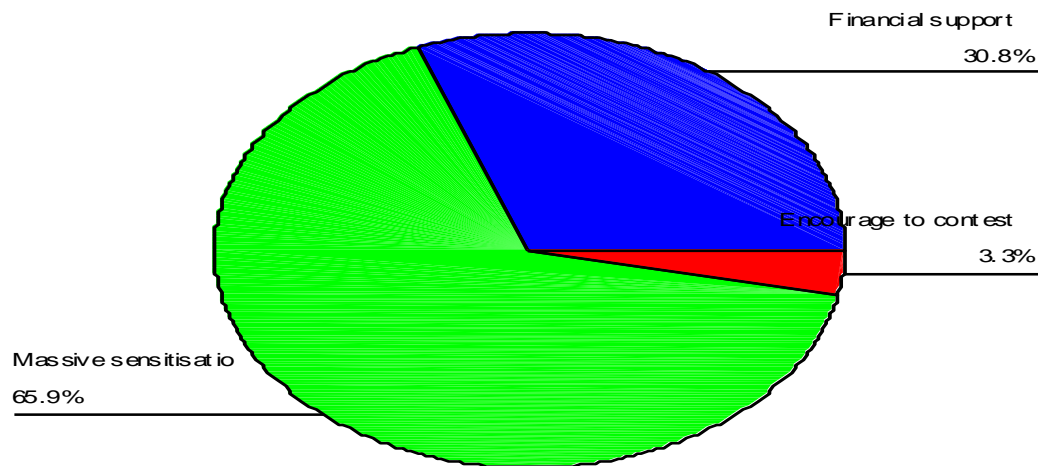


Source: Field Research

Respondents were further asked the opportunities which women had in 2006 and did not have in 1997. Respondents said that more women were educated in 2006 than in 1997 which helped to do away with shyness, which made it easier for them to participate in local council elections. The majority of the women able to read the election materials easily and were also well informed. The law put in place through affirmative action was another opportunity for women in both 1997 and 2006. This agreed with Article 33(2) which stated that the state shall provide the facilities and opportunities necessary to enhance the welfare of women to enable them realise their full potential and advancement.

To find out the opinion of the respondents, the researcher asked what they thought the government could do to help women fully participate in the elections as candidates and voters. Figure 4.12 below revealed that 70% of the respondents argued that the government should carry out a lot of sensitisation programmes; 33% said women should be given enough financial support; and three respondents said women should be encouraged to contest.

FIGURE 4.12: What the Government can do to Encourage Women Participate fully.



Source: Field Research

Therefore according to the analysis above, the Electoral Commission as the institutional body mandated to carry out elections should do more sensitisation so as to keep the candidates and voters in the know in order to encourage women to participate fully in elections both as candidates and voters as supported by majority of the respondents. One of the respondents was noted saying:

The Electoral Commission should not wait for that period nearing elections/voting to start doing sensitisation. This should be a continuous process but only during time of elections.

Respondents were also asked how according to their opinion women could be encouraged to participate more in local council elections both as candidates and voters. From the study, 13% of the respondents were of the view that women should be encouraged to contest not only on reserved seats but also on DEC positions; three per cent mentioned provision of security or peaceful environment; 28% mentioned that women should be supported financially; 25% said there was need for sensitisation programmes to be put in place to enable women know more about electoral process from which they would be encouraged to participate; 12% of the respondents were of the view that election literature should be translated into local languages which people could be able to read so as to get information on what was going on.

In general, the analysis indicated that women could be encouraged to participate through

increased funding to candidates and increased sensitisation programmes. The government could also encourage women to participate by sufficiently funding organisations that carry out voter sensitisation programmes and funding the voter education department in Electoral Commission so that it could discharge its duty in time than waiting for the peak season. More so, there was need for government to provide finances to the Electoral Commission in time so as an institution it could execute its duties and fulfil its obligations.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the discussion, conclusions and recommendations of the study. It is divided into two sections where the first section presents the discussion of the study and the second one presents the conclusions and recommendations of the study. The purpose of the study was to analyse the challenges to women's participation in local council elections in Uganda with specific reference to the 1997 and 2006 local council elections in Mityana district. In this section, the researcher analyses whether the study accomplished what it set out to investigate or not.

The progression in the areas of political participation for women had remained low in almost all the countries as it had been a struggle all the way to attain political power, more so in countries where it has not been aided. In Uganda since 1962, no women held seats in parliament. But in 1966, the formation of the association of women organisations formed for purposes of acting as a political pressure group later failed due to the fact that it was never politically committed or linked to the Uganda government for fear that if it involved in politics, it would hamper the success of women in promoting their interests. As one scholar put it, "It was members who belonged to the association of women organisations that had the opportunity to participate in elections." Much as this was the case then, women were however determined to participate in the politics of Uganda as women from the Uganda Council of Women (UCW) wrote to the Uganda People's Congress Secretary General (1966): "We the women of Uganda wish to hereby inform you that we are prepared and fully determined to play our role in the political structure of the mother country, will you kindly please make available to us copies of the party manifesto and also prerequisites to party registration." This showed that women were more than determined to join political circles till when they were granted rights of franchise (Art.1(4) and 62 of the Uganda Constitution granted women the right to vote and to be voted for).

Women have the right to vote and to be eligible for electoral appointment to public office and to exercise public function on equal terms with men at local, national and international levels. In most countries, Uganda inclusive, women had participated only marginally at the lowest level of decision making. The higher one goes in either party or the state hierarchy the fewer the women

there are. The principle of equality of men and women as enshrined in the United Nations conventions and numerous international instruments such as the Universal Declaration on Human Rights (1948), the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (1979) and the Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies (1985) provided generally accepted standards of legal equality between men and women which Uganda ratified.

The awareness of those standards among women worldwide was significantly raised during the United Nations Decade for Women (1976-1985) all through to varying degree depending on region, cultural and education background of women and social political climate in the country. Despite having all international and enabling laws in place to enhance women's participation, women had not gained access to positions that would increase their capacity to influence policy. The most powerful LC V is exclusively filled by men. In 1997-1998 LC elections, two women contested, one in Hoima district and another in Kampala (mayor) cited in Ahikire, (2007) but both lost. In 2006, three women contested on the LC V seat and only one woman won (Josephine Kasya, Kanungu district) (Ahikire, 2007). Women prefer the deputising seat where they were considered for gender purposes which was replicated more in local council elections.

5.2 CONCLUSIONS

5.2.1 Attitude of women towards participation in local council elections

From the study it was found that there was a general agreement among the respondents in Mityana district that the under-representation of women in both local and national politics was the result of lack of interest which was brought about by the inferiority complex and at times lack of minimum qualifications to join the local council. It was also found out that majority women preferred to participate more as voters than candidates. This was more particularly the case especially during the 1997 elections, although during the 2006 elections the trend changed.

It was also realised that the number of women that participated in local council elections was low in some sub countries than in others whereby in some sub-counties, some reserved seats remained uncontested for. While in others especially for those near the town council, women's involvement moderately increased in local council representation. Generally, the current rate of women's representation at local council is at 11% in Uganda (Roby, 1998). Despite this trend, Mityana

district remained low on the scale of women's representation in local government when compared to other districts and other democracies elsewhere as the study found out. A comparison of the assessments of women and men in this study revealed a clear gender gap. Men held themselves in greater esteem than women. These findings required elaboration and more intensive research but undoubtedly implied the contention that women did not support fellow women was the outcome of labelling and was unsubstantiated by the study findings. An assessment of women's suitability for local council elections was clearly linked to Mityana district's discriminatory structure where particular candidates were supported by the local government to go through.

5.2.2 Challenges Women face as they Participate in Elections

Women's equal participation in local government and decision-making processes was critical for creating gender-sensitive policies and promoting sustainable development. Unfortunately, women were not well represented in local governments around the world and they faced a number of challenges that ranged from cultural exclusion to the resistance of key political institutions and machineries which created gender imbalance in local administrations. Khosra (2008) observed that, "In communities where women's roles as politicians and decision makers were not well recognised and accepted, women faced strong cultural barriers entering local governments. Furthermore, women in local government had to overcome institutional barriers to facilitate their participation."

In many cases, male-dominated political parties were not willing to involve women in their circles and consequently in local council elections. According to Khosra and Bernard (2008), most local governments were inherently patriarchal institutions. Their structures and procedures were designed for and by men and did not take into account women's multiple responsibilities in their homes and communities or differences of communication and decision making styles that existed between men and women. In Uganda, it was revealed that women accounted for 1% representation in the local governments which implies that they were not well represented in decision-making posts. Therefore, challenges that limited women's participation in Mityana district fitted within four broad categories identified by the study: attitudinal as seen above, financial (economic constraints), competing responsibilities and personal characters. Among the study respondents attitudinal challenges were frequently mentioned where women pointed to the

aggressive political culture, combative debate and personality conflicts as well as male colleagues who had difficulty coping with women and so belittled and attacked their personality. Sixty-eight per cent (68%) respondents agreed that women faced economic challenges. Access to finances and other resources remained a challenge to women's participation for instance, candidates contesting for different posts had to pay non-refundable nomination fee where some potentially good women leaders missed out because they could not raise the fee. Money was also discovered to be an important factor for one's success in elections. From the study, it was proved that 43% of the respondents mentioned lack of access to finances as a major challenge. Therefore, for women to participate in elections they needed financial support which was still a big challenge especially under multipartism in Mityana district. It was also discovered that women faced many economic challenges in 2006 compared to the 1997 local council elections.

From the study it was found out that 70% of the respondents agreed that women faced social cultural challenges as a hindrance to their participation in local council elections. Most of the social-cultural challenges dated way back to the colonial era and some had persisted till to date hindering women's participation. Women's gender roles remained a major challenge both during the 1007 and 2006 elections, lack of support from fellow women and spouses also challenged their participation, command over resources in the household remained low as most of the resources belong to the men just like finances which constrained women during the campaign period. It clearly showed that women in Mityana district commanded fewer resources compared to men which could not successfully enable them engage in local council elections. Most of what they commanded was inherited and small business ventures put up with the aid of circles (microfinance) institutions. The study also concluded that women faced many social cultural challenges during the 1997 than 2006 local council elections.

Political challenges were also discovered as a hindrance. Seventy one (71%) of the respondents agreed and advanced their argument mainly on lack of political party support especially during the 2006 elections, intimidation though not intense was mentioned as one of the factors that hindered women participation. Information about electoral activities could be disseminated through party channels which men easily accessed than women. More so the language of politics was a decadently a male jargon, which appeared alien to women. Political ideology was another

challenge. This ideology reinforced the traditional division of work by gender with politics linked to activities of men rather than women. Haorviomannira Patel (eds) (1985:48) observed that political parties did not provide substantive support to women and as such women faced a challenge of participation which was proved so in Mityana district. The study further concluded that women faced many political related challenges during the 1997 than 2006 elections.

Election management challenges were also proved to be a challenge to women participation as agreed by 68% of the respondents. The study revealed less voter education. This view was supported by 25% of the respondents. This explained inadequate voter education as a challenge faced by women and already observed in this study. The study revealed that the voter education made in 1997 was better than that of the 2006 elections. The study observed that the credibility and competence of the Electoral Commission was crucial to the integrity of any election. However, building legitimacy and credibility and to allay the suspicion of the officials' bias were major challenges for the electoral officials in Mityana district. There was lack of confidence on the ability of the electoral officials to function impartially as observed by the study.

The study also revealed that the administrative shortcomings of Uganda Electoral Commission in 1997 and 2006 elections were the fact that made it fail to manage the administration of elections and this challenge affected women. In order for election administrators to achieve their operational goals, they must actively engage political stakeholders who were beyond their scope of direct authority which was lacking in Mityana district. Fifty (50%) of the respondents in Mityana district contend that the elections of 2006 were poorly managed compared to those of 1997 where there was inadequate voter education and women were not sensitised enough.

Administrative problems were the basis which flawed elections. Pater (1999) in his book the role of electoral administration had this to say: "There is not a single case in which parties petitioned, protested or boycotted elections that was not routed in administrative irregularity." The study therefore established the common challenges in election management as intractable problems related to registration, multi-voting and polarised electorate, among the challenges women in Mityana district experienced. These problems were endemic and solutions were hard to find and therefore a comprehensive research was needed to learn the best and most efficient ways of

managing elections to overcome the challenges faced by women in local council elections. The study also discovered that women experienced more election management challenges during the 1997 elections compared to the 2006 elections.

5.2.3 Opportunities available for women

Women issues are therefore public issues which should be mirrored from the household, workplace and community in general. Backlay (1995) in Patel (1997) observed that the emergence of multiparty politics in Africa and Latin America had opened space for women in the political arena where there were increasing levels of participation.

From the study, it was established that women were somehow empowered (economically, socially) though politically a lot was yet to be done to gain political empowerment. It was also observed that there were reserved seats also in political parties which gave women opportunity to participate. There was a general consensus that there were laws in place that had enabled women to participate in elections. Constitutional laws in place like Article 33(1), 33(2), 22(3), 33(4), 33(5), 78(1)(b) encompassed affirmative action that gave women opportunities to participate in local council elections as was the case in Mityana district. It was observed in the study that there were more opportunities under multiparty elections during the 2006 elections compared to the one-party system of 1997. This view was supported by 85% of the respondents in the study. Non governmental organisations also provided some opportunities where organisations like UWONET drafted the women's manifesto as an advocacy tool to enable them participate especially during the 2006 elections. The study also established that women had many opportunities in their favour during the 2006 compared to the 1997 local council elections.

5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

Women's different life experiences and priority issues consequently resulted into perspectives that facilitated the placement of issues that affected men and women on the policy agenda at local government level. The physical presence of both women and men in local government positions was a conduit for interest and needs of women and men being incorporated in politics and policies and therefore the number of women in politics mattered. The government should come up with clear laws that incorporate more women in all decision-making circles as 1/3 reserved for women

in the local council is not enough.

In order to avoid intimidation cases during campaigns and elections, there is need for strict enforcement by government to regulate the practices of the army where the military should keep out of partisan politics and laws should be strengthened where such persons should treat themselves as public servants expected to be non-partisan. This would in a way benefit and enable women to participate especially as voters.

In order to enable sensitisation programmes be effective, the Electoral Commission as the institutional body mandated to carry out such activities should facilitate the district staff to carry out sensitisation programmes and civic education should be reinstated at the parish levels. The Electoral Commission should not allow itself to be influenced by powerful interested people or groups (political, administrative) and always be an independent institution. Only then shall elections be registered as being transparent, free and fair. There is also need for continuous sensitisation programmes even after the general election periods so as to keep the voters in the know of upcoming events. This could be carried out through seminars, workshops that are participatory aimed at equipping voters and candidates with leadership skills. This would enable women build confidence and reduce inferiority complex associated with low participation. NGOs have been commended for pushing for women's rights hence the onus remains on government to fund the continuity of such programmes.

There is need for the government to provide funds earlier so that the Electoral Commission can organise for election activities in time. More so the government should address the recurring administrative problems in election management by appointing electoral officials and institutions that gain the confidence of the people. Since the 2nd World War, most of the new democracies placed the management of elections in the hands of electoral commissions, which had varying degrees of independence, impartiality, authority, resources and competence. An electoral commission that is independent, impartial, authoritative and having adequate resources had the likelihood of conducting an election that was judged free and fair by all candidates which has been a challenge to women participation, more especially in Mityana district due to the number of election management challenges that hindered women participation. The campaigning period

should also be extended for longer periods (say two months) so that the electorate could gauge the consistency of the candidate contesting.

More so, there is need for the Electoral Commission to communicate to the public about the presence of their voters' cards at the district offices. As found out by this study, many were hindered from participating especially as voters because they did not have voters' cards. The EC should make it clear to the electorate that not having a voter's card does not bar one from contesting in elections. Display exercise periods need to be extended for longer periods and also be announced to the public to enable people cross check with the polling station where their names are and for voters to also pick up their voters cards. The electoral commission should also ensure that distances to polling stations are shorted or allow people register at polling stations near their home areas.

Much as affirmative action had helped pave the way for an increased involvement of women in social circles, it is not an end in itself. Many women were still under socio-cultural bondage which reinforced oppression, discrimination and subordination. Women are still the majority of the country's illiterates: they lack control over resources, they suffer inferiority complex and male chauvinism, and still stick to their traditional roles. Hence, there is need for these attributes to be done away with for AA to generate any dramatic positive change. The study revealed that illiteracy was high among the women that joined local councils, hence the need for promotion of adult literacy programmes and, more so, girl child education programmes. Such programmes would help to build capacity, confidence, and eligibility, and hence increase women participation in local council activities.

There is need for government to empower women economically. From the study it was revealed that most women were engaged in the agricultural sector and with appropriate technology that would ease their work - for instance, like ploughing machines, tractors, fertilizers and ready markets for produce. This would not only change their standard of living but finances earned through the sale of produce would enable women join local council activities as there will be enough time available in case appropriate technologies are involved to ease the work load. More so, women would to an extent not be bound by the time factor to engage in political activities. It

was realised from the study that political parties did not offer support to women contenders. There is need for political parties to promise what they can provide, for instance encouraging candidates to contest yet they cannot provide finances remain a big challenge. There is also need for these parties to always be kept in the know so as to transmit such information to their members.

The study revealed that women lacked support from fellow women and spouses. It is therefore recommended that women organisations engage women in Mityana in sensitisation programmes geared towards strengthening their unity in order to fight for their rights and cause as one body. This situation of disunity among women was exploited by the men that saw women not united thus also denying them their support. There was also need for government to put aside funds to facilitate women council activities because these councils were inactive because they were not funded and no activities took place.

A comprehensive enabling legal and institutional framework and empowerment of women organisations as some of the opportunities available for women participation. Much as Uganda had opened up avenues for women, real participation in decision making was still lacking. There is need for women legislators to exert their energies to ensure that the interests of women get to the policy agenda. This could be achieved if they maintained regular contact with women at the grassroots level who may also be encouraged to participate in local council elections. This would also enhance effective participation of women in the democratisation process be more visible on the political horizon. There is need for non governmental organisations dealing in women's issues to sensitise and educate women (especially rural women) about their rights and the importance of joining local council elections, also government in a way to support women candidates financially to join local council elections.

5.4 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

While the researcher had a sample size of 100 respondents, information was picked from only 91 respondents. This was mainly because it was hoped that the focus group discussions would comprise 10 members but from the study, some FGDs did not comprise the required number of 10. Also some questionnaires were misplaced by some respondents.

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QUESTIONNAIRE (Registered voters)
CHALLENGES TO WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL COUNCIL ELECTIONS IN
UGANDA: A CASE STUDY OF 1997 AND 2006 LOCAL COUNCIL ELECTIONS IN
MITYANA DISTRICT.

Dear Sir/Madam,

The research is being carried out by this student and seeks your views on the topic; "Challenges to women participation in local council elections" A case study of 1997 and 2006 elections in Mityana District. You have been selected as one of the respondents in the study.

Fill in where applicable your responses. Answers provided will be treated with highest level of confidentiality. Thank you.

Social characteristics of respondents (Please tick or fill in where applicable)

1. Sub county-----

2. Age	18-27	6. Level of education	No formal education
	28-37		Primary level
	38-47		Secondary
	48-57		Technical institute
	58+		Diploma
			Degree
3. Sex	Male		Post graduate
	Female		Others

4. Marital status	Single	7. Religion	Protestant
	Married		Catholic
	Separated		Moslem
	Divorced		Seventh day Adventist
	Widowed		Pentecostal

5. Occupation	Student
	Small scale farmer

Large scale farmer
Business person
Government employee
Local council official
Private company/NGO
Herbalist

A. Attitudes of women towards their participation in local council elections:

1a) *Did you participate during the 1997 and 2006 local council elections in your area?*

Yes ☐ No ☐

b) *If No why didn't you participate?*

.....
.....

2a) *Are you a registered voter?* Yes ☐ No ☐

b) *If No why didn't you register*

.....
.....

3a) *Do you think the women in your area are well represented in the local councils?*

Yes ☐ No ☐

b) *Explain your response*

.....
.....

4a) *Do you think people in you area are responsible enough to choose a woman representative of their choice with out any influence be it national or otherwise?*

Yes ☐ No ☐

b) *Explain your response above*

.....
.....

5a) *In your view do you think women are now more capable and firm enough to challenge men in local council elections?*

Yes ☐ No ☐

b) *Explain your response above*

.....

.....

6a) *Did you participate as a candidate or voter during the 1997 and 2006 elections? Tick*

As candidate 1997..... 2006.....

As voter 1997..... 2006.....

7a) *Do you think women councils are of any use to you area?*

Yes ☐ No ☐

b) *Give reasons for your response*

.....

.....

b) *Some women see elections and politics as a “dirty game” which should be left for only men
what is your stand?.....*

.....

b) *Give reasons for your response*

B. Challenges women face as they participate in elections

Economic challenges:

In your opinion do you think there are any economic challenges that women face that could have hindered their participation both as candidates and as voters?

Yes ☐ No ☐

2a) *In you opinion, what Economic factors or challenges do you think hindered women from participating in elections especially as candidates during the 1997 and 2006 elections?*

.....

.....

3a) *Do you think money is an important resource for one’s success in elections?*

Yes ☐ No ☐

b) *Give reason for your response*

4a) *Do women in you area have any command over resources in the household?*

Yes ☐ No ☐

b) *If 'yes' what resources do you think women in you area have command of and do you think these resources can help women in participating in elections especially as candidates?*

.....
.....

c) *If 'No' then where do you think women(candidates) that contest for various posts at local councils get finances from to enable them campaign?*

.....
.....

5. *Compare the years 1997 and 2006 where women faced many economic challenges which could have hindered their participation*

Social-Cultural challenges:

1a) *Do you think women face any social cultural challenges which could have hindered women participation during the 1997 and 2006 elections both as candidates and as voters?*

Yes

No

b) *What are some of those social cultural challenges that women experienced that could have hindered their participation both as candidates and as voters?*

.....
.....

2a) *In your oppinion do you think that some times men discourage their wives from participating in elections and dictate the kind of candidate their wives should vote for?*

Yes

☐

No

☐

b) *Give reasons for your response*

.....
.....

3a) *In which year did women experience more social cultural challenges which could have hindered their participation both as candidates and as voters? Tick where appropriate.*

1997..... 2006

Political challenges:

1a) *Do you think women experience political challenges which could have hindered their*

participation during the 1997 and 2006 local council elections both as candidates and as voters? Tick where appropriate

Yes No.....

b) What are some of those political challenges that women face that could have hindered their participation both as candidates and as voters?

.....
.....

d) What problems do you think women experience while contesting on the one third seat set aside for them through the local government act?

.....
.....

2a) In your opinion, do you think political parties supported women candidates of their political Parties especially during the 2006 multiparty elections?

Yes ☐ *No* ☐

b) If yes, what form of support did these Political parties provide?

.....
.....

c) If No give reasons why political parties did not support women candidates of their parties

.....
.....

3a) Do you think in your opinion that women in your area compete favorably with male candidates on the directly Elected councilor positions?

Yes ☐ *No* ☐

b) Give reasons for your response above

.....
.....

4a) What in your opinion do you think would motivate women to compete on the directly elected councillor positions with men?.....

7a) Compare the years 1997 and 2006 in terms of political challenges faced

.....
.....
Election Management challenges:

1a) *Do you think there are any election management challenges which could have hindered women participation during the 1997 and 2006 local council elections both as candidates and voters?*

(tick where appropriate)

Yes..... No.....

b) *What are some of those election management challenges that could have hindered women participation both as candidates and as voters?*

.....
.....
2a) *Was there enough civic education /sensitizing people about elections made before the elections?*

Yes ☐ No ☐

b) *If yes which people/organization/ radio station (state which station) carried out civic education within your district/area and was it adequate in informing the people about the elections?*

.....
.....
c) *In what ways was the civic education made? (state was in which it was made)*

.....
.....
d) *If No how did you come to learn about the voting trend during election days for example that presidential, parliamentary and women MP were to be elected on the same day and local council elections to follow on the proceeding days during the 2006 elections?*

.....
.....
d) *Compare the years during the 1997 elections and 2006 in terms of civic education made*

.....
3a) *Did you find you name on the district voter's register for the 2006 elections?*

Yes ☐ No ☐

b) *If No why do think your name did not appear on the voter register?*

.....
.....
4a) *Did the move from Electoral colleges (committee set aside to select the women representative to the council) to Universal Adult Suffrage (voting by secret ballot box) have an impact on women Participating in elections especially as candidates?*

Yes ☐ No ☐

b) *Give reasons for your response*

.....
.....

6a) *In your opinion in what ways do you think civic education can be done to enable people know about election matters?*

.....
.....

C. Opportunities available for women:

1a) *In your opinion do you think there were any opportunities for women which could enable them participate both as candidates and voters?(tick your response)*

Yes No.....

b) *With the opening up of political party space, what opportunities for government available for women in this new multi party dispensation in as far as women political participation is concerned*

.....
.....

c) *What opportunities do you think were available for women from your political party helped women fully participate especially as candidates?*

.....

e) *What opportunities were there from Non governmental organisations (NGO's) that could have helped women participate especially as candidates and voters during the 1997 and 2006 local council elections?*

.....

2a) *Do you think the law in place through reserved local council seats for women and other constitutional laws in place have helped women to fully participate in local council elections?*

b) *In your view, do you think women during the 2006 elections had many opportunities in their*

favour compared to the 1997 elections?

.....

.....

c) In your opinion what do you think the government can do to help women fully participate in elections as candidates and as voters?

.....

.....

d) In your opinion, how do you think women can be encouraged to participate more in local council elections both as candidates and as voters?

.....

.....

THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION.

INTERVIEW GUIDE (Key informants)

Sub county.....

Attitudes of women towards their participation in elections

- 1. Did you participate during the 1997 and 2006 local council elections in your area?*
- 2. Do you think the women in your area are well represented in the local councils?*
- 3. Do you think women in you area are responsible enough to choose a woman representative of their choice with out any influence be it national or otherwise?*
- 4. In your view do you think women are now more capable and firm enough to challenge men in local council elections?*
- 5. Do you think the women in your area fully participated in Local council elections as candidates?*
- 6. Do you think women councils are of any use to your area? Give reasons*
- 7. Compare the years(1997 and 2006) in terms of women attitudes towards participation as candidates and voters.*
- 8. Some women see elections and politics as a “dirty game” which should be left for only men what is you stand on this? Give reasons*

Challenges to women participation:

- 9. In your oppinion do you think there are any economic challenges that women faced that could have hindered their participation both as candidates and as voters?*
- 10. In you opinion, what Economic factors or challenges do you think hindered women from participating in elections especially as candidates?*
- 11. Do you think money is an important resource for one’s success in elections?*
- 12. Do women in you area have any command over resources in their household?*
 - b. If yes what resources do you think women in you area have command of and do you think these resources can help women in participating in elections especially as candidates?*
 - c. If No why do you think so? Then where do you think women(candidates) that contest for various posts at local councils get finances from to enable them campaign?*

13. *Compare the years between 1997 and 2006 where women faced many economic challenges that could have hindered their participation both as candidates and as voters.*
14. *Do you think women faced any social cultural challenges which could have hindered their participation in elections both as candidates and as voters?*
15. *What are some of those social cultural challenges that women experience that could have hindered their participation both as candidates and as voters?*
16. *In your opinion do you think that some times men discourage their wives from participating in elections and dictate the kind of candidate their wives should vote for? Give reasons for your response*
17. *In which year did women experience more social cultural challenges which could have hindered their participation both as candidates and as voters?*
18. *Do you think women experience political challenges which could have hindered their participation during the 1997 and 2006 local council elections both as candidates and voters?*
19. *What are some of those political challenges that women face that could have hindered their participation both as candidates and as voters?*
20. *What problems do you think women experience while contesting on the one third seat set aside for them through the local government act?*
21. *In your opinion, do you think political parties supported women candidates of their parties especially during the 2006 multiparty elections?*
- b. *If yes, what form of support did these Political parties provide?*
- c. *If No give reasons why political parties did not support women candidates of their parties.*
22. *Do you think in your opinion that women in your area compete favorably with male candidates on the directly Elected councilor positions? Give reasons for your response above*
23. *What in your opinion do you think would motivate women to compete on the Directly elected councillor positions with men?*
24. *Compare the years 1997 and 2006 in comparison to political challenges that women faced that could have hindered their participation.*
25. *Do you think there are any election management challenges which could have hindered women participation during the 1997 and 2006 local council elections both as candidates and as voters?*

26. *What are some of those election management challenges that could have hindered women's participation both as candidates and as voters?*
27. *Was there enough civic education /sensitizing people about elections made before the elections?*
- b. *If yes which people/organization/ radio station (state which station) carried out civic education within your district/area and was it adequate in informing the people in the area about the elections?*
28. *In what ways was the civic education made? Please state your response*
- b. *If No how did you come to learn about the voting trend during election days for example that presidential, parliamentary and women MP were to be elected on the same day and local council elections to follow on the proceeding days during the 2006 elections?*
29. *Compare the civic education made during the 1997 elections and that done during the 2006 elections*
30. *Did you find your name on the district voter's register for the 2006 elections?*
31. *Did the move from Electoral colleges (committee set aside to select the women representative to the council) to Universal Adult Suffrage (voting by secret ballot box) have an impact on women Participating) Give reasons for your response*
32. *In your opinion in what ways do you think civic education can be done to enable women know about election matters?*

Opportunities available for women participation:

33. *With the opening up of political party space, do you think there are any opportunities from government available for women in this new multi party dispensation in as far as women political participation is concerned and what opportunities are those?*
34. *What opportunities do you think were available for women from your political party that could have helped women fully participate especially as candidates?*
35. *What opportunities were there from Non governmental organisations (NGO's) that could have helped women participate especially as candidates during the 1997 and 2006 local council elections?*

36. Do you think the law in place through reserved local council seats for women and other constitutional laws in place helped women to fully participate in local council elections?

37. In your view, do you think women this time (2006 elections) round had many opportunities in their favour compared to the 1997 elections and what opportunities were they?

38. In your opinion what do you think the government can do to help women fully participate in elections as candidates and as voters?

39. In your opinion, how do you think women can be encouraged to participate more in local council elections both as candidates and as voters?

THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION

FOCUS GROUP GUIDE (For Focus group discussions)

Sub county.....

Attitudes of women towards their participation in elections

- 1. Did you participate during the 1997 and 2006 local council elections in your area?*
- 2. Do you think the women in your area are well represented in the local councils?*
- 3. Do you think people in you area are responsible enough to choose a woman representative of their choice with out any influence be it national or otherwise?*
- 4. In your view do you think women are now more capable and firm enough to challenge men in local council elections?*
- 5. Do you think the women in your area fully participated in Local council elections as candidates?What percentage between 1997 and 2006?*
- 6. Do you think women councils are of any use to your area?*
- 7. Compare the attitudes of women during the 1997 local council elections and those during 2006 multiparty elections?*
- 8. Some women see elections and politics as a “dirty game” which should be left for only men what is you stand on this? Give reasons*

Challenges to women participation:

- 9. In your oppinion do you think there are any economic challenges that women face that could have hindered their participation both as candidates and as voters?*
- 10. In you opinion, what Economic factors or challenges do you think hindered women from participating in elections especially as candidates?*
- 11. Do you think money is an important resource for one’s success in elections?*
- 12. Do women in you area have any command over resources in their household?*
 - b. If yes what resources do you think women in you area have command of and do you think these resources can help women in participating in elections especially as candidates?*
 - c. If No why do you think so? Then where do you think women(candidates) that contest for various posts at local councils get finances from to enable them campaign?*
- 13. Compare the years between 1997 and 2006 where women faced many economic challenges taht could have hinderd their participation both as ccandidates and as voters.*

14. Do you think women face any social cultural challenges which could have hindered their participation in elections both as candidates and as voters?
15. What are some of those social cultural challenges that women experience that could have hindered their participation both as candidates and as voters?
16. In your opinion do you think that some times men discourage their wives from participating in elections and dictate the kind of candidate their wives should vote for? Give reasons for your response
17. In which year did women experience more social cultural challenges which could have hindered their participation both as candidates and as voters? Give reasons
18. Compare the social-cultural challenges women experienced during the 1997 elections with those during the 2006 elections in determining the levels of women participation?
19. Do you think women experience political challenges which could have hindered their participation during the 1997 and 2006 local council elections both as candidates and as voters?
20. What are some of those political challenges that women face that could have hindered their participation both as candidates and as voters?
21. What problems do you think women experience while contesting on the one third seat set aside for them through the local government act?
22. In your opinion, do you think political parties supported women candidates of their parties especially during the 2006 multiparty elections? (By show of hands how many women candidates received support from political parties)
 - b. If yes, what form of support did these Political parties provide?
 - c. If No give reasons why political parties did not support women candidates of their parties
23. Do you think in your opinion that women in your area compete favorably with male candidates on the directly Elected councilor positions? Give reasons for your response above
24. What in your opinion do you think would motivate women to compete on the Directly elected councillor positions with men?
25. Compare the years 1997 and 2006 in comparison to political challenges that women faced that could have hindered their participation.
26. Do you think there are any election management challenges which could have hindered women participation during the 1997 and 2006 local council elections both as candidates and as voters?

27. *What are some of those election management challenges that could have hindered women's participation both as candidates and as voters?*

28. *Was there enough civic education /sensitizing people about elections made before the elections?*

b. If yes which people/organization/ radio station (state which station) carried out civic education within your district/area and was it adequate in informing the people in the area about the elections?

29. *In what ways was the civic education made for example was it by using flyers, banners, radio talk shows, by the Electoral commission officials or any other way? Please state your response*

b. If No how did you come to learn about the voting trend during election days for example that presidential, parliamentary and women MP were to be elected on the same day and local council elections to follow on the proceeding days during the 2006 elections?

30. *Compare the civic education made during the 1997 elections and that done during the 2006 elections*

31. *Did you find your name on the district voter's register for the 2006 elections?*

32. *Were you aware of the presence of complaints desk officers with in the district Electoral commission office that were charged to handle complaints during the 2006 election period? If No give reasons*

33. *Did the move from Electoral colleges (committee set aside to select the women representative to the council) to Universal Adult Suffrage (voting by secret ballot box) have an impact on women Participating) Give reasons for your response*

34. *In your opinion in what ways do you think civic education can be done to enable women know about election matters?*

Opportunities available for women participation:

35. *In your opinion do you think there are any opportunities for women which can enable them Participate both as candidates and voters?*

36. *With the opening up of political party space, do you think there are any opportunities from government available for women in this new multi party dispensation in as far women political participation is concerned and what opportunities are those?*

37. *What opportunities do you think were available for women from your political party that could have helped women fully participate especially as candidates?*
38. *What opportunities were there from Non governmental organisations (NGO's) that could have helped women participate especially as candidates during the 1997 and 2006 local council elections?*
39. *Do you think the law in place through reserved local council seats for women and other constitutional laws in place have helped women to fully participate in local council elections?*
40. *In your view, do you think women this time (2006 elections) round had many opportunities in their favour compared to the 1997 elections?*
41. *In your opinion what do you think the government can do to help women fully participate in elections as candidates and as voters?*
42. *In your opinion, how do you think women can be encouraged to participate more in local council elections both as candidates and as voters?*

THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION

October 24, 2009

The Director
School of Graduate studies
Makerere University

Thru: Prof. Murindwa Rutanga
Supervisor,

Dear Sir,

RE: SUBMISSION OF MY MAPAM DISSERTATION FOR EXAMINATION.

This is to submit to you my dissertation in Public Administration and Management for examination. The topic of the research was Challenges to Women Participation in Local Council Elections in Uganda. A Case study of 1997 and 2006 Elections in Mityana District.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Yours sincerely,

AHEBWA ANNA

REG. No. 2006HD148037U

MAP OF UGANDA SHOWING LOCATION OF MITYANA DISTRICT.



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