Gendering Political Institutions: Delineation of the Legislative Recruitment Processes and the Significance of Female Councillors in Uganda

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To my daughter Deborah

and

All Ugandan women with political ambitions

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Ellipsis

Art.   Article
DLC   District Local Government
DP   Democratic Party
Elect   Elected
FDC   Forum for Democratic Change
LCs   Local Councils (LCI= Village, LCII= Parish/Ward; LCIII=Subcounty/
             Municipal division/Town; LC IV= County/City division;
             LCV= District/City)
LG   Local Government
LGA   Local Government Act
NRM   National Resistance Council
Nom   Nominated
Mun   Municipal council
NWCs   National Women Councils
PR   Proportional Representation
RCs   Resistance Councils
Sec.   Section
UPC   Uganda Peoples Congress

Synonyms and Definitions

Female councillors   Councillors who are women
Women councillors   Quota female councillors
Quota Women   Women occupying reserved seats in local or national
                        legislatures
Rural council   District council
Urban council   Municipality

Acknowledgements

SECTION I

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

Gender analyses provide one outstanding way of understanding contemporary organizations. The present-day concerns of gender issues relate to discourses of equality dating back to the eighteenth and much of the nineteenth century, rooted in the philosophies of the natural rights theorists whose emphasis underlined the natural human rights and liberties. From philosophical foundations as those laid in the 1776 American Declaration of Independence proclaiming that *"All men are created equal"* and the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen stating that *"Men are born and remain free and equal in rights"*(Heywood 2004:16; Mackenzie 2005); together with the subsequent 1948 United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights, explicit call for equal opportunities, equal conditions and equal outcomes for all persons. These principles formed a springboard for the feminist activists to ensure that women are not only treated in a similar way with men but also that they obtain a relatively proportional share in the available social, political and economic opportunities and outcomes relating to all forms of organizations.

Women hold a long history of being marginalized and discriminated against in many instances including participation in political organizations[1], a condition that account for many past feminists movements. The women breakthrough is traceable from their suffrage obtained first in New Zealand in 1893 and subsequently other women in the US, Australia, Europe, Latin America, and Asia by mid twentieth century (Darcy, Welch et al. 1994; Jaquette 1997). Traditionally, women suffrage and their need for political action held historical bases of inalienable human rights, as well as transitional role of a woman from pre-industrial family responsibility to modern industrial society duties related to working conditions, health and sanitation, and other related social-ills of industrialization and urbanization. Initially, the intent of the ballot was for electing representatives that would bring about reforms desirable for the betterment of women's traditional responsibilities in their homes. The focus thus was not on the election of women per se, but rather to influence male politicians' responsiveness to women enviable reforms. In yet another perspective, women suffrage was a sure ticket for direct legislation under direct democracy (Darcy, Welch et al. 1994:10). The gradual emergence of representative democracy however overtook the modalities of direct democracy

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[1] I use political organisations here to signify all forms of institutions involved in public decision making including management and political bodies.

and women's indirect influence. As such women's physical presence in the political arenas was deemed necessary for continued participation in decision making but also for other arguments as raised in this study.

While women suffrage and political representation over the years and across nations has been a breakthrough of women political marginalization, the women's persistent limited numbers in legislatures suggests unrelenting problem. The recruitment structures and processes which are largely dominated by men continue constrain women access to political arenas and their representative roles while in political positions. Within the legislatures, women political marginalization extends *vertically* with few women advancing upwards in political hierarchies and *horizontally* with women getting confined in specific policy areas and men others (Raaum 1995:29). The vertical marginalization according to Raaum confines majority of women in lower level political positions, while horizontal marginalization enables predominance of women in "soft" productive sectors as education, health, social policy, as men engage in "hard" sectors as finance, transport, foreign affairs and agriculture (p31). Anne Phillips also points out the distinct gender distributions of political interest, claiming women concerns on education, welfare and environment while men control economy, industry, energy and foreign affairs (Phillips 1996:114). Presently therefore, while women may claim a considerable achievement in political participation, the enduring challenges of their political careers remains a threat to their political ambitions.

The findings of this study therefore highlight the dynamics of women political recruitment and representation pointing to the women legislative access, numbers, purpose and constraints. This chapter in particular, gives an overview of conventional arguments for political representation and a global overview of women in politics. The chapter presents the study problem that reveals the existing description of women representation in Uganda. It further explains the focus and scope of the study, the research questions, and finally presents a synopsis of the dissertation structure to offer a reader an overview of the study substance.

1.2 Arguments for Women Political Representation

There happens to be broad-spectrum arguments for increasing women political representation but the commonly theoretical claims regard the move to women political representation as stemming from the recognition of women's need to have an influence in decision-making.

Their political presence in legislatures becomes crucial for ensuring that their interests, needs and concerns are incorporated in the policy process by their own input. Other theoretical paradigms however, hold that women representation is a principle of social justice and that increased women political representation enhances political life from women's experiences and creates role models for other women who subsequently emulate their representatives' examples (Phillips 1995:62). Similarly, Darcy et al hold that women political representation is indispensable for purposes of ideological advantage, women expertise, social benefits and legitimizing the system. They particularly argue that women representation enables legislation to accommodate policies in favor of women rights and children care as well as increased female representation. They also maintain that because of their experiences in different spheres than men, women have knowledge and insights into some matters that men do not have and therefore their political participation would enable intelligible and effective decisions. Darcy et al also consider women political office holding as a way of improving quality leadership because of the increased competition as the half-human race females enter into politics. Yet, in another perspective, the writers conceive women representation as meant to provide legitimacy to the political system itself considering that they [women] are a social category like race, ethnic or religious groups who in democratic systems are included in political deliberations (Darcy, Welch et al. 1994: 15-18). The latter point is extended by Fiona Mackay who notes that women's mere presence in politics makes a difference in a "symbolic" sense where they may not necessarily act differently from men or specifically represent women interests but rather lend legitimacy to the political institutions as 'signifiers of justice, inclusion and recognition"(Mackay 2004: 101).

Wilma Rule and Joseph Zimmerman additionally appreciate that parliament with few women may fail to recognize or to comprehend issues of great importance to women in the society and they relate women political inadequacy with questions of accountability, responsiveness and alienation (Reynolds 1999). On an emphatic note, Reynolds stresses; "Absence of women is not a mere sign of disadvantage and disenfranchisement but the exclusion of women from positions of power also compounds gender stereotypes and retards a pace of equalization" (p549).

The diverse views theorized about women presence in the political legislatures offer us an image on the necessity of having women in the local legislatures. The arguments underline a need for women representation to cater for women needs. On the other hand, claims relating

to legitimacy, accountability, responsiveness, justice and recognition point to the factor of democratisation. Upon these hypothetical notions, this study explores perceptions and opinions of the Ugandan local government councillors to augment our present understanding of women political representation. The study relates the councillors' perceptions of political representation with these existing theoretical orientations.

1.3 The Magnitude of Women Political Representation: A Global Overview

In spite of gender-based prejudice still prevalent in some parts of the world, across the globe, a number of studies depict the way political structures and processes are increasingly offering equal opportunities to women particularly in political positions. The political thinking and practice in a number of countries are being refocused on gender issues seeking to increase the number of women representation in political arenas at both local and national levels with an intention of counteracting gender inequalities, empowering and enabling women to assume their rightful place in the society (Haynes 2005:288).

While variable approaches to promote women into politics have taken root – including quota legislations, constitutionalization of women rights, gender mainstreaming and other affirmative action approaches – women numbers are still meager in virtually all legislatures. With quotas legislation in forty countries (IDEA 2006) and with Western democratization experiences, women would have supposedly superseded the current 18.4% representation in the national legislatures (IPU 2008).

Whereas the current studies offer in-depth analyses of women in politics, these are largely global national level studies as in the case of IPU national parliament data and IDEA quotas reports. The extended local government studies presenting women numbers in local legislatures over time appear in countries like UK, Asia and the Pacific, US and the Scandinavia (Darcy, Welch et al. 1994; Raaum 1995; Stokes 2005; UN 2005). Even then, the present day data on women status in most of such local councils seems not readily available to aid comparative studies. Of peculiar interests also, is that data on African countries' local governments appear nominal in present literature. Some of the available data such as that from the Commonwealth Local Government Forum presenting profiles on a number of its member countries (CLGF 2008) also misses a clear statement on the council compositions.

The minimal local government studies may be accounted for by the intricacy of differences in local government set up in different political systems. Such systems consist of unique multilevel local government political structures that appear not easily comparable in terms of numbers and categories of women representatives as it is with the national level studies. In many sub-national legislatures, comparative political institutions may appear distinctive in each country and even within each country; fully decentralized systems have extensive nomenclatures of local government structures which renders partial studies related to specific political representative categories or a confinement to a particular level of such councils. The nature of such decentralized structures therefore would be more ideal for comparative studies with regard to such issues as effects of context on political recruitment. This study though offers no such a comparative approach and remains confined to profound analyses of representation on the political recruitment processes of specified local council levels within the Ugandan polity.

Studies on Uganda local governments are also limited in scope and present little about women political numbers. Josephine Ahikire's study for instance presents the 1998 data on elected positions of women amongst local council V (LC5) Chairpersons and Vice-chairpersons as well as Mayors and LC3 chairpersons and in the appointed positions of non-political local government heads as the Chief Administrative officer, Town Clerk and Resident District Commissioner (Ahikire 2003). Her recent 2007 study equally examines directly-elected women councillors at the district, municipality, subcounty/ municipal divisions, city divisions and town councils from the 1998/1998 electoral commission report database where the average women representation for all councils mentioned was 1.6% (Ahikire 2007: 95). She further presents figures of the district women directly-elected councillors in 10 selected district councils during the elections of 2001/2002 that indicate 6.5% women contestants of total 705 candidates (p96).

Whilst Ahikire studies offer us a clue on the women position in the local politics, the data presented only relate to a small fraction of the total number of women councillors – the directly elected councillor. We however note that the largest number of women in the Ugandan local councils occupy the quota seats. To explicably discuss gender and Uganda local politics therefore, it necessitates a comprehensive study of the quota and non-quota women councillors, an approach which this study opted for. This approach leads to establishing aggregates of women at the national level and their percentages in relation to

total number of councillors. The intricacy of the numerous local governments' categories renders a crosscutting comparison for all levels cumbersome and as such this study is restricted to district councils and municipalities.

1.4 Women in Uganda Politics: Redefining the Problem of Women Political Representation

An account of the Ugandan women political presence at both national and local level is documented in the scholarly works of Sylvia Tamale (1999), Aili Mari Tripp (1994, 2000, 2001), Annie Marie Goetz (2003) and Josephine Ahikire (2003, 2007). As will be detailed in the subsequent chapters, the studies acknowledge both the role of institutional structures (largely the National Resistance Movement and women social movements) in bringing women to the Uganda's political scene and the institutional mechanisms regulating their political performance.

While Ugandan women have a longstanding history of political participation, their pronounced political representation and its subsequent significance dates from the time when NRM came to power in 1986. First was the integration of women on the Resistance Councils (RCs). The RC system of political re-organization initiated earlier in the National Resistance Army guerilla war zone (Museveni 1997; Tripp 2000) were formally embraced and legislated by the new government in 1987 Resistance Councils and Committee Statute as political structures to handle administrative matters and adjudicating disputes at the local level. Constituted by 9 members[2], each RC committee from the village to the district level had at least one mandatory woman member (Ahikire 2007: 6). Ahikire notes the significance of mandating women to be on RCs and critically realizes that while one woman (holding the position of secretary for women) seemed a token in these councils, their aggregation at different RC levels meant a relative visibility that changed the dynamics of politics both at the local and national levels. For a number of years of the NRM regime, women representation in the RCs remained of this mode until the inauguration of the 1995 constitution and the subsequent Local Governments Act 1997 that legislated women quota seats of a least 1/3 per local council and one woman representative per district for the national parliament. These were outcomes of the 1994 Constituent Assembly (CA) whose elaborative debate on the

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[2] The nine members consisted of the chairperson, vice chairperson, general secretary, secretary for women, secretary for youth, secretary for information, secretary for security, secretary for finance and secretary mass mobilization

women affirmative action is presented in Ahikire's 1997 Uganda local democracy analysis. The underlying developments of RCs and the subsequent Local Council (LC) system will be discussed in detail under chapter 2.

The key issue underlying the Uganda studies about the RCs, the LCs and women integration however has been critical on the mode of women access to the political scene. One principal argument raised by Goetz and Ahikire has been that the "add-on" method[3] of women political inclusion through women quotas has posed a negative impact on their political effectiveness (Ahikire 2003; Goetz 2003b). Goetz considers the term 'effectiveness' to signify "the ability to use 'voice' to publicize issues of concern to women, to use electoral leverage to press demands on decision makers, to trigger better responsiveness from the public sector for their needs, and better enforcement of constitutional commitments to women's equal rights" (Goetz 2003:29). She criticizes the way in which Uganda women access politics as having a profound effect on their legitimacy and effectiveness in the decision-making. Describing how recruitment processes have compromised the effectiveness of women representation, Goetz argues that NRM (and indeed Museveni) through creation of new representative seats and new political offices brought women into politics "on the principal of extending patronage to a new clientele and extending the state"; and that women basically serve as "a large vote bank" (Goetz 2003b:120). Goetz is critical of the method used in instituting women quotas, when she argues that one-third reservation was not applied to the existing seats in the local government councils but rather as a fraction of the total number of seats for the council. She attacks the practical methods of operationalizing affirmative action in politics (of 'add-on' mechanism) for not giving women advantages in political contest with men arguing that it has created a new public space reserved exclusively for women, that include new bureaucracies for women, new parliamentary and local government seats for women-only competition and new ministerial positions (p.118). Her critique against the method of women inclusion and its effect not only suggest a standard women quota approach that integrates women into mainstream political structures but in someway seemingly discredits the relevance of women quotas when she argues against women-only competition. This study however diverges from this view and holds that quotas world-over can be defendable as being of great significance for women in the contemporary democracies as it is illustrated in chapter 7.

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[3] The quota method is considered as "add-on" because the 1/3 reservation seats are calculated out of the total ordinary constituency representatives and the resulting number is added on and given newly created constituencies.

A further argument about women ineffectiveness in political representation has also been considered to be the absence of political parties and the subsequent democratic governance as Goetz concisely maintains:

> Without institutionalized parties and without a democratic decision-making structure within Museveni's 'Movement', women have no means of asserting their rights to be fronted as candidates in open elections, of bringing membership pressure to bear on party executives to introduce gender sensitivity in the staffing of party posts, or using the dynamics of multi-party competition to develop political clout around a gendered voting gap. Instead they have been recruited to the project of legitimizing the Movement's no-party state, risking the discrediting of the entire project of representing women's interests in the political arena should the present system collapse (Goetz 2003b: 110)

One featuring issue in the above Goetz assertion is that in Uganda, women representation is primarily for legitimizing the Movement government. This view however seems to be an oversimplification of the representation act which manifests in many forms that are both descriptive and substantive as will be discussed later. Such a conclusion downplays the women representatives' substantive roles in their political positions. The conclusion is largely based on the mode of political recruitment (women quotas) and the political system (no-party government) and waters down other structural and individual factors that make representation a reality. Again, considering the advantages of party politics underlying such argument as above, Goetz suggests a positive effect of multiparty politics on women representation. Uganda has been through multiparty form of governance before the NRM regime without a proof of a considerable women political inclusion effect. That this study is conducted in the period when Uganda has returned to multiparty governance since 2006 elections, the findings illuminate the impact of the parties on the women significance in political arenas. These are issues that are closely examined in this study.

Goetz criticism about the Movement system (and lack of multiparty form of governance), additionally underlines the presence of the parallel structures of women councils against the mainstream Movement councils, a structural arrangement pronounced prior to the 2001 elections. Originally, there existed women councils, youth councils and the LC local councils which run from the village to the national level in a parallel manner. The women and youth council chairpersons at every level qualified as members of the corresponding mainstream LC. The existence of parallel women councils is conceived as their agreeable separateness in the gender perspective that implies the construction of notions of their differences from men.

Anne Mari Tripp also notes that that it is considered as an evidence of women concession to exclusionary political order that keeps them peripheral to political engagement (Tripp 2000:90). Trip however seems to diverge from such feminist theoretical conclusions about women autonomous associations when she argues that instead the separateness enable women to creatively expand their choices, opportunities and control. Women, according to Tripp, use such exclusive women gender-based associations like women councils to access community leadership and to have a voice alongside men over the use of communal resources. Rather than the problem of gender separateness, Tripp considers the probable ineffectiveness of women political representatives to be an outcome of the mismatch of institutional setup when she observes;

> …new players – namely women – are brought into the game but the rules, structures, and practices continue to promote existing political and social interests, making it difficult for women to realize their interests (Tripp 2000:219)

Such an assertion, suggests institutional factors that inhibit women access to political positions and affect their performance in the course of political representation. The view reinforces the already underlined arguments regarding institutional effect conceived by Goetz and Ahikire.

Furthering their arguments however, Goetz and Ahikire are not only critical about the women separate councils and on reserved women seats in the local councils but also on the way the women constituencies are composed. Referring to the 1998 local council elections, they argue that women constituencies were clusters of ordinary constituencies (normally 2 or 3) of the directly elected councillors and that the elections of women seats were held separately after other elections. The fragmented election schedules for local councillors of the past electoral processes and the discrete women councils at all local council levels proved to be too many resulting in the voter's fatigue and lack of electoral quorums particularly during the time when the electoral procedure was not by secret ballot but by lining up behind the candidate. Women electoral processes also faced problems of multitude labels for female candidates such as "councillor for women", "woman councillor", "women councillor", and "women representative" that bred an extended confusion of role and position of women political representatives (Ahikire 2007:91).

Presently, the electoral procedure has been reviewed and all local government councillors are elected on the same day and at the same polling stations in each constituency and the general electoral procedure for all political candidates presently is by secret ballot. This arrangement could perhaps have eased the electoral fatigue for voters in the present electoral processes. The effect of such electoral reforms could be established if the scope of this study was extended to analyses of the voter turn-out which apparently it does not. Observations regarding the nature of women constituencies however have remained similar – averagely twice the ordinary constituencies – and the overlapping women labels have consistently applied to women representatives. This study highlights a possible effect of the recurring labels and multiple constituencies on women representation.

In general, the overall assessment of the issues highlighted above suggest one conclusion that women political representation is influenced by their recruitment process and that in Uganda institutional factors are paramount in political recruitment. The deductions made imply that women in Uganda have no influence on political decisions to suit women needs. They attribute women political ineptitude to the nature of women quotas, the no-party system, women council structures and the size of women constituencies. While I agree that these factors influence women recruitment processes, my views part from the conclusion concerning how the factors influence women's role and position in politics. First, I hold that the analysis made is only on institutional factors whereas individual factors are always indispensable in such processes. Secondly, the indicated studies seem to erroneously equate representation to political effectiveness while their definition of "women effectiveness" and the subsequent conclusions further suggest that women representation is solely meant for women needs. This study does not engage in assessing or defining "women effectiveness" per se but rather examines their representation. The study holds a premise that women political purpose can be elucidated through a clear and conscious assessment of their recruitment process which involves many factors and actors. Their performance cannot be competently judged on consideration of one or two factors as in case of the mentioned studies that accentuate the significance of quotas and political parties.

1.5 Focus and Scope of the Study

The existing Uganda studies largely offer analyses of women numbers in the parliament, electoral processes and legislative procedures (Tamale 1999; Goetz 2003b; Ahikire 2007). This study however diverges from the common conventional women studies that have tended to zero on women representation analyses at national level. My divergence from the national study orthodoxy bases on my thesis that women at a higher political representational level may portray skewed understanding of women substantive role in politics because of such factors as bigger constituencies and the representatives "being far from the constituencies". First, by operating at the national level, women national representatives are unquestionably far-off localities they represent which has an ultimate implication on the interaction and accessibility of the representative to the represented. Secondly, a district constituency (for women MPs), is too wide an area to gauge the actual impact of a single woman representative compared to a county or municipal constituency (for directly elected men and women MPs) or local government constituencies for councillors. My view is that a study of local women politicians is a more feasible approach in understanding the meaning and need for representation because not only is the grassroots a superlative center for the representatives and the represented interaction but also a place where institutions and structures that influence representation can more easily be assessed.

By approach, the study also diverges from the trend of women political representation studies that have taken a stance of understanding the women's significance by analyses of women legislative activities. A number of scholars have attempted to extensively examine contributions of women to political debates by comparing such issues as legislative bills, resolutions, arguments and questions introduced by female and male legislators. Sylvia Tamale (1996) for instance examines the masculine nature of the formalities and debates of the Ugandan parliament (Tamale 1999:119-158). Ahikire also explores highlights of the 1994 Constituency Assembly (CA) debate about gender quotas citing critical contributions of both men and women CA delegates (Ahikire 2007: 78-86). She further examines the way local electoral process is gendered through money, morality and marriage (p109).

My own conviction however is that contributions to legislative debates are in some ways correlated to the manner in which the women councillors access political positions. I hold that the key factors and actors in the councillor selection process highly influence the political

ideas and subsequent trends of female councillors' contributions to the debates. I therefore consider the legislative behavior as a function of the recruitment process. Besides, I also note that in many other instances councillors are too many, and that the opinions on particular political aspects for debate may be cross-cutting. As such, the probability of who introduces an argument or a question may matter little since the same ideas could be shared amongst the legislators. Procedurally for instance, in Uganda local councils, key political issues are first discussed in relevant committees or caucuses of some sort before being introduced to the legislatures. This means that with exception of private members bills or other upcoming ideas, committee chairs or other designated members become responsible for introducing a particular issue on the agenda. It also means that if one does not belong to a particular committee assigned the duty of handling such a matter, there is little chance of presenting the idea. On a number of occasions, council members are ruled out of order because the issue is not on the order paper or it is not introduced by a relevant committee. Tamale's study of the Uganda parliamentary debates affirms my assertion when she states:

> My observation in both committee sessions and assembly debates suggested that the onerous and intimidating rules of procedure in plenary sessions act to prevent many parliamentarians from effectively contributing to the debates on the House Floor. Several MPs who keep silent or hardly contribute in the plenary sessions are fairly active in the committees" (Tamale 1999:146).

Such observations imply that the legislative behavior approach may be insufficient to explain the significance of women political representatives. With the highly formalized legislative procedure of assigning issues to particular committees plus the standardized mode of "how to deliberate" it becomes challenging to determine the role of women in initiation and discussion of political ideas tabled.

By approach, this study also applies the term "significance" of women representatives in the local politics to imply the *importance* attached to political representation as well as the *magnitude* of women representation in the Ugandan local governments. While prior studies utilize the terms like women "impact" and "effectiveness" (as appearing in Ahikire and Goetz et al) it has become clear that these are engrossed with great ambiguity. Drude Dahlerup is particularly critical on such concepts during her analysis of whether a *critical mass* of women in politics "makes a difference". Dahlerup relates to the usage of the term "making difference" to similar ambiguities arising from other terms as feminizing politics, women

political effectiveness, accountability to women, women-friendly policies, gendered issues and strategic gender interests that have frequently featured in various gender discourses (Dahlerup 2006). As Dahlerup notes, such concepts require a more precise definition of dependent variables if we are to avoid possible challenges of understanding women political representation and this seems to be undervalued in the Uganda women representative studies.

To explain women political effectiveness by way of women "voice" that is presumed to be curtailed by the add-on method of access to political arenas is an overestimation of many other factors affecting voice. Further still, limiting political representation to "effectiveness" in the context defined by Goetz is underestimation of the entire meaning of the concept of political representation which appears to be multidimensional as theorized in Hanna Pitkin (Pitkin 1967). I thus hold that examining the women political numbers and the cross-sectional processes through which they are recruited into politics including the enabling and disabling factors are essential approaches to determine their effectiveness and their voice per se. I however also note that representation ought not to be limited to voice because as noted at the beginning of this chapter, it serves diverse purposes like gender parity and regime legitimation of which Goetz is critical about. Drawing from the existing literature and individual opinions, this study elaborately presents the entire process of becoming a representative and the purpose for representation in the Ugandan local government context.

1.6 Research Questions

Empirical research is driven by research questions that are developed according to the identified research area either deductively, from general to specific questions or inductively beginning with the specific and working towards more general questions (Punch 1998:34). Punch holds a view that general research questions guide our thinking and are of great importance in organizing the project, while the specific questions direct empirical procedures and are actually answered in the research. The research questions therefore are central to a study and are essential for directing the project with coherence. They draw up the boundaries of the project, enable the researcher to be focused during the project, guide the researcher on the relevant data and provide a framework for writing up a project.

Considering the underlined purpose, research questions are a 'backbone' of the entire project. They aid in defining the problem, guide on the literature to use in the project, determine the data to be collected, back the data analysis and provide a framework for data interpretation and conclusions. What this means therefore is that a researcher needs to reflect on the research question from the time of conceiving the research problem to the final discussions of the research results as theorized in the integrated model below.

Figure I : The Integrated Research Model
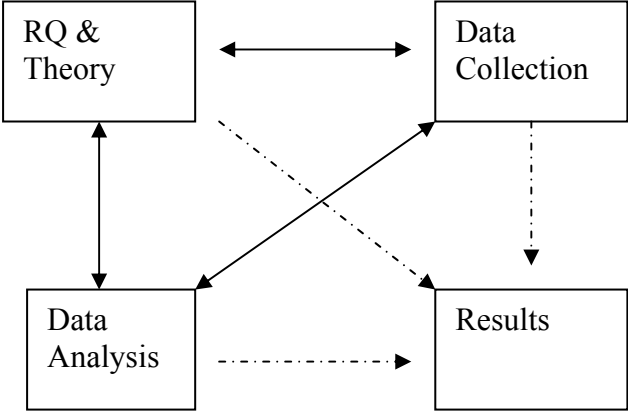
In the integrated model, the formulated research questions and the related theoretical framework to the research problem directly guides the data collection methods as well as the data analysis. The research results therefore should reflect the research questions and the theses underlying them. Nevertheless, in the entire process, the research questions should not be viewed as a constant. It may occur that some emergent issues arise during the data collection process which may dictate a review of the planned research method. It may also emerge that the data analysis reveals some deficiencies that may necessitate additional data collection, further literature or theory. These circumstances may require a review of the preset research questions to suit the entire research process.

1.6.1 Research Questions in Respect to this Study

The above theoretical guide on the research questions enabled this study to adopt the number of research questions deriving from my study problem as enumerated below:

The first facet for this study concerns my realization that Ugandan local government studies are a few and limited in scope. Henceforth, I begin by establishing the actual women representation levels in the local councils upon which data the subsequent discussions revolve. The research question thus is: *What is the status of women in the Uganda District and Municipal local governments?* By status, I ascertain women councillor numbers and draw representation comparisons in both types of local councils with the intent of establishing a rural-urban distinction. With a similar perspective, the study set to find a possible significance of ethnicity on women representation.

Secondly, this study explores ways through which women access council political positions and the specific concern here relates to examining determinants of political recruitment. The relevant research question is: *What factors and actors influence political recruitment of local government councillors and leaders?* Specifically, the study examines the enormity of the factors and actors in the recruitment process. It assesses the process of political recruitment and the impact of the existing political system and structures on the political aspirants.

The study further examines the individual opinions about women political representation in the contemporary Ugandan politics. In this perspective, it explores the perceptions held on women representation on the question: *Of what importance is women representation in the local councils*? The study under this question endeavored to establish if women had common issues of political interest and whether female councillors were recruited to meet these interests. A more related aim was to examine women quotas in the local councils and to explore the perceptions of local councillors. The central focus here was: *Of what relevance are the women quotas in the local councils? Is the current quota conceived as necessary and sufficient?* In this area, the focus lies on the evaluation of legislated reserved seats for women at the local council level.

Lastly, the study examines the women councillor political careers. The question at hand is: *How do women political barriers affect their political careers*? In this question, the study

explores the women political barriers and careers, and maps out a linkage of the two aspects in the process of political recruitment and representation.

1.7 Structuring the Dissertation

This dissertation is structured in two basic sections. The first section comprises of chapter *One* and *Two* which trace the background of women representation giving a sketch of the global perspective and a historical overview of women political participation in Uganda. A highlight of the empirical studies on women political participation in Uganda is reviewed to provide a foundation for this study. Considering that the presence of women in the political arenas involves an intensive process of legislative recruitment, this section also consists of the theoretical insights of these processes. In its chapter *Three* therefore, it presents basic theories related to political recruitment and representation to enable the reader to internalise the procedure for obtaining political representatives, and their nature and purpose. In yet another chapter (*Four*), the section reveals the methods employed in the data collection disclosing the field experiences – challenges encountered and remedies – and the approaches for data processing.

Within the second section, there are study findings derived from primary and secondary data. Chapter *Five* consisting largely of secondary data presents the women repute in terms of numbers in the urban and rural local councils as well as the councillors' selection processes. Chapter *Six* analyses the factors and actors involved in the recruitment process while chapter *Seven* examines the justification for women presence in the political arenas; with specific analyses of numbers and purpose. Chapter *Eight* looks into women political careers and hindrances and the last chapter (*Nine)* gives a recap of the entire study including the discussions and conclusions drawn in relation to the study intent.

CHAPTER 2: WOMEN IN THE UGANDAN POLITICS

2.0 Introduction

Although not extensively documented, women have a long history of political participation running through the pre-colonial and post colonial eras of party or no-party systems. As already noted however, their political history is more pronounced in the NRM period from 1986 todate. The significance of women political participation in Uganda is largely visible under the Ugandan decentralized government system experienced in the last decade of the 20th Century.

This chapter traces women historical developments in Uganda's political regimes and armed struggle. It presents an overview of women representational levels in the past, taking note of their increased visibility in the NRM regime in which local self-governance was instituted. It shows structures of the decentralized political units including districts and lower level councils and highlights the necessity of local self-governance in respect to women. The chapter reveals a series of measures aimed at empowering women and sums-up with evaluation of the historical impact on women political participation in Uganda.

2.1: Historical Developments

Sylvia Tamale's study particularly details the Uganda women political participation right from the pre-colonial period, through colonial and post-colonial independent Uganda. The study recognizes that whereas politics in Uganda appeared to be an exclusive realm of men in the pre-colonial era due to patriarchy, the intimate inner workings of different cultures and historical distinct arrangement between sexes allowed women to participate in formal and informal ways. Tamale notes that women had multiple responsibilities between and across the "private "and "public" spheres which shaped their political history, depending on personal relationships (Tamale 1999:4-5)

Ugandan women political participation is clearly traceable in the events of the colonial and post-colonial period. Their eligibility to political participation is noted in the Uganda Council of Women and in other voluntary women associations' negotiations with majority and opposition party[4] for women franchise towards the time of independence (1962)**.**The earlier

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[4] The majority party was led by Milton Obote and the opposition by Benedicto Kiwanuka

agitations to include women in the first Legislative Council elections of 1956 had proved futile. As a consequence of the women organisations and party leaders meeting, all parties agreed about the women franchise and the 1962 first Uganda constitution granted women aged 21 years and above the right to vote (Tripp 2000:46). Winnie Byanyima attributes this move to the then UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights that saw two women ministers in the immediate post independent Uganda (Byanyima 1992: 132).

The post-independence period of almost two decades was characterized with demise of intended democracy with the abolition of the Ugandan constitution by 1967 and the fascist Amin's regime of 1970's. The turmoil rendered the women's franchise meaningless while men continued dominating the political scene. As Byanyima observes, the continued external exploitation, infiltration and manipulation, and the deepening internal contradictions pressed women to the political edge where only apolitical women organizations like Mothers Union and Young Women's Christian's Association endured. Class, religion, ethnicity and political party affiliation which were at the forefront of political power overshadowed any possible progress of women into politics as brutality and terrorism to the growing opposition claimed many middleclass male elites leaving their wives and children vulnerable. The emerging economic crisis enabled biting poverty particularly on the peasants and those outside the political power circles as the continued insecurity threatened the elite women and their families. With intensified poverty, insecurity and isolation, hatred and discontent persevered and a definite option was to become actively political by joining the emerging armed struggles in the early 1980's.

2.1.1 Women Significance in the Armed Struggle Politics

The miserable and intimidating conditions of post-colonial era partially account for the Uganda women political status todate. Winnie Byanyima clearly analyses the women involvement in the guerilla war and regards it as a last resort for Uganda women and men after the peaceful means proved inadequate mechanism to end aggression of dictators and political upheavals of the time (Byanyima 1992:135). To women, this was an opportune time to engage in political activities that would see the end of their tragedy and isolation. The 1980 elections that were marred by massive rigging of the ruling political party (Uganda Peoples' Congress – UPC) forced the opposition party (the National Resistance Movement – NRM) to undertake armed struggle against the government from 1981 to 1985. NRM's approach which

seemed to favor women was broad-based, involving all social categories. In the initial guerilla war zone were Resistance Committees (RC's) established structures in the form of traditional clan councils on which women were co-opted. The RCs were initial secret committees of volunteers serving as support groups for fighters to mobilize food, recruits, and provide intelligence information and were later formalized through elections as Resistance councils. They additionally became charged with controlling crime and general administration within their localities (Museveni 1997:189). With a strategic plan aiming at mobilization, politicization, democracy, nationalism and human rights, NRM became appealing to women who overwhelmingly embraced this struggle as one alternative to solve Uganda's political problems. A highlight of women armed struggle involvement according to Byanyima was that:

> In the first stages of the war, some urban women were involved in sensitive tasks of gathering intelligence and the collection and transportation of arms, ammunitions, and other supplies. They also carried information between guerrillas in the bush and their supporters in the cities and towns…. Many women in the camps became involved in such traditional tasks as cooking and health care as well as activities outside of combat, e.g. intelligence, courier, and administrative work… peasant women... supplied food to guerilla fighters, provided safe houses, passed on vital information about enemy's location, and catered for ill guerillas (Byanyima 1992:137-38).

Byanyima's observations provide us with an insight of the Ugandan women's transition from being apolitical to full engagement in political activity; from domesticated, peasantry, and economic business roles to coordinators of the guerilla warfare and combatants. Through the RCs, women gained opportunity to engage in self-governance and their in the guerilla activity and RC system enhanced their leadership skills and exposed capabilities of women for political participation.

2.1.2 Women under National Resistance Movement (NRM) Governance

The NRM take over coincided with the end of the United Nations Women's Decade and the related conference in Nairobi of 1985. This was a period when Women in Development (WID) crusade was at its height to integrate women in the development process (Ahikire 2007). Key outcome of the Nairobi Conference was the rise of Ugandan women movements such as Action for Development (ACFODE) which in liaison with 20 leaders of the National Council of Women (NCW), and other women organizations generated a list of demands and

mobilized to lobby the women placement on NRM agenda including requests to have a women's ministry, a women's desk in each ministry and women representatives at all political levels (Tripp 2000; Goetz 2003b). Consequently, a number of women appointments in ministerial and judicial positions by 1989 happened with some women taking cabinet positions [5] and 34 women occupying reserved seats in the National Resistance Council (NRC). The 1989 NRC elections subsequently enabled 41 women of the 278 parliamentary seats and 9 women of the 48-member cabinet (Byanyima 1992; Tamale 1999; Goetz 2003b). Through the NRC legislation and the subsequent 1994 Constituency Assembly, women national political integration was enshrined in the 1995 constitution and since then there have been a number of appointments in administrative and political positions.

The local level on the other hand provided an opportunistic avenue for massive involvement of women into politics through Resistance councils[6] as political units at the grassroot that began soon after NRM came into power in 1986 (Tideman 1994; Tripp 2000). These councils originally initiated in the guerilla war struggles were adopted countrywide from village to district level as RC1 to RC5. The RC1 comprised of the entire population in the village with an elected 9-member committee of whom one was a secretary for women affairs. From RC1, two members were elected to form RC2 council (parish) that comprised of a 9-committee member too with secretary for women affairs. According to Tripp, this process repeated itself at the subcounty (RC3), County (RC4) and district (RC5) (Tripp 2000:66).

In 1993, a National Women's Council Statute was passed by the National Assembly. The statute which repealed the 1978 decree for National Council of Women in turn established a hierarchy of women councils to operate parallel to the local council system which at the national level formed the National council of Women (NCW). The women councils, like RCs structure existed at the village, parish, subcounty, county and district level under the direction of Ministry of Women in development, Youth and culture. As a way of enhancing women political participation, the parallel NWC structures with elected 5-member committee at each local level would serve as Electoral College for higher level women representatives while at RC5, the councils would serve as electoral colleges for woman MP in the parliament.

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[5] Gertrude Njuba as deputy minister for industry, Betty Bigombe as deputy minister in the Prime minister'soffice and Victoria Sekitoleko as Minister of Agriculture (see Tripp 2000:70).
[6] Resistance councils (RCs) were modeled from the village Resistance councils that had been used as communication channels between NRA and the population in the war zone (Luwero) during the guerrilla war. These councils came to be renamed Local Councils in the 1995 constitution.

With the National Women Councils, it has been argued that women's electoral and political participation appears to have increased. The women representatives in these councils supplemented the women numbers in the LC mainstream as Goetz observes;

> … RC system alone was seen insufficient to promote women's political participation; predictably, lone women representatives on RCs have tended to be dominated by male counterparts. The NWC system may provide a privileged space for women to develop a political voice (Goetz 1995:38).

Goetz's assertion is supplemented with Tripp when the latter argues that Uganda in the recent decades has demonstrated a probable women political increase and raised hope to gender equality particularly in the political sphere. Tripp avows, "Of late everywhere you go, women are more and more visible. And also they have gained the courage and more confidence" (Tripp 2002:11). As Tripp observes, from early 1990s, the number of women in politics has been steadily increasing especially with the consolidation of affirmative action under the 1995 Constitution. Indeed, women in Uganda as of present have attained a significant achievement across the existing socioeconomic and political structures. The NRM affirmative action approaches of inclusion are credited for these achievements.

2.1.3 An Overview of Women's Past Political Partaking

A pronounced women political participation is notable in the Uganda political history under National Resistance Movement (NRM) regime compared to the past regimes in which only *two (2%)* females were among the first Ugandan post-independent 88 member parliament (1962-67) and merely one *(0.7%)* of the 143 members the 1980 parliament (Tripp 1994; Tripp 2000). Contrary to claims that multiparty politics enhance women representation, the post-independent Uganda (save for Amin's era; 1971-79) had active political parties of which Uganda Peoples Congress (UPC) and Democratic Party (DP) exhibited a limited amount of commitment in advancing women's interests in politics. It was not until after the NRM take over in 1986 that, according to Tripp the number of women increased to 41 (15%) of 263 National Resistance Council (parliamentary) members of whom 34 women were on reserved seats in the 1989 elections. In the 1996 parliamentary elections, women numbers increased to 52 (19%) of the MPs and 39 of them were elected on reserved seats. A decade later, the 2006 elections, indicate considerable women advancement to 29.8% of the Uganda parliament. At the close of 2007, Uganda held the 18th global position and was the 6th African country in parliamentary representation of women after Rwanda, Mozambique, South Africa, Burundi

and Tanzania (IPU 2007). As mentioned in my introductory chapter however, such accounts appear in respect to the national level. The local level reports remain negligible, limiting our understanding of the women numerical significance in the period before and during the NRM regime.

2.2 Women and Local Self-Governance: Theory versus Practice in Uganda

While the theory of local self-governance remains imbued with a lot of ambiguity to generate a clear meaning – like many social concepts – it is commonly agreed that it holds values of liberty or autonomy, democracy or participation and efficiency (Kjellberg 1995:42). Local self-governance emerges out of a devolution form of decentralization that enables transfer of power to sub-national units of government including local governments, local authorities, provincial or state governments (Turner and Hulme 1997:153).

The relevance of local self-governance traceable in classical theories of John Stuart Mill (1911) and Hills (1974) maintain that local political institutions offer wide opportunities to participate, and provide capacity to educate the citizen in the practice of politics and governance. The views which are coherent with those of later theorists like Jones and Stewart (1985) hold that local self-governance is essential for achieving efficient and effective services because of the local interests, knowledge and capacity to oversee the service delivery. With local-self governance, there is a possibility of cooperation for purposes of representation and social reform; relative autonomy of the locals with multipurpose institutions capable of providing a range of services, revenue collection and electoral accountability (King and Stoker 1996:5-7). Kjellberg contends that the emergent local institutions including the districts, counties or other classifiable local entities are "perceived to be major vehicles for the access and sustenance of citizens' participation in public affairs" which is beneficial in strengthening democracy (Kjellberg 1995:43). Jones and Stewart argue that local self-governance may ensure a match between resources and diverse local needs, and that the closeness of the local authorities opens them to public pressure and limits the concentration of power (King and Stoker 1996:12), suggesting a higher possibility of accountability and responsiveness.

A critical view of the three key values of local self-governance indicates their considerable relevance to women political participation; mostly regarding the argument of democratic participation. While there appear to be cross-sectional arguments, one of such views is that

local political institutions are a relief of women burden to represent huge and distant constituencies. The sub-national political units at regions, districts, or lower levels are nearer to the local people compared to national political institutions like the parliament. Some relevant arguments from Patricia Hollis's (1989) whose study of the English local politics hold that women have done better in local governments than parliamentary politics for reasons such as accessibility, less competition and more political opportunities for women contestants and women policy issues. To Hollis, local politics because of being more local make it easier for women to integrate the potential demands of family, work and political life (Bochel and Bochel 2000:33). Josephine Ahikire contends that acting in a local space causes little change in women role expectations especially in the home care because women are not in a different location as in the national politics (Ahikire 2007). Anne Phillips (1986) in her *Feminism and the Attractions of the Local* shares a similar view. She argues that women participation in local politics supersedes the proportion of elected members of parliament because the job of a councilor is part time in nature and also due to the difficulties that women encounter to relocate the family home to an area accessible for regular parliamentary business (King and Stoker 1996:113).

Specific contention about women in local politics also relate more to issues of autonomy where power to plan, manage and control resources and local services is given to local people. Women active involvement in politics is deemed more ideal in the decentralized localities where it is assumed that greater responsiveness and accountability will be due to all citizens including the disadvantaged groups. Anne Marie Goetz recounting the local functions and responsibilities argues thus;

> "local governance has a more immediate effect on most people than national decision making in the sense that local road maintenance , the staffing and maintenance of local health and education facilities, adjudication of local dispute over land use, and so on will have an immediate effect on welfare and livelihood prospects of locals, and poor service delivery will be more immediately traced, to the predilections or mistakes or corruption of local decision makers than they can be at a more remote and exaggerated national level"(Goetz 2003b: 21)

Goetz's view is supportive to women political inclusion in local politics where they ought to benefit from responsiveness and accountability. These are the same arenas that women find to be friendlier regarding time, mobility, and financial resources that are considered affordable with the nearby offices and compatible to women's productive and reproductive cycles.

Participants in the *South African Regional Symposium on women in Local Governments Johannesburg, 7-10 1996* similarly held a strong argument for women and local politics. Commending decentralization policy, they contended that municipal and local authorities manage a huge range of issues of concern to local residents including public health, medical services, licensing local trading, commercial and industrial activity, education and environment regulation. Their potential knowledge, experience and special needs apart, women participation at the local level was considered to enable them access more resources and obtain a bigger say in national policy on matters falling within their jurisdiction. Anne Phillips view further demonstrates how the division of labor between the central and local government has enabled the transfer of most functions that overlap with traditional areas of female concern to the local level. She notes that local governments have come to simulate much of the previous duties done by women inside the home relating to children's needs like education, sports facilities and routine social services for the elderly and the sick (Phillips 1996:113). Local politics are also conceived to relate to high number of political opportunities (Dolan, Deckman et al. 2007:188), but Dolan, Deckman et al additionally underline a local governments concern of issues for women and children including education, social services and domestic violence. This aspect implies that women would find it easy to carry out their traditional roles with administrative and political coordination at local level centers while on the other hand it signifies the possibility of increased women presence in political arenas where issues of their interest are decided.

The above arguments affirm the necessity of local self-governance of the classic theorists but also reveal the relevance of local governance to women political participation. This view may be contestable in many contexts where women numbers are fewer in local legislatures compared to national parliaments as in the case of Norway (Raaum 1995:251). As Raaum's view suggests, it is necessary to compare a wide range of factors that influence political representation including structural, cultural and political circumstances of individual local government cases so as to arrive at viable conclusions regarding women's access to local decision-making (p277).

2.2.1 The quest for Uganda Local Self-governance

The present Ugandan Local government system has a long history dating as far back as pre-independence era of 1950s was moderately operationalized the post-colonial period of 1970's to mid 80's. The post independence regimes however proved unfavourable for the local

government operations and subsequently, the Urban Authorities Act (1964) and Local Administrations Act (1967) recentralised most of the service delivery functions to the minister responsible for local governments while the local governments only maintained a few residual duties. The 1970's political regime[7] further incapacitated the existing local governments by dividing the country into provinces – ten in number – which were ruled by military governors. The provinces that lasted up to 1979, worked as additional administrative tiers to the existing local council set up and were basically decreed to ease the supervision of district operations. The original local governments which had no reflective trace of women participation only managed to persist in a feeble state guided by the 1960's Urban Authorities Act and Local Administrations Act until the National Resistance Movement regime came to power in 1986 (MOLG 2006; Uganda 2006).

While Uganda local government system has such a long history, the present local councils system and the inclusion of women is clearly traceable in the Resistance Councils (as mentioned in Chapter 1) which began as secret committees of volunteers in the NRA guerrilla war meant to mobilise food, army recruits and intelligence information (Museveni 1997:189). These forms of councils were adopted at the time when NRA won the war and took over the government in 1986. Through a "line-up behind the candidate" form of election, each village, parish, subcounty, county and district elected a committee of nine members with one woman secretary. The elections though would be on individual merit rather than political parties because of the tribal and religious sectarianism history linked to the prevailing parties of the time. Museveni notes that the RC system was meant to give people power over their own affairs in the locality, to vet recruits into the army and police, to exercise some judicial powers on some civil cases, and to handle a broad range of development issues in health and education sectors. That women were becoming part of the structures to make such crucial political decisions, the RCs system and the subsequent LC system become of great significance in the political history of Uganda.

The evolution of the formally secret committees to recognizable political structures went through a series of legal accounts. The legislation process began with the *Resistance Councils and Committees Statute* of 1987. This was later to be followed the *Resistance Council Statute* (the decentralisation statute) 1993 that granted more autonomy to local governments in

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[7] 1971 to 1979 was the political era of Iddi Amin, the renowned totalitarian president of Uganda in the 20th Century.

political, financial and human resource management (MOLG 2006). Subsequently, the enactment of the 1995 *Constitution* and the *Local governments Act 1997*[8], paved way for full operationalisation of the decentralization policy. Each of these laws had a profound impact on women political representation as the position of women in the existing political structures was accentuated.

In Uganda, the quest for adopting a decentralized government system was based on a number of accounts as; the transfer of real power to make political decisions, and bringing the control (administrative and political) near to the people with an aim of improving effectiveness, responsiveness and accountability. Decentralization was further undertaken aiming at improving local capacities in planning, financing and administering services; but also with an additional intent to reduce the workload in the central government ministries which would in turn improve efficiency and effectiveness in service delivery (MOLG 2006). Precisely, the purpose for decentralization as stipulated under Article 176(2) of the Uganda constitution runs as follows:

a) to ensure that functions, powers and responsibilities are devolved and transferred from the government to local governments units in a coordinated manner

b) to apply a principle of decentralization to all levels of government; from higher to lower local government unit aiming at ensuring peoples participation and democratic control in decision making

c) Ensuring full realization of democratic governance at all local government levels

d) Establishing a sound financial base with reliable sources of revenue to each local government unit

e) Taking appropriate measures to enable local government units to plan, initiate and execute policies in respect of all matters affecting the people within its area of jurisdiction

f) Local governments to be responsible for employing it own persons (civil servants)

g) Local governments taking responsibilities to oversee the performance of those persons employed by the central government to provide services in their areas and to monitor provision of government services or implementation of projects in their areas.

Uganda's decentralization policy therefore was multi-dimensional, cutting across political, economic and administrative government functions. It was meant to empower local people politically to make and own their decisions. Economically it was intended to enhance financial resources generation and distribution which ultimately would benefit the people at

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[8] The Local Government Act 1997 has been incorporated in a comprehensive Uganda Law Book and currently is cited as "The Local Governments Act Cap 243"

the grassroots. Administratively, it was aimed at strengthening the local capacity in planning, implementing and managing the decentralized services. The decentralized functions were presumed to reinforce each other and enhance service delivery and accountability.

2.2.2 Effecting Political Decentralization

Implementation of political decentralization in Uganda was effected in two dimensions: First by creation of local government structures from the district level and below and secondly by decentralizing power and authority to local people to participate in and control decision-making. The power for decision making ranged from electing their own representatives and holding them accountable to making administrative and economic decisions of matters within the local governments' jurisdiction. Accordingly, the functions and services that were put under the district councils' jurisdiction for instance include education services, medical and health, water, roads, agriculture extension, district planning, land administration, environment, trade and licenses and industrial relations. Others include community development programs for youth, women, children, and the disabled, cultural affairs and cooperative development. Urban councils in addition to medical, health water and road services are responsible for establishing, maintaining and promoting a number of social amenities like street lights, public places (such as leisure parks and monuments), markets, museums and other social facilities. They are also responsible to land management (the demarcation and allocation of plots). Other functions stipulated in Part 1 of the second schedule of the LGA, including the formulation of primary policies, setting standards, inspecting and monitoring, and technical support (advice, training and supervision) remained duties for the centre (Uganda 1997:Sec 30).

Uganda's political decentralization on the other hand enabled creation of local government structures of rural and urban councils. Within rural and urban councils, there exist higher and lower Local Government (LG) councils as well as Administrative Unit (AU) councils. Higher LG councils consist of Districts and the City Council while the City Division councils and Municipal councils, Town councils and Subcounty are lower LG councils (Uganda 1997:Sec 3).

According to the existing LG system, the rural area local governments are district LG councils under which are Subcounty LG councils. Within the urban area, local governments fall into two categories: The City LG council (equivalent to a rural district LG council), Municipal

councils and Town councils. Under city councils are city divisions LG councils that are equivalent to the municipal LG councils. Within municipal councils are municipal divisions that are equivalent to town councils. Town council local governments are equivalent to a Subcounty LG council of a rural area. Each of these listed units legally qualifies as a body corporate[9] .

Within these designated local government councils, there are a number of *administrative units (AU)*. Rural area local governments comprise of county, parish, and village AU while the urban area local governments, there are parishes/wards, and villages (Uganda 1997). The amended LGA also provides for a Town Board AU between the ward and village urban structures but modalities to operationalize them were still underway by the time of this study. A highlight of the present Uganda local council structures appears in Ragnhild Muriaas's comparative study on Uganda, Malawi South Africa (Muriaas 2008:26), and in Ahikire study of gender and politics in Uganda (Ahikire 2007:52). The current local council structure is as illustrated below.

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[9] LGA sec 6 stipulates that as bodies corporate, these local governments among other mandates, have perpetual succession, a common seal, and may sue or be sued in their corporate name.

Figure II: The Uganda Local Council Structure
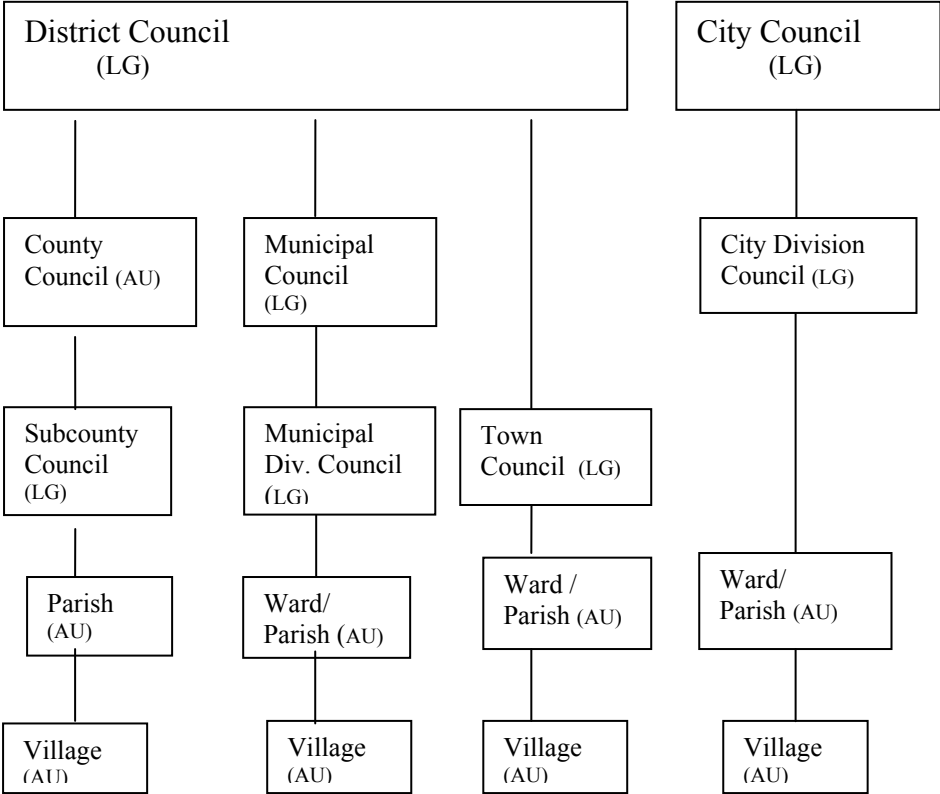
Source: Adapted from provisions of Sections 3, 23 and 45 of the Local Governments Act Cap 243.

LG = Local government; AU = Administrative Unit

2.2.3 The Structure of Local Government Councils

The present local government councils comprise of a chairperson (or a mayor in case of a city) and one councillor representing each designated electoral area. The local government representation thus is through single member constituencies. An electoral area of a district council is a subcounty whilst in the municipal council councillors represent parishes/wards. In addition however, the local councils consist of other councillors that include: 2 youth councillors (1 male and 1female); 2 councillors with disabilities, (1 male and 1 female); and women councillors that form one-third these councils[10] (Uganda 1997: Sec 10 and 23). These local governments also consist of executive committees with a chairperson, Vice chairperson and a number of secretaries not exceeding three of whom *at least one must be a female* (Sec 16 and 25 of the Act). The Local Governments Act also mandates these councils to select a speaker, a deputy speaker and at most three *Standing Committee* chairpersons from amongst the councillors irrespective of their gender.

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[10] The other mentioned categories form two thirds of the council

The system of election of all councillors is *first-past-the-post* through a secret ballot. It is currently conducted under a multiparty system based on the universal adult suffrage with exceptions for the youth and disability councillors who are elected by their corresponding electoral colleges.

2.2.4 Council Leadership: Executive Committee, Speaker and Deputy Speaker

Local government councils are mandated to have the executive committee comprised of the chairperson, Vice chairperson, and a maximum of three Secretaries. Normatively however, all councils were found to have adopted five-member executive committees on which the chairperson and vice chairperson also served as Secretaries of designated sectors. At the district level, the executive committee among other duties is charged with responsibility of initiating and formulating policy, oversee the implementation of the government and council policies, monitor and coordinate the activities of the council and the NGOs operating within the local government, and recommending persons to be appointed on council commissions and boards. The committee is also responsible for solving disputes forwarded from lower local government councils as well as evaluation of council plans and programs (Uganda 1997:Sec 18 & 26). For lower local governments including municipalities, executive committees are charged with all the mentioned duties for the district but additionally are responsible for maintaining law, order and security; initiating and supporting self-help projects; and linking the government and the local people.

The recruitment procedure for the members of the executive committee is both by election and appointment. The council chairperson is recruited through direct elections whereas other executive members are nominated by the chairperson and approved by the council[11] (Sec 16 & 25). A further essential aspect notable on the council political leaders however concerns the members' remuneration. Unlike ordinary councillors, the district executive committee members are on full-time service of the council and as such, the law guarantees their monthly remuneration prescribed in First Schedule of the LGA. For the municipal councils, the monthly emoluments are designated in respect to the chairperson and vice-chairperson while the rest of the executive members are part-time and only obtain allowances when they conduct council business (Sec 29).

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[11] The selection procedure will be substantiated in the discussions for the recruitment process under chapter 5.

Besides the executive committee, the district local government council leadership comprise of the Speaker and Deputy Speaker who are elected amongst the council members through a secret ballot. The Speaker of the district is full-time with monthly emoluments. The Speakers of the municipality or other lower local governments and council Deputy Speakers at all levels are part-time and only draw allowances on the execution of council duties (Uganda 1997:Sec 11&23). The basic duties of the Speaker involve inter alia, presiding over council meetings, ensuring order in the council and enforcement of the rules of procedure. These duties suggest outstanding abilities, knowledge, leadership skills and political experience of potential candidates to be selected for such a post.

2.2.5 The Composition and Functions of Administrative Units

The composition of administrative units on the other hand differs modestly from that of local governments. Sec 46 of the LGA provides a law that governs the composition of the administrative unit councils. Whilst the local government councils constitute representatives selected directly from the designated electoral areas by adult suffrage, with the exception of village council, the rest of the administrative unit councils are constituted by executive members of immediate lower councils. Village councils comprise of all persons of eighteen years of age in that village amongst whom they select a ten-member executive committee to monitor and co-ordinate the village social-political activities

Parish Administrative Units (or wards in towns) are made up of all members of the village executive committees within that parish while at the county level; a county administrative unit is comprised of all members of the subcounty executive committees within that county. Like the village level, at the parish administrative council, consists of a ten-member committee selected amongst the council members. Although the county administrative unit council comprise of the subcounty executive committees, this council is only mandated to select a chairperson and vice chairperson but unlike the rest of administrative units, no other executive committee members are selected (Uganda 1997).

Administrative Units are meant to serve a number of functions catalogued under Sec 48 of the LGA. Among other functions is the monitoring of services within the area of jurisdiction, assisting in maintaining law and order and drawing attention to relevant political or administrative persons of any matter that rouses their concern or interest. The County AU is

responsible for advising the area members of parliament on all matters pertaining to the county and is also charged with resolving problems or disputes referred to them by relevant subcounties in a similar way a Parish AU is responsible for disputes of village councils.

2.2.6 Executive Committees for Administrative Units

According to Sec 47 of the LGA, the executive committees for parish and village administrative units comprise *ten* members that consist a chairperson, Vice chairperson, and secretaries for security, finance production and environment, information, education and mobilisation and a general secretary. In addition, there are chairpersons for special interest groups (youth, women and disabled) at each of these local council unit levels who serve as a secretary for youth, for women, or for persons with disabilities respectively on the village or parish executive committee. The current law specifies that, at least one third of the village or parish committee must be women which guarantees a minimum of three women on each of these committees (Uganda 1997: Sec 47)

2.3 Implications of Decentralized Political Structures

Uganda's political decentralization and its subsequent council structures have made a great impact on women numbers. It may seem logical to conclude that politically decentralized structures increase women representation but this may not always be the case. We for instance may not assume a significant women achievement with creation of more sub-national units in political systems of limited women political participation agenda like as in some Middle East polities such as Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates (IPU 2008).

In Uganda, the increase of women numbers is evident in the composition and nature of local councils and the administrative units. Compared to centralized systems, and as demonstrated in the Uganda local council structure under Section 5.3, it is realized that decentralization has a multiplier effect on women representation. Taking an example of a rural council nomenclature, with Ugandan quota legislation in these councils, women numbers increase as we move from higher LG councils to lower LG councils and administrative units as illustrated in the figure below:

Figure III: Women Political Recruitment Levels within Councils
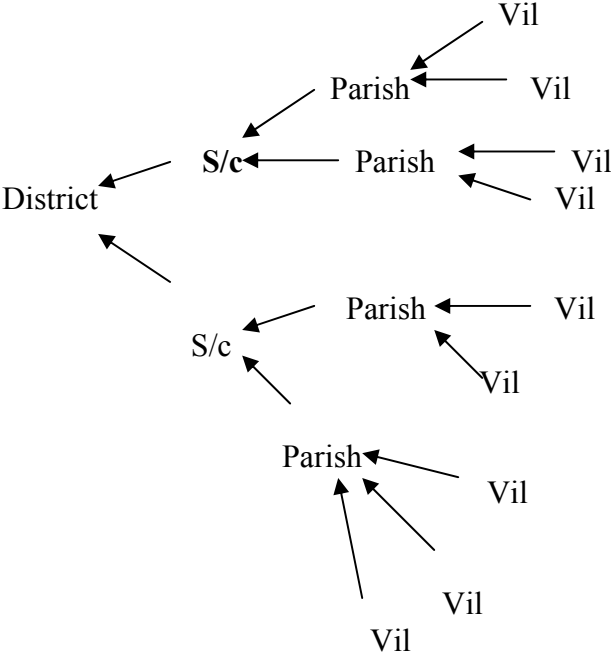
Note: S/c = Subcounty; Vill = Village

The figure above demonstrates the way in which a further decentralization of the Ugandan local government system has enabled more women to access political arenas. Devolution generates multi-level councils that increase in number as we go down the political structure. Since in Uganda there is a quota law of at least 1/3 women per council, each extra council at a lower level implies additional female representatives and this process subsequently increases the total number of women councillors.

As in the case of female councillors, the law provides for a minimum of one woman per executive council committee. Following this law, the councils are compelled to include a woman among the executive committees that comprise of the council chair, vice chairman, and three Secretaries; and some other councils appoint more than one woman as established in this study. As in the case of councillors therefore, an increase in the local government council units means an automatic increase of women political leaders. The relevance of numerical increase of women is widely speculated to include benefits ranging from policy influence, a fair political share, and improvement in accountability and responsiveness as will be discussed in chapter 7

Whilst political decentralization is an admirable policy, over decentralization may prove a disadvantage of Uganda women political representatives. The multiplier effect leading to big women political numbers is liable to meet challenges intensified women political barriers as advanced in the Critical Mass theory discussed in the next chapter. The increase of women councillors may cease to be of advantage but rather pose a backlash of the intended benefits due to women psychological factors, personal interests and polarization by male counterparts.

2.4 Approaches to Women Political Empowerment

a) Affirmative action in Politics: The Women Reserved Special Seats
The Constitutional provisions of women quotas under Article 78 have been instrumental in increasing women numbers into the current politics. Under the current law, each district elects a woman representative to the parliament while at the same time other women are free to compete with men for county constituencies' representation. In a similar way, article 180(2) stipulates one third women membership of each local government council and demands any subsequent law on local governments to provide for affirmative action for all marginalized groups, women included. As will be discussed in chapter 7, the constitutional affirmative action provision and indeed the general legal framework including other laws that operationalize the constitution – such as the Local Governments Act CAP 243 – have come a long way to promote women political participation. The quota law has been implemented in all local governments and national legislatures and todate many political analysts contend that women quotas in the Ugandan politics have proved a crucial element in augmenting women representatives.

b) Affirmative action in Institutions of Learning: Promoting Girl-child Education
Explanation of the current Ugandan women political representation at times goes with affirmative action in education institutions of higher learning (Tripp 2000; Kyohairwe 2004). Trip recognizes that changes in education policy were a strategic approach adopted by NRM to enhance women leadership potentials (Tripp 2000:80). Since NRM came to power, a number of educational policy changes have been instituted; notably for increasing admission of female students in higher institutions of learning that began with Makerere University in 1990. At the University level, the education affirmative action that lowered the girl-in-take to 1.5 less marks than their male counterparts enabled an increase of girls from 30% in 1991 to 40% in 1996. Tripp's account further notes that transformations in primary schools education

enabled a rise in girl-child enrolment from 65% in 1970 to 89% in 1990 while in secondary education the female students rose from 31% to 63% (p.122). Subsequently, Uganda adopted and implemented the Universal Primary Education (UPE) program from 1997 that obliged every school-going-age child (girl or boy) be enrolled. These education policy measures focused on eradicating illiteracy particularly amongst the female citizens who had historically been victims of patriarchal traditions. It was clearly evident that without advancement in literacy and education skills, not only women would continue to be meritoriously bitten out of political games but also on the entire development process for which they form a backbone by nature of their numbers and their visible roles.

c) Gender Mainstreaming

Of late also, there has been increased government vigilance in making policies focused on integration of gender perspectives in activities across many government programs, which has also proved beneficial in enhancing women's opportunities for political participation. *Gender mainstreaming*[12] has been adopted as one approach to promote gender equality in Uganda. A number of gender-specific national policy statements and plans have been formulated with intent of provoking gender-sensitive institutions, and ensuring responsiveness to women interests a routine each public sector's activities (Goetz 1995:25). Programs and budget commitments across sectors including administration, Agriculture, industry, health and other social sectors have been designed and effected. As such, women have often been integrated in the planning process, and have attained numerous trainings at both national and local levels.

2.5 Traversing the State-regimes: The Relevance of Uganda Women Historical Account

Discussions of this chapter reveal ways in which women representation can be attributed to the state-regime effect. Andrew Reynolds theorizes that a previous history of the state has indications of affecting the propensity of women to reach political offices with a view that consolidated democracies enable more women into political office while authoritarian regimes restrict their political opportunities (Reynolds 1999:554). From the chapter, we

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[12] Gender mainstreaming according to Sylvia Walby(2005:7) is conceptualized by the Council of Europe as " the (re)organization , improvement, development and evaluation of policy processes, so that a gender equality perspective is incorporated in all policies at all levels at all stages by the actors normally involved in the policy making"

realize that women political involvement is a function of socio-economic and socio-political circumstances of the past regimes. We note that political institutions in democratic regimes are opportunistic avenues for women participation while the oppressive conditions of the authoritarian regimes also drive them into the political activity.

The Uganda historical accounts demonstrate that the transition from authoritarian regimes of 1970's to a relatively democratic regimes under the Movement system with women-friendly political institutions enabled more women political representation. The initial NRM bush-war political structures (RCs) and the subsequent LCs under the NRM regime affirmative approaches towards women political participation were a backbone of the current women quotas and generally offer a limelight on women political representation in Uganda at present that this study examines. Further, the decentralization policy under NRM generated a number of local government structures that include districts and municipalities which this study subject to scrutiny.

This chapter however indicates that although authoritarian regimes consist of political institutions which may be largely exclusive for women, such regimes may be imperative for women to actively involve in politics. They may be a source of women ambitions for political engagement. We for instance realize the manner in which Iddi Amin's regime (1970's) inspired women motives to join politics. This observation implies that democratic and non-democratic regimes may have different ways of influencing women political participation and representation. While the former provide institutions with increased political opportunities for women, non-democratic regimes are a source of individual women political aspirations. As will be seen in chapter 8, the women's own historical conditions, largely account for their present and future political careers; their static, progressive or regressive political ambitions. This view is underscored in the perceptions of women about the present multiparty politics in Uganda in comparison with the previous Movement system as presented in chapter 5.

CHAPTER 3: THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.0 Introduction

A critical analysis of the underlying problem for this study indicated that women political performance in Uganda is highly affected by institutional factors that include the women quotas, nature of women constituencies and absence of the party system. These observations suggest a loophole in the political recruitment system responsible for the subsequent ineptitude of women in politics.

Gendering of political institutions involves a number of processes that include pathways in which women access political arenas and their relations with – and roles to – the represented while holding the political positions. These processes are advanced in varied theories but this study considers political recruitment, representation and the critical mass as the most relevant. It is clear that representatives are obtained through recruitment of one kind or another; and that they are recruited to serve a purpose. The three theories are patterned in such a manner that makes the relevance of representatives contingent on the determinants of their recruitment and on their numerical numbers. Throughout the entire discussion, these theories are therefore meant to define such relations and they are detectable in the final conclusions.

3.1 Political Recruitment: A Theoretical overview

Societies being larger entities require smaller groups or individuals to act on their behalf. The smaller group (leaders) is the authority, with a role to regulate behaviour of the rest of the group and commit resources for the proper functioning of the entire entity. The smaller group of political leaders is obtained through political recruitment. Political recruitment is a generic process by which institutions fill political offices through mechanisms that narrow the entire population to a few who hold office (Prewitt 1970:4). Political leadership selection processes are variable and a number of them typified in Suzanne Keller *Beyond the Ruling Class* (1963) include *Biological reproduction; Cooptation and Appointment*; *Selection by Rote and Lot; Purchase of office*; *Forcible appropriation; Apprenticeship and Examination*; and *Election* (Prewitt 1970:5). Biological reproduction is a leadership selection common with hereditary monarchies where authority trickles down through family lines and generations. Cooptation and Appointment selection method on the other hand is a practice of obtaining successors of leadership authority in which the elite group often exercise considerable latitude in sponsoring

careers and controlling entry points of political office. Selection by rote and lot adopts a probability approach in which leaders are selected either by each member taking a turn (rote system) or by devising some random technique to designate leaders (lot system) and is more ideal method for a presumably peer group than a cross-sectional group. Leaders may also achieve their status through purchase of office where representatives obtain political positions by use of heavy campaign contributions or by buying off some political opponent and at other times they may get into power by means of forcible appropriation such as in the event of a coup d´etat. In many instances however, leaders are obtained through apprenticeship and examination where a few people are enrolled into leadership positions, trained and finally subjected to examination to earn their respective positions of responsibility. Yet, many more political leaders in contemporary democracies are obtained by election method through use of a vote.

Keller typified leadership categories offer a great insight about basic underlying processes of political recruitment. Whilst each of the leadership categories may be independent however, in many instances, there may be an overlap in a number of these categories and as Prewitt holds, empirical cases will often be a combination of several types. Therefore, this study which basically considers political recruitment of women into local legislatures through the election method, presupposes the possible linkage and influence of recruitment factors underlying other forms of leadership selection.

3.1.1 The Political Leadership Recruitment Framework

Prewitt considers the recruitment process to be comprised of several stages in a narrowing manner. He presents a political leadership selection theoretical framework in his Chinese Box Puzzle model containing a number of boxes of varying sizes with each smaller box contained in a larger one as illustrated below. A metaphor of the ancient Chinese box puzzle is adopted in Prewitt's political recruitment framework to indicate the narrowing process that political leaders undergo in the recruitment as indicated in the figure below.

Figure IV: The Chinese Box Puzzle


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┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│                   The Population                       │
│   ┌───────────────────────────────────────────────┐   │
│   │          The Dominant Social Stratum (1)        │   │
│   │   ┌───────────────────────────────────────┐     │   │
│   │   │       The Politically Active Stratum (2)│     │   │
│   │   │   ┌───────────────────────────────┐     │     │   │
│   │   │   │  The Recruits and Apprentices (3)│   │     │   │
│   │   │   │   ┌───────────────────────┐    │     │     │   │
│   │   │   │   │   The Candidates (4)    │   │     │     │   │
│   │   │   │   │   ┌─────────┐           │   │     │     │   │
│   │   │   │   │   │  The     │           │   │     │     │   │
│   │   │   │   │   │ Governors│           │   │     │     │   │
│   │   │   │   │   └─────────┘           │   │     │     │   │
│   │   │   │   │ (4) Electoral Theories  │   │     │     │   │
│   │   │   │   └───────────────────────┘    │     │     │   │
│   │   │   │ (3) Political Recruitment Theories│   │     │   │
│   │   │   └───────────────────────────────┘     │     │   │
│   │   │ (2)  Political Socialization and         │     │   │
│   │   │ Political Mobilization Theories          │     │   │
│   │   └───────────────────────────────────────┘     │   │
│   │ (1) Social Basis of Leadership Theories          │   │
│   └───────────────────────────────────────────────┘   │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
```
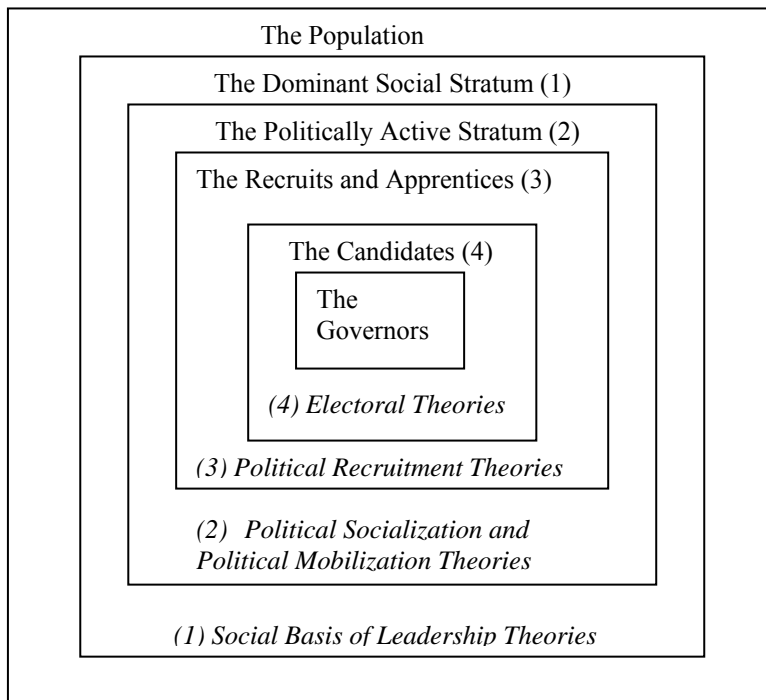
Source: Adopted from Prewitt 1970:8

In the above model, Prewitt theorizes a political leadership recruitment process that begins with entire population in the outer box. The population is presumed to contain a large number of citizens who meet minimum legal requirements for political eligibility such as age and residence. From the entire population there is a comparatively smaller size of the politically attentive public that fits in the second box. This is the dominant social stratum.

a) The Dominant Social Stratum

The population in the outer box contains a number of social groups based on their ascribed statuses like sex, race, religion and place of birth; or, achievement traits like income, occupation and education. Prewitt holds that persons in some of such social groups are highly favored over those belonging to other social groups (Prewitt 1970:23). Citizens with social statuses like wealth, occupation, education and dominant race or religion therefore are the ones presumed to form dominant social stratum appearing in the second largest box of the model. This stratum results from the *social basis of leadership theories* which presuppose that persons with high status will have greater political life-chances than those of average or low prestige (p9). This assumption therefore suggests that class distinctions are of great relevance

in the political leadership recruitment process. And Prewitt acknowledges this fact when he argues that political leaders are never random samples of the population but rather are drawn disproportionately from more favored social groups; and from upper end of status hierarchy than from the groups socially or economically disadvantaged (p.25).

b) The Politically Active Stratum

From the dominant social stratum, Prewitt hypothesizes an inner box of the politically active stratum comprising of citizens who run the political parties, serve on local commissions, dominate community activities, are conversant with the political game and who exhibit enthusiasm to nominate themselves or be nominated by others for numerous public tasks. The politically active presumably are more likely to select themselves or be selected for public office. Citizens within the politically active stratum according to Prewitt are of three categories: *the politically socialized, the politically mobilized* and *the lateral entrants*. Their recruitment is directed by the *political socialization and mobilization theories*.

The politically socialized consists of those citizens who have for many years been pre-occupied with public affairs and political happenings. These are socialized to involve in public affairs over a lifespan from their families, to school politics, to early adulthood and finally to elected politics. The members of politically active stratum however may also be those who have made sudden decisions to be preoccupied with the public affairs and who become politically active at the same time they join politics. These are the politically mobilized. The experiences and conditions in the adult year prompt their commitment into political action. Some are inspired or requested by their colleagues, while others are motivated by the prevailing circumstances. The lateral entrants on the other hand have no background of interest in political affairs or earlier political activity involvement prior to their selection in political office. These persons may move directly to public office through requests of the represented or through formal appointments, and they become politically active as they acquire the leadership positions (Prewitt 1970:58-61).

c) The Recruits and Apprentices

Recruits and apprentices fit in the inner box that follows the politically active stratum in the Chinese Box Puzzle. This box contains individuals who undergo processes of channeling political aspirations, and of mobilizing talents and resources to public office. This is

considered as a crucial stage in the recruitment process because it is directs political careers and ambitions.

The recruitment process of the recruits and apprentices, as Prewitt holds, may be very complicated or simple; haphazard or routinized; and the task may be shared by many or by only a few (p109). He argues that the recruitment may be done within the interpersonal context where political careers are nurtured in the small informal and intimate groups of friends, family, community actives, councilmen, or work associates. These groups influence political choices and activities of individuals through advice, suggestions and social pressures. Prewitt also theorizes the recruitment process for councilmen that is by way of apprenticeship where individuals get involved in official or quasi-official positions in local governments such as boards or commissions. He maintains that serving on government boards or commissions not only enables an individual to demonstrate leadership abilities but also helps the selection agencies to locate potential candidates who possess skills and values compatible to their political agenda. Holding such official positions prior to the political leadership selection is further considered a desirable strategy that reduces training burden to the government once such individuals are recruited (p110-114). The entire process of recruitment and apprenticeship is guided by the *political recruitment theories* aiming at ascertaining "how the politically ambitious focus on particular offices and how the political institutions fill the many posts that keep the institutions operating" (Prewitt 1970:11).

d) The Candidates

The second-last inner box of the Puzzle contains the political candidates whom electoral theories subject to a selection process that narrows them into a few political leaders contained in the inner-most box. Elections and the related activities like candidacy and campaigns provide a final screening and sorting device for obtaining citizens to hold public office. Elections, Prewitt argues, separate candidates into winners and losers; they are "rituals of choice" that determine persons to occupy government offices and those to vacate them (p129). His theory, maintains that the box containing governors cannot be reached until all intermediate boxes have been uncovered which suggests that governors pass all indicated stages of political recruitment.

3.1.2 A Critique of Prewitt's Recruitment Model

Recruitment incontestably is a narrowing process of the population to the political leaders but the model structure tends to be simplistic. It suggests that a political leader systematically passes all the outer boxes before reaching in the inner box as he puts it:

> "…that the smallest box, the core, is contained in all of the larger boxes. In the Puzzle, however, we do not reach this smaller box until we have uncovered, so to speak, all the intermediate boxes between the largest and the smallest most exclusive box" (Prewitt 1970:7)

In the first instance, the assumption that political leadership recruitment is as systematic as presented in the model fails to recognize that elections apply at all levels of the recruitment process and within each of the strata presented in the model. The political actives for instance may not necessarily come from the high social status group as suggested by the model. Similarly, the recruits and apprentices may as well be persons that meet legal eligibility who can be obtained directly from the population– as the case of lateral entrants.

Secondly, in its social basis of leadership theories, the model suggested a dominant stratum of high social level citizens with regard to their ascribed and achieved statuses. The social economic bias in leadership selection however presently appears in a different dimension than proposed by the model. The importance of social class privileges have been greatly diffused by the government regulatory systems that specify electoral requirements which even the middle class citizens can afford. As such statuses like wealth, occupation religion and race possess a limited role in the recruitment processes. Particularly, we note the way in which the state and electoral agencies (like political parties) in democratic governments have overturned the sex ascribed status from enabling male-only political leaders to gendered legislatures by use of such measures like women quotas. We also realize the manner in which ascribed statuses like race and birth-place are limited issues in the contemporary polities like USA – a political context in which model is developed – where Austrian-born Arnold Schwarzenegger and a Black-American Barack Obama are not only mere ordinary political but high level political leaders. Moreover, at a certain point, Prewitt's study observes that recruitment patterns are strongly influenced by interpersonal relationships which may not relate to arguments for higher social status as in self-selection or selection by agencies. Personal associates, friends, work colleagues, neighbors and civic associates are theorized as playing a

profound role in the recruitment process. The personalized and informal networks however, to Prewitt, tend to be of people from similar status which generates a new political stratum that is not of high social class but which also tends to perpetuate social-economic hegemony (p.40)

My final observation is that the model presupposes that elections are the only mechanism for selecting persons to occupy political offices which is not always so. It fails to consider that those political leaders in the inner box may be obtained through other methods suggested in Keller's typologies such as purchase of office, forcible appropriation, appointment and co-optation or by lot and rote method. Further, the Prewitt's model does not theorize auxiliary selection after governors beyond the electoral theories, which happens in many legislative arenas as in case of the council committees or other council bodies. For instance rather than considering *appointment* a complementary selection process for elections, he sees it as an alternative route to elective office for purposes of political continuity in the event where a councilman leaves office before the end of term of service. To Prewitt, a successor is appointed to run office until new elections are held (p133) or the appointment may be through *co-optation* where someone is included in the council as a way of silencing dissident elements in the community. In other instances Prewitt considers appointment as a recruitment strategy for purposes of coalition building with intent of improving strength of one group over another in the event a vacancy in a polarized council (p135). In this study however, appointment is found to be a parallel political recruitment method to election as demonstrated in the case of council leaders.

3.1.3 Analytical Approaches to Political Recruitment

Whilst the understandings of political recruitment through evaluation of factors that determine the selection of political leaders encounter great theoretical divergence, most theorists converge in the integrated processes of institutional and individual factors. Prewitt for instance succinctly observes;

> Political recruitment theory often suffers from being too institutional or too individual. The institutional approach is perhaps best illustrated by studies of political parties in their nominating and campaign function. The individual approach is perhaps best illustrated by the "sociology of the political career" studies. Though either approach can be useful, explanations of leadership selection using only one of them suffer from many instances of misplaced inference (Prewitt 1970:15)

In the above assertion, Prewitt recognises the complexity of unravelling the individual from the institutional factors throughout the entire recruitment process. In institutional variables, he conceives *legal parameters* as having a profound effect on the movement of citizens in and out of office together with *institutionalised selection agencies* and their *criteria* for screening and selecting office holders. Within the individual variables, Prewitt speculates political careers as being influenced by personal traits of which political ambition is central (Prewitt 1970:16-20)

Pippa Norris seems agreeable with Prewitt's perception of the dual-variable influence in political recruitment. Norris perceives a recruitment environment consisting of a political system with a number of underlying recruitment structures and the recruitment process. While the political system and the recruitment structures entirely constitute institutional factors, the recruitment process indicates supply and demand factors implying the dual existence of individual and institutional factors in the process (Norris 1996:196). Her theoretical perception of the legislative recruitment process is recapitulated in the model below:

Figure V: Three Levels of Political Recruitment

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┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│                     Political System                         │
│                      Legal System,                           │
│                     Electoral System,                        │
│                       Party System                           │
│                                                              │
│   ┌──────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐  │
│   │              Recruitment Structures                  │  │
│   │                Party Organization                    │  │
│   │                    Party Rules                       │  │
│   │                   Party Ideology                     │  │
│   │               Non-Party Gatekeepers                  │  │
│   │                                                      │  │
│   │   ┌──────────────────────────────────────────────┐  │  │
│   │   │            Recruitment  Process              │  │  │
│   │   │                                              │  │  │
│   │   │  Eligibles → Aspirants → Candidates → MPs    │  │  │
│   │   │      ↑           ↑           ↑        │      │  │  │
│   │   │  Motivation  Gatekeepers   Voters     │      │  │  │
│   │   │      ↑                                │      │  │  │
│   │   │      └────────────────────────────────┘      │  │  │
│   │   └──────────────────────────────────────────────┘  │  │
│   │                                                      │  │
│   └──────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘  │
│                                                              │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
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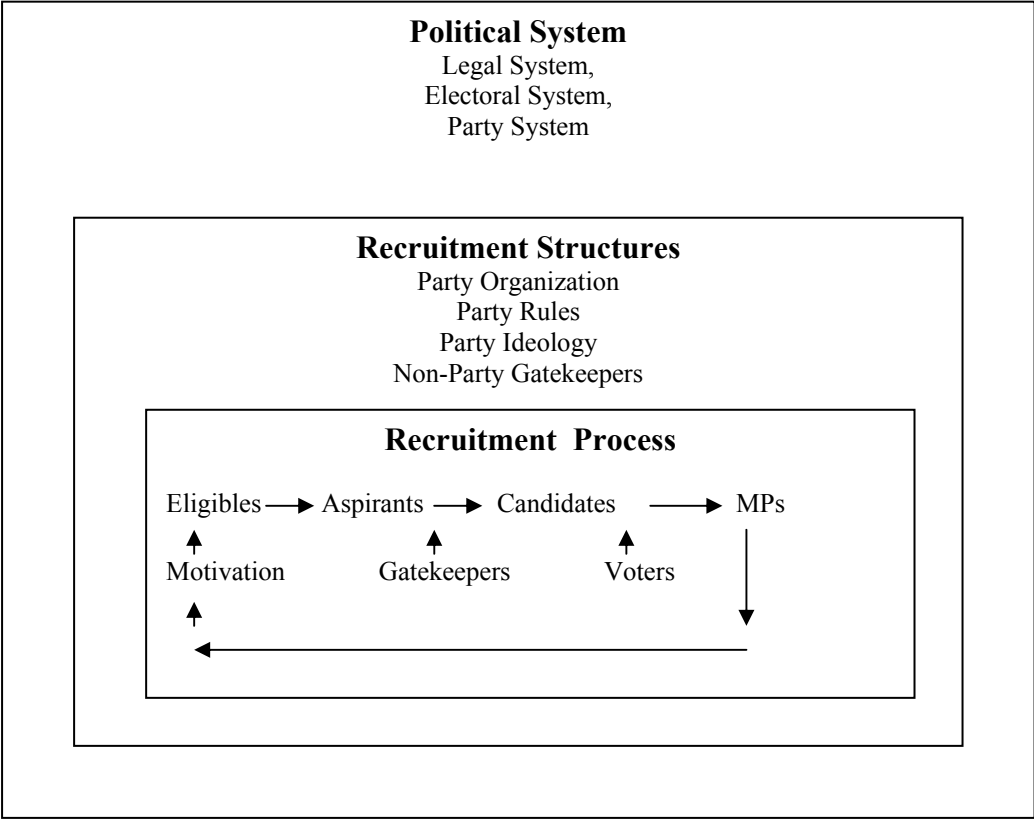
Source: Adopted from Pippa Norris *Legislative Recruitment* in LeDuc L; R, G Niemi and P. Norris *Comparing Democracies*: *Election and Voting in Global Perspective* (1996)

Norris's model illustrates relationships between the individual and the institutional factors of the legislative recruitment process. Similar to Prewitt's Model in Figure IV, her model shows a recruitment environment entailing three boxes of different sizes. In the outer box there is a political system with its legal, electoral, and party subsystems. Within the political system lies a smaller box with recruitment structures consisting of party organization, party rules, party ideology and non-party gatekeepers that control the recruitment process. There is yet a smaller box that fits within the other two boxes. The smallest box contains the recruitment process with motivation as a prime individual supply factor on one hand; while on the other side there are voters and gatekeepers serving as selectors of candidates from the aspirants to political representatives.

a) Theorizing the Impact of Individual variables

Individual variables are key factors that determine the level of supply of political candidates. Of the many theorized individual variables, the common view falls on the political ambitions, political interests and motivations (Prewitt 1970; Norris 1996; Dolan, Deckman et al. 2007). Prewitt particularly underlines the importance of political ambition of which personal traits are considered central. He notes a wide divergence in human desires for political leadership ranging from political indifference where many citizens shy away from assuming political chores to short political careers of one or two term of service while others opt for a considerable period of time with a minority aiming at advancing the political ladder. Prewitt considers individual political ambitions to be influenced by political interest, political socialization, career expectations, and contacts, experience and predispositions (Prewitt 1970:19-20). He further notes the significance of psychological propositions about political leaders. He suggests a personality theory concerning personality needs as "power accentuation" or "affiliation drives" for self-selection; and personality attributes such as "ego strength" and "adaptive facilities" as factors that determine success in political life (p21).

Pippa Norris extends the account of the individual factors in the legislative recruitment processes. She holds that motivation and resources of candidates are key factors for individual self-selection. She conceives women nominal willingness to campaign for elected office as being influenced by such factors as traditional sex stereotypes, lack of confidence and lack of interest. The resources factor according to Norris include flexible careers which allow time for politicking, financial resources, security against electoral risks; social networks that are necessary for contacts; and political experience that provides skills, knowledge and credibility (Norris 1996:209). Dolan et al also concur with Norris's and Prewitt's claim that probabilities for women to run and win elective offices are determined by political ambitions, interests and motivations. Sharing Prewitt's social basis of leadership theory, they advance a "Pipeline Theory" that underline the relevance of professions and occupations in political recruitment. This argument is also agreeable to Norris's resource factor that focuses on flexible brokerage careers, social networks and political experience. They believe that women's worries about political contest partially stem from less confidence regarding their own abilities and skills that result into their fear and shyness (Dolan, Deckman et al. 2007:138-148).

Unlike Norris however, Dolan and her colleagues delineate distinctions between political ambitions and motivations. Their view of political ambition seems to be rather related to

Prewitt's opinion about political career desire and progress. They conceive ambitions as being highly dependant on individual attributes that enable or hold back political leadership aspirations while political motivation encompasses reasons, goals and objectives are essential inspirations for political recruitment. They realise that political contestants hold certain goals which motivate them to stand including a sense of civic duty and commitment to public service; a desire to advance a particular cause or issue or the desire to advance own careers. They argue that political motives may include policy-related goals based on women's desires and daily experiences in family and work; and they consider women as less desirous to run for higher political offices compared to men. In their view, political ambitions are perceived to be part of motivational factors.

b) The Institutional Variables
In the political recruitment process, institutional variables vary greatly. Prewitt's recruitment theory suggests the importance of Legal Code and Institutionalised Selection Agencies and Criteria which prescribe processes and eligibility of political leaders. He argues that the legal code is "a critical attribute of the structure by which public leaders come to hold office"(Prewitt 1970:16). It is crucial for specifying criteria for candidates, the actual number of offices to be filled and responsibilities to these positions. Laws also stipulate minimum requirements of office holding, and in many instances they define eligible candidates' ascribed statuses as age, race and citizenship as well as achieved statuses including educational levels, occupation, and financial eligibilities. As mechanisms of expanding and contacting elective office numbers, or framing the criterion for office holding, legal code is perceived as having far-reaching effects in leadership selection. Norris's view on institutional effect also conforms to Prewitt's theory. She perceives the effect of a legal system in a similar manner as Prewitt's legal code. Norris holds that legal system has a considerable effect on political recruitment through specifying criteria for eligibility as well as establishing other selection standards (Norris 1996:195).

Laws apart, Prewitt further notes the existence of Institutionalized agencies and criteria – that are unnecessarily legally prescribed – which are instrumental in the selection political leaders. He perceives these selection agencies to include public and semi-public groups which employ diverse criteria to sponsor and veto candidates or block their political careers (Prewitt 1970:18). He for instance considers electoral process in which the electorate express political

interests, involve in candidate selection, take voting decisions, and exhibit their disposition to hold incumbents accountable as an insuperable factor in the leadership recruitment process. He particularly observes that underlying all selection agencies, are cultural stereotypes about politics and politicians that condition self-selection tendencies and selection by the agencies. Due to stereotypes, Prewitt maintains, some citizens with attractive career alternatives will avoid political positions of low prestige posts while on the other hand cultural stereotypes will affect voter decisions on who should be nominated or elected.

Norris's comparative selection agencies are political parties. She perceives political parties as central recruitment agencies and indeed much of her related studies in this area emphasize the process of recruitment within party organisations. Making political parties a core focus of legislative recruitment process, she extends Prewitt's institutionalized selection agencies and criteria factor by clearly analysing the role of party ideologies, rules and organization. She argues that parties are major gatekeepers in political recruitment whose key selectors are grassroots party members, delegates at local party conventions, regional officers, factions and affiliated interest groups or national party leaders depending on the level of centralization.

In her analysis of the significance of party organisation on the recruitment process, she makes a reference to the level of centralization, localization, bureaucracy and patronage (Norris 1996:202-23). She considers bureaucratic or formal party systems as being highly institutionalised with detailed, explicit and standardized rules for the recruitment process that are contained in party documents and are implemented by party officials. On contrary, patronage or informal party systems operate with a relatively closed procedure in which application process is familiar to party members but is rarely made explicit. Gatekeepers in the informal systems have considerable discretion, and their recruitment procedures may vary from one selection to another. She typifies centralized systems as being characterised by the particular gatekeepers who include national, regional party executives, affiliated groups and faction leaders. Localised systems on the other hand are conceived as having key players that are located within constituencies or districts who include local officers, factions, groups, grassroot members and voters. Norris's classifications therefore place party organisation into two dimensions – *procedure* and *actors*. The actors correspond to the public and semi-public groups mentioned in Prewitt's theory while the procedure of the bureaucratic systems relates to the legal code and norms influencing the non-partisan recruitment.

Related to her earlier seminal work, Norris recognizes the significance of party competitions, ideology and party context (Norris 1993). She observes that some party systems consist of few major parties presented in national legislature which tend to be "catch-all" embracing a wide range of ideology. Other party systems identified are dominant two-party systems of distinct left-right ideologies with minor parties holding few seats; and fragmented party systems with multiple parties of considerable divisions across ideological spectrum represented in the legislature. A more convincing argument is Norris's realization that while party competition and the emergence of new parties may suggest more opportunities for women, the impact of such other factors as political culture, party system and electoral system require specific attention in such analyses (319). In her perspective of party context where she refers to Joni Lovenduski's idea (Lovenduski 1993:7-9), Norris contends that parties' strategies are essential for promoting women in politics. Lovenduski's idea that traces the development of European, Australian and USA gender and party politics, reveals a number of strategies which parties initiated to promote women. These include rhetorical strategies where women claims are accepted on campaign platforms and their importance in political office are emphasized; positive or affirmative action focusing on special trainings for women aspirants or offering them some financial assistance; and positive discrimination that sets mandatory party quotas for women (Norris 1993:320)

Norris additionally notes the impact of electoral system as another closely related factor to legal system and party system. The electoral system which is a third subsystem within the theorised Norris's political system is manifested in form of the majoritarian, proportional representation (PR) and mixed systems (O'Neal 1993; Blais and Massicotte 1996; Matland 2005). She draws a linkage between the types of electoral systems and their influence on the selection of political leaders. She particularly underlines the importance of PR system as being in favour cross-sectional political candidates most especially women compared to majoritarian or mixed systems. Supportive to views of Wilma Rule (1987) and Wilma and Zimmerman (1992), Norris emphasizes the relevance of the high district magnitude in multi-member districts common in PR system and argues that more women are elected under systems with a high number of seats per district (Norris 1996:199). Her PR electoral system arguments and its district magnitude with its consequential bearing on party magnitudes and women political recruitment processes are accentuated by Richard Matland's analyses on legislative recruitment and electoral systems (Matland 2005:101).

Finally, Norris's theory recognizes the role of non-party gatekeepers in the political recruitment process. She considers actors like the state, whose legislation enables individuals that meet minimal legal requirements to compete in elections. She also acknowledges the role of other crucial actors like the local media, individual financial contributors, campaign professionals and local volunteers (Norris 1996:205). The Media's role in political recruitment appears in form of televised coverage for political candidates to enable them to communicate with their voters or in articles of newspapers and other print media that highlight their profiles and personal abilities. To draw policy positions of candidates, the media which may be free or through purchase of airtime may hold question and answer sessions with candidates, or attend press conferences, cover televised debates and video footages of candidates in action. The reports from the media may however vary and in many cases, it is argued, they favour male than female candidates (Dolan, Deckman et al. 2007:166).

c) Blending Institutional and Individual Variables:

The above discussion revealed the significance of individual and institutional variables in political recruitment. From the issues raised, we recognise the significance of personal attitudes and attributes on the self-selection and selection by agencies. We particularly note the role of individual political ambitions that is influenced by political interest, career expectations, contacts, experience, predispositions and psychological temperaments like need for power, or ego strength. Financial and time resources, in-role socialization, flexible occupations, contacts, security and experiences are all considered crucial for self-recruitment.

On the institutional perspectives however, we realise the way recruitment structures not only provide gatekeepers to sieve the political aspirants and candidates but also the importance of rules and procedures of recruitment agencies like parties and appointed organisations such as electoral commissions that dictate standards of electoral eligibility and procedure. We further note the impact cultural stereotypes – norms, attitudes and beliefs – on the images people hold about politics and political positions which affect voter decisions as well as self-nominations.

Individual and institutional factors co-exist in every organisational environment. The two factors seem to work in interdependent and mutually reinforcing ways. Norris's model clearly demonstrates that individuals who form the recruitment process are at the centre of political system and recruitment structures. As voters, gatekeepers and political aspirants, they

influence the laws, the electoral process as well as the party structures. They live and interact together in the same political environment that shapes their behaviour. The gatekeepers, the voters and political aspirants play their roles interchangeably. The laws, rules and norms of the political system and recruitment structures serve to regulate the behaviour of the individuals that are part of them and that make them. This kind of mutuality between and among individuals; and between individuals, structures and systems is a basic argument that disallows a possibility of delineating institutional and individual factors in the political recruitment process.

The entire analysis on the political recruitment and the intersection between individual and institutional factors explain the selection of political representatives. However, who are these representatives and what is their purpose? While the concept of representation appears to be familiar in political discourses, it meaning is seemingly malleable. For the purposes of clarity, this study endeavours to examine concept of political representation in the context of representative democracy.

3.2 Understanding the Concept of Political Representation

The concept of representation is another prime aspect in this study requiring an extensive elaboration. The way society perceives the significance of women in politics is traceable traced in Hanna Pitkin's (1967) philosophy which provides a valuable piece of scholarship that sets a foundation for understanding representation in the political theory. In her multi-dimensional conception of representation, Pitkin substantiates diverse forms of representation that include the *Formalistic views traditions, Descriptive representation, Symbolic representation, and The Analogies/Substantive representation.* Pitkin regards the descriptive and symbolic forms of representation as "Standing for" and considers analogies to signify "Acting For".

3.2.1 The Formalistic Views Approach

The *Formalistic views* approach contains a standpoint that regards representation as formalities of the relationships between the representatives and the represented basically encompassing authorization and accountability. Authorization theorists perceive representation in terms of *giving and having authority* and according to these views; a representative is "someone who has been authorized to act" (Pitkin 1967:38-39). In the

authorization views according to Pitkin, a representative obtains a right to act while the represented remain responsible for the consequences of such actions as if done by himself. She holds that such views increase rights of the representatives while depriving him of his responsibilities that are bore by the represented who also relinquishes some of his rights.

Pitkin notes that the understanding of representation from the formalistic views approach suggests "a transaction that takes place at the outset, before representing takes place" (p39) which implies neither a special obligation or activity, nor any special role to be performed. A representative is assumed to be free to do as he/she pleases with binding consequences for others. Under the representative democracy, elections serve as means of authorization for the representatives.

The accountability theorists on the other hand perceive a representative as someone "who will have to answer to another for what he does" which implies that a representative must be responsible to the represented (p.55). The representative according to Pitkin thus assumes new and special obligations contrary to the representative of authorization views that is freed of responsibility for his actions. Rather than gaining authority to act as suggested in authorization views, he is held accountable if he has to be re-elected at the end of his term in representative democracy. Pitkin finds the two converse views as inadequate in as far as explaining the exact nature and roles expected of the representatives and as such she theorizes other perspectives that regard representation as "acting for" and "standing for".

Whilst the formalistic views fail to explicitly speculate what is expected of representatives, how they ought to act and what exactly goes on in the representation process, they enable us to conceptualize the relationship between the women representatives and their electorates. They help us to visualize the mode in which these representatives may be perceived, that is; whether they serve *as delegates/mere agents/servants or substitutes* for their constituencies as in the mandate theory; or whether they are voted into power as *trustees or free agents* who can do best to suit interests of the represented as pre-supposed by independence theorists. Mandated representatives act on the explicit instructions from their constituents and in case of need to act with discretion, they must consult their constituents about the intended action or at worst they must act as they think their constituents would want. Independence representatives – that is, trustees or free agents – on the other hand are seen as experts who can do their work without instructions from constituencies (Pitkin 1967:146).

Distinctions between the mandated or independent in representative democracy however, appear to be theoretically rhetorical. Apparently, representatives are authorized to act and are held accountable for their actions. These relations serve as a means of democratic control for the representatives and the represented which prevails throughout the representation period. Authorization does not end at the outset of the representation process as Pitkin theorizes neither is accountability given at the end of the term of office. Representative democracy offers the represented authority to withdraw their mandate if they feel that representatives are not acting according to their wishes. This relationship keeps the representatives alert, aiming at being accountable and responsive to the represented. The latter therefore is also held responsible and accountable if representatives do not act according to the expected wishes; shares a blame of not making an appropriate choice or of laxity not inform the represented on their wishes. Authority and accountability therefore is a two-way relationship for the representatives and the represented. It therefore seems skewed to argue that authorization deprives the represented rights neither can we hold that the representative's responsibilities are reduced once authorized to act.

3.2.2 "Standing For"

a) Descriptive Representation
In another perspective, Pitkin considers representation as *Standing For* in a sense that the representative "mirrors", "reflects" or is "a transcript" of the represented. She regards this kind of representation as *Descriptive Representation*. The Descriptive Representation school of thought thus views representation in terms of "accurate correspondence" or "resemblance" of what is being represented. The representative in this perspective is regarded as an inanimate object not in terms of activity but on the basis of what or who he is (Pitkin 1967; Phillips 1995).

To substantiate on the idea of descriptive representation, Jane Mansbridge notes that representatives in some sense are typical of the larger class of persons whom they represent (Mansbridge 1999). John Adams, while referring to a representative legislature notes that it "should be an exact portrait, in miniature, of the people at large, as it should think, feel, reason and act like them" (Pitkin 1967; Christensen and Røvik). Proportionalist theorists' standpoint in this school of thought however, views descriptive representation in terms of "a reflection of more or less mathematical exactness of various divisions in the electorate"

(p.61). To the proportionalists therefore, resemblance, reflection, accurate correspondence are indispensable in a legislature and without them no true representation is possible.

Typical descriptive representation thus suggests that the number of the represented category is proportional to the population numbers and their characteristics are similar. It is defendable on the accounts that those with similar characteristics will hold relatively same interest to be politically represented and that the more they correspond to their population numbers the more likelihood that their interests would be balanced in the policy decisions. We however note that this is easier to theorize than to be practiced especially that proportionality of the numbers may not be of much relevance for those who consider representation as a function of "issues". Any representatives regardless of their population characteristics and numbers who have abilities to conceive and deliberate the issues therefore can suffice as representatives. The argument concerning similarity in characteristics is also highly hypothetical because many social groups always possess diversity within themselves as those between them and others. Lack of social internal coherence is a likely source of different interests of such groups. These are arguments that have always dominated women representation as a social and interest group.

b) Symbolic Representation

Standing For or *Symbolic representation* is yet another view that Pitkin brings to our attention in understanding the concept of representation. Symbolic representation denotes "to make something present that is *not* in fact present" (Pitkin 1967:92). According to Pitkin, representation under this school of thought is regarded as a kind of *symbolization.* Although the term symbol signifies variable meanings, Pitkin puts it clear that representatives as symbols should neither serve purposes of mere referent the way for instance letters *x* and *y* are commonly used conventionally in mathematics to signify unknown quantities; nor should we perceive representatives as symbols in a form of iconographical representation the way geometric figures are used on the map or chart to signify different things. Representatives thus should not be viewed as having arbitrary meanings, serving as a mere token of what they stand for but as symbols should possess a more subjective meaning that evokes emotions, feelings and attitudes appropriate to those being presented. A symbol in this context therefore "suggests", "evokes" or "implies". As Pitkin notes, symbols are not proxy for their objects, but should serve as vehicles of conception of what they symbolize (Pitkin 1967:97).

As symbols in Pitkin's sense, representation such as that of women in political arenas would evoke such sentiments as; women's power and authority to participate in the traditional men's sphere of politics; or women's freedom and liberty to make a choice of their own decisions and interests. As symbolic representatives, women in politics may signify women's confidence, abilities, rights and freedoms. Psychologically it invokes women's own self-esteem and self-respect for being at per with men and being able to do what men can do. Joining politics is a virtue that promotes women confidence, satisfaction and positive attitudes towards their own situations and life prospects. Young argues that people have or lack self-respect because of how they define themselves, how others regard them, how they spend their time and based on the amount of autonomy and decision making power they possess (Young 1990: 27). Being representatives therefore would inspire women self-worthiness. Ann Phillips own view on political participation as a source of self-esteem to women maintains that: "When more women candidates are elected, their example is said to raise women's self-esteem, encourage others to follow their footsteps and dislodge deep-rooted assumptions about what is appropriate to women and men" (Phillips 1995:63). This feeling of having a "man-equal value" not only motivates other women to follow the footsteps as Phillips contends but also tends to decimate men prejudice and "acting like men", evokes feelings of gender equality. Symbolization of women political representatives however in some other way may be perceived as a negative gist. In this study for instance to some perceptions revealed that women representatives in other ways symbolized infidelity, immorality, disloyalty and less commitment to own families.

3.2.3 Substantive Representation or "Acting for" –The Analogies

Contrary to descriptive and symbolic representation, substantive representation basically emphasizes a point of making a difference. Pitkin views this type of representation as centering on the activity of representing and the role of the representatives. She thus considers representation as "a certain characteristic activity, defined by certain behavioral norms or certain things a representative is expected to do" (Pitkin 1967:112). She regards it as a *substantive activity* in which representatives act for, speak for, or look after interests of their respective group (p114). In this perspective therefore, representation ascribes to action of the representatives rather than their characteristics. This form of representation appears to have

attracted the greatest attention of most scholarship on the subject of political representation, a standpoint which this study contests.

The view of substantive representation provokes our insight about women representatives. If representation concerns the "activity" or "issues" what is the core argument for having social groups represented rather than specialized person – such as the professionals – who may have wider knowledge and experiences on such activities or issues? From the existing literature we are made to understand women are often integrated in the legislatures on the account of representing women interests. Women are presumed to be specialists in their own interests based on their social experiences and knowledge. It is theorized that women have special needs and interests they would like to be represented including such issues as gender social relations and children welfare, community health services, and production and environment. Anne Phillips observes that male and female politicians often reveal distinctly gendered political interests with women expressing concerns about education, welfare, and environment whilst men claim affinity to economy, industry, energy and foreign affairs (Phillips 1996:112). We earlier noted similar arguments of scholars like Nina Raaum (1995) related to gender division of labour suggesting distinct knowledge and experiences of women in political representation. Virginia Sapiro's in agreement with the above assertions regards "women issues" as "Public concerns that impinge primarily on the private (especially domestic) sphere of social life and particularly those values associated with children and nurturance" (Sapiro 1981:703). Such theoretical views suggest that women representatives are considered to be experienced and supportive to issues that affect women. In respect to this, Anne Phillips observes;

> "Women have distinct interests in relation to child bearing …; and as society is currently constituted they also have particular interests arising from their exposure to sexual harassment and violence, their unequal position in the division of paid and unpaid labour, and their exclusion from most arenas of economic or political power" (Phillips 1995:67)

Women interests may originate from moral development and socialization experiences; hormonal and physiological differences that dictate on some behavior and abilities; or like any politician may, they emerge from circumstances of environment including the legal system, and the existing political structures, social and economic status, and training and experiences (Prewitt 1970; Diamond and Hartsok 1981; Norris 1996). They may be similar in some

instances but these interests may also diverge due to a multiplicity of overlapping characteristics amongst women sub-groups, between women and men and between women and other social categories. It is unlikely therefore that women will entirely act for their fellow women when elected into political legislatures on the account of their nature and experiences. It is on the other hand possible to have women representing interests beyond their own in response to wishes of the represented who may not necessarily be their fellow women.

3.2.4 The Feasibility of Distinguishing Representatives

The discussion above revealed that there are different perspectives in which representatives may be perceived. The formalistic views indicated that representatives are those individuals authorized to act on behalf of the represented in accountable manner. Descriptive representation suggests that representatives are individuals standing for others whose characteristics correspond or resemble those of the represented. The proportionalist views on descriptive representation suggest that in addition to the characteristics, the correspondence should reflect to their actual numbers in the population. Symbolic representatives signify individual who, when standing for others evoke emotions, feelings, attitudes about the represented. With substantive representation, representatives act for others with a view of catering for the interests of the represented.

The taxonomy of representatives in the identified categories suggests a clear-cut boundary that isolates one type of representative from another. This however seems to be more ideal for analytical purposes. It is clear that in representative democracy, political representative are authorized to act for the represented and are held accountable through elections. In the context of representative democracy, it may not be easy to theorize authorization and accountability – the core issues of formalistic views – without speculating "actions" or "roles" that are emphasized in substantive representation. Similarly it may be difficult to conceived representatives with unique characteristics different from the represented. Whether in partisan or non-partisan politics, it may be inappropriate to presume that representatives can at anytime carry arbitrary meanings. Every representative is capable of evoking emotions, feelings or attitudes of the represented and the non-represented. It is therefore right to argue that in within representative democracy, all representatives are authorized to act accountably; that they reflect the characteristics of the represented; and that they are never tokens but rather

evoke emotions of the represented and the non-represented at all times. They all "stand for" and "act for" the represented. The controversy however seems to be a clear characterization of the represented which appear not only to signify territorial constituencies that are typical of representative democracy but also other agencies involved in authorizing the representatives. Such observation suggests that representatives may be considered to be standing for the constituencies but acting for those capable of holding them electorally accountable.

Analytically therefore what appears as forms of representation, are rather a description of characteristics and roles of individual representatives. Representation therefore can be ably described as the kind of activity executed by a few individuals deriving authority from a group of people with whom they share characteristics and to whom they are liable to be accountable. By the fact that the representative and the represented share characteristics, they are prone to evoke emotions not only from their nature but also from their activity.

An additional observation to the characteristics and roles of the representatives lies on the emphasis put to their numbers as underlined in the descriptive representation. The significance of 'proportionality' of the representative to the represented may be understood from the Critical Mass theory.

3.3 The Critical Mass Theory

The Critical Mass Theory is rooted in Rosabeth Moss Kanter's theory (1977) on the effect of the proportions on group life in relation to sex, race and ethnicity. Kanter's theory relates to the interaction dynamics of relative numbers for socially and culturally differentiated people in a group. In her seminal study Kanter's identifies four group typologies of proportional representations. The first category is a *uniform group.* This is considered to be a homogeneous group containing one significant social type at a ratio of 100:0. In the second category – which happens to be central of her analysis – are the *skewed groups* characterised by a large predominance of one type over another at a ratio of 85:15. The group consists of the *numerical dominants* that control it and its culture; and the remaining small portion are regarded as *tokens*. The tokens according to Kanter are treated as symbols of their representative category and can only be viewed as solitary individuals or solos when the group size is absolutely small. The few members are considered unable to generate a powerful alliance to influence the group. The third category is the *titled groups* with a less extreme

distributions and less exaggerated effects. Titled groups consist of social types at the ratio of 65:35; the dominants being the majority while the tokens are the minority. The minority members are considered to be potential allies; are capable of forming coalitions; and unlike the tokens of the skewed groups, these minorities can affect the culture of the group. They can also be differentiated from each other and from the majority. The last category is the *balanced groups* consisting of more or less distribution ratio ranging from 60:40 to 50:50. In these groups, the balance is noticed in the culture and interaction. The majority and minority turn into potential subgroups that may generate type-based identifications and the outcomes of individuals may depend on structural or personal factors like information, differentiated roles and abilities (Kanter 1977:966).

While she typifies a number of categories, her related study on effects of group proportions centres on skewed groups. She considers this group as being distinctive of women in groups and organisations where numerical distributions have traditionally favoured men leaving them in token statuses. Other than their symbolic roles and their failure to make powerful alliances, Kanter further holds that in the skewed groups, the tokens are subjected to *greater visibility* capturing a larger awareness share of the dominant group which tendency declines as their proportion of total membership increases. Their *visibility* challenge consequently obliges them to two converse strategies: intense performance pressures for overachieving, and public withdrawal or keeping a low profile in an attempt to limit visibility.

The second perceptual tendency of token groups in Kanter's view is *polarization* or exaggeration of differences emphasised by the numerically dominant group. Kanter argues that the existence of the tokens heightens boundaries between them and the dominants with greater emphasis on the latter's' commonality versus the token's differences. The dominants may claim commonality on the account of shared cultural elements or may apply rhetorical reminders of the token's differences to ensure that the latter recognise their "outsider "status. The dominant group may also apply overt inhibition to the tokens by informal isolation from certain activities or occasions; and in some instances tokens may be subjected to royal tests, failure of which may result into further isolation. Conversely the tokens who expeditiously demonstrate royalty to the dominant group may be rewarded with more inclusion in the dominant group activities. Kanter holds therefore that, this tendency may be minimal or less felt in more numerically equal social groups.

The third theorised relational effect of the skewed group is the tendency of tokens *role entrapment* through *assimilation* by the dominant group as a result of stereotypical assumptions and mistaken attributions. Kanter theorises a problem of "status levelling" by erroneously inferring the actions of a few token individual members to the entire social group. The tokens also may be easily influenced by induction into stereotypical roles that preserve the ordinary way of interaction between the social group they represent and the dominants. She thus argues that the existence of enough people of the token's category may enable a fair generalization based on cumulative cases and limit stereotypical influences.

3.3.1 The Practicability of the Critical Mass Theory in Political Representation

A critical mass theory is one of the theories commonly employed in explaining the significance of women numbers in politics as a number of studies demonstrate (Dahlerup 1988; Jaquette 1997; Lovenduski 2001; Crowley 2004).The common understanding amongst all these writers is that higher numbers of women matter in political representation.

In her application of this theory, Kanter realises a critical issue regarding women distinction in groups and organisations where numerical distributions have traditionally favoured men leaving them in token statuses. This standpoint is persuasive and connotes a high relevance in respect to my study that examines women in political institutions who have undisputedly been habitually highly dominated by men. Although Kanter's analysis on the effect of skewed sex ratio groups was done on an industrial corporation, it proves to be of considerable significance in the scrutiny of women as tokens in political arenas. The theory appears influential in political debates regarding the global contemporary women quotas and from her theorised typologies the titled group or balanced seem more ideal for the representation purpose.

Within the scholarly literature, the theory of critical mass has been re-examined with regard to women political representation. Jocelyn Crowley for instance recognises gains of increased tokens in the legislative political arenas. She argues that if members of such token groups become many, they can be more active part of mainstream legislative process, may consult with members of their own groups and may also possess extended networks to vet their ideas. She further argues that women bigger numbers can easily lobby for a number of services for themselves and for the people they represent (Crowley 2004:113). Drude Dahlerup's in a similar view argues that increased women in politics are relevant in respect to a number of

envisaged changes. From her study of the women in Scandinavian politics, Dahlerup concludes that as women numbers increase in politics, negative attitudes and beliefs about women diminish, open resistance and discrimination from politics is gradually eradicated, and women role models emerge (Dahlerup 1988:295). Agreeable to Kanter's tokenism theory, Dahlerup maintains that women as a minority group in politics face challenges of visibility so as to prove that they are just like men; and that they also incur performance pressures to prove that it makes a difference when more women are elected (p279).

Kanter's arguments about successes of increased tokens are however not conceived wholesomely. Crowley for instance envisages a situation in which increased tokens may meet a backlash of group dynamics where women as powerful minority may resist individual pressures of attending to traditionally women issues. She also argues that the increased token women are liable to become a threat to the dominant group of men who may react by increasing barriers of the legislative success such as subjugation of their voices in political deliberations (p114). Citing views of Janice D Yoder in *Rethinking Tokenism: Looking Beyond numbers* (1991), Crowley, further theorises a possibility of counter mobilisation against women for the perceived intrusiveness if they occupy male-defined positions. Sue Thomas's study on the perceptions of women office holders in the US, reinforces these arguments. In her study, she established that women had a problem of working for a common goal in collectivity because holders of power often encourage competitiveness amongst women by rewarding individuals than the collective behaviour thus obstructing women as a unified group (Thomas 1997:42). Her findings that women have a psychological tendency of distancing themselves against other women and that "they work poorly together" suggest that even if the tokens increase, isolation may persist and their collective achievement may not be substantial. The possibility of potential conflict within increased token group – which may be balanced or titled groups in Kanter's typology – means that polarization effect is not a kind of interaction dynamics limited to the dominant and token groups but can be experienced in and amongst any social groups.

Furthering the counter-argument against the issue of token isolation and marginalisation in political debates, Crowley, maintains that legislative processes require striking of compromises with the opponents and that women, even as tokens, work with a variety of other groups including male legislators. By arguing that the dominant group works towards the token support of their (the dominants) preferred agenda, she dismisses Kanter's theory

regarding token isolation and concludes that women as tokens can form active coalitions with other groups in pursuance of specific legislative objectives (Crowley 2004:114-115). The suggested coalition of the dominant and token groups however may conversely suggest a risk of invisibility and assimilation of the tokens as suggested in the theory.

Although highlights on the backlash of increased women token group are noted, it appears that all the above scholars suggest that increased women numbers as well as small tokens are of considerable significance in politics. The emerging contradictions on the impact of big and small women tokens suggest a reconsideration of Dahlerup's contestation of usage of the critical mass theory for assessing women position in politics. Dahlerup seem to disprove the idea of a turning point – of numerical numbers like 15% or 30% suggested in the critical mass theory – as an appropriate basis for effecting political changes by the minority women groups. Holding that a critical mass is a borrowed concept from nuclear physics where a certain quantity is required to start a chain reaction in a process of isolated entities or rooms, Dahlerup argues that the concept is inappropriate in social sciences where every entity interacts with its surrounding (Dahlerup 1988:276). Instead she suggests a substitution of a *critical mass* concept with *critical act* with such an argument that critical acts are more suitable for studying human behaviour in social sciences. She considers critical acts such as: a bigger minority women group being capable of recruiting many more women into politics; large minority women for building majority and stronger coalitions with men; and larger women minorities as being able to influence equality policies and institutions. She thus conceives a critical act as "one which will change the position of minority considerably and lead to further changes" (p296-297).

The contradictions in the applicability of the Critical Mass theory further generate new perspectives on women political representation. Additional views challenging the significance of women quotas regard it as a misrepresentation of critical mass theory which presuppose that "greater numbers of women in politics are required before individual female legislators can begin to 'make a difference' in gender policy debates" (Childs and Krook 2007:734). With pessimism on the possibility of increased women numbers to ally and influence political decisions, Childs and Krook rather suggest a more guarded approach that explores issues of descriptive and substantive representation. They for instance advocate for a shift from "when" women make a difference to "how" substantive representation of women occurs, and changing analytical focus from *what women do* to *what specific actors do*. Indeed their

subsequent related study about substantive representation of women explores the "critical actors" in the representation process (Celis, Childs et al. 2008:100). Although these views offer novel possibilities of exploring legislative behaviour, this approach offers great insight on issues of authorization and accountability earlier noted in the recruitment and representation processes. The critical actors who are identified as individuals or agencies in the policy process are liable for regulation of women actions as well as numbers in politics. I therefore regard the suggestion of replacing the critical mass theory with "what is done" in legislatures unconvincing because representation extends beyond the substantiveness of representatives.

Following Kanter's arguments against the tokens therefore, I hold that the critical mass theory and its related women quotas are essential for purposes of women numerical visibility, limiting stereotypical influences, and limited polarization. Titled groups, and balanced groups are seemingly ideal in the political representation process. The emerging challenges out of the increased women numbers should be seen as atypical, similar to dynamics of any social phenomenon.

3.4 Theorizing the Patterns for Political Recruitment, Representation and the Critical Mass

The theoretical framework discussed above revealed that political representatives are obtained through political recruitment which employs a number of leadership selection criteria including elections and appointment. The discussion however noted that the nature and roles of the representatives are highly influenced by the individual and institutional factors in the recruitment process as well as the numbers of respective social categories represented. These patterns are demonstrated in the model below.

Figure VI: Molding the Process for Gendering Political Institutions
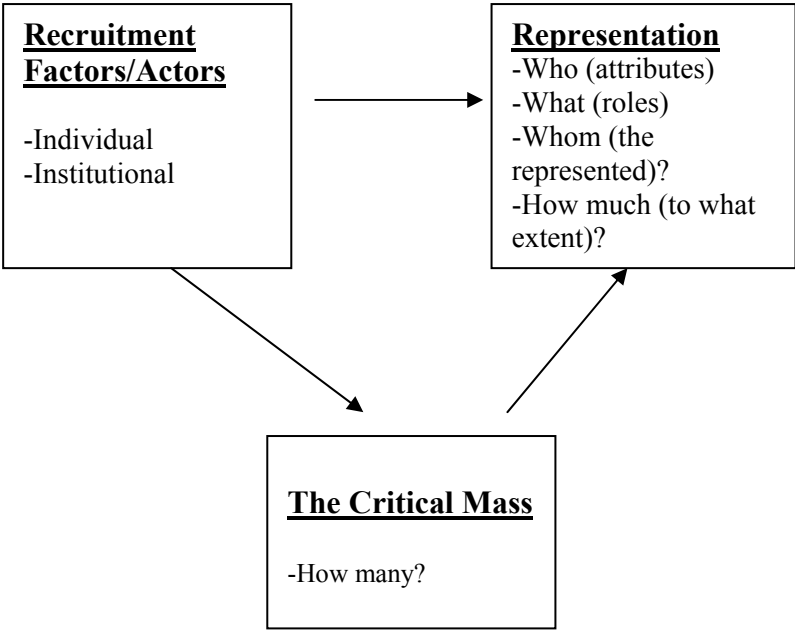
The above model indicates that the recruitment process involves a number of factors and actors – of institutional and individual nature – that determine who is selected to be a representative. These determine what kind of representative is selected, what roles the representative play, whose interests the representative attends to, and to what extent are the interest of represented catered for. The recruitment factors and actors however are considered as not only directly influencing nature and roles of the representatives but also their numbers. The numbers of the representatives in turn relate to their characteristics and roles which has a subsequent implication on the interests represented and extent to which these interests are served.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

4.0 Introduction

A social research involves a series of interlinked tasks done in a logical manner. The research encompasses conception of a researchable problem and a review of the relevant existing literature, collection of data, analysis, and presentation of the collected data. The final stages entail discussions and conclusions on the bases of the research questions and findings. Throughout the entire process, a number of methods and strategies require great attention and these are what the current chapter intends to address.

Having highlighted my research problem and questions in chapter 1, the methodological chapter aims at illuminating on the overall strategies for the research, the data sources and forms, the data selection processes , reduction and analysis. The chapter therefore presents the study setting overview with a detailed data on the justified selected cases. It offers specifications of the study approaches used, the data bases, and the methods applied in the reduction and analysis of the obtained data. The chapter ends with a few highlights of the ethical concerns that the study took into consideration.

4.1 Study Setting

This study was carried out in a number of districts in Uganda. A sample of 5 districts and 4 municipalities was drawn from Uganda's four different administrative regions of the West, Central, East, and North as indicated in the map below.

Figure VII: Map of Uganda showing Regions and Districts
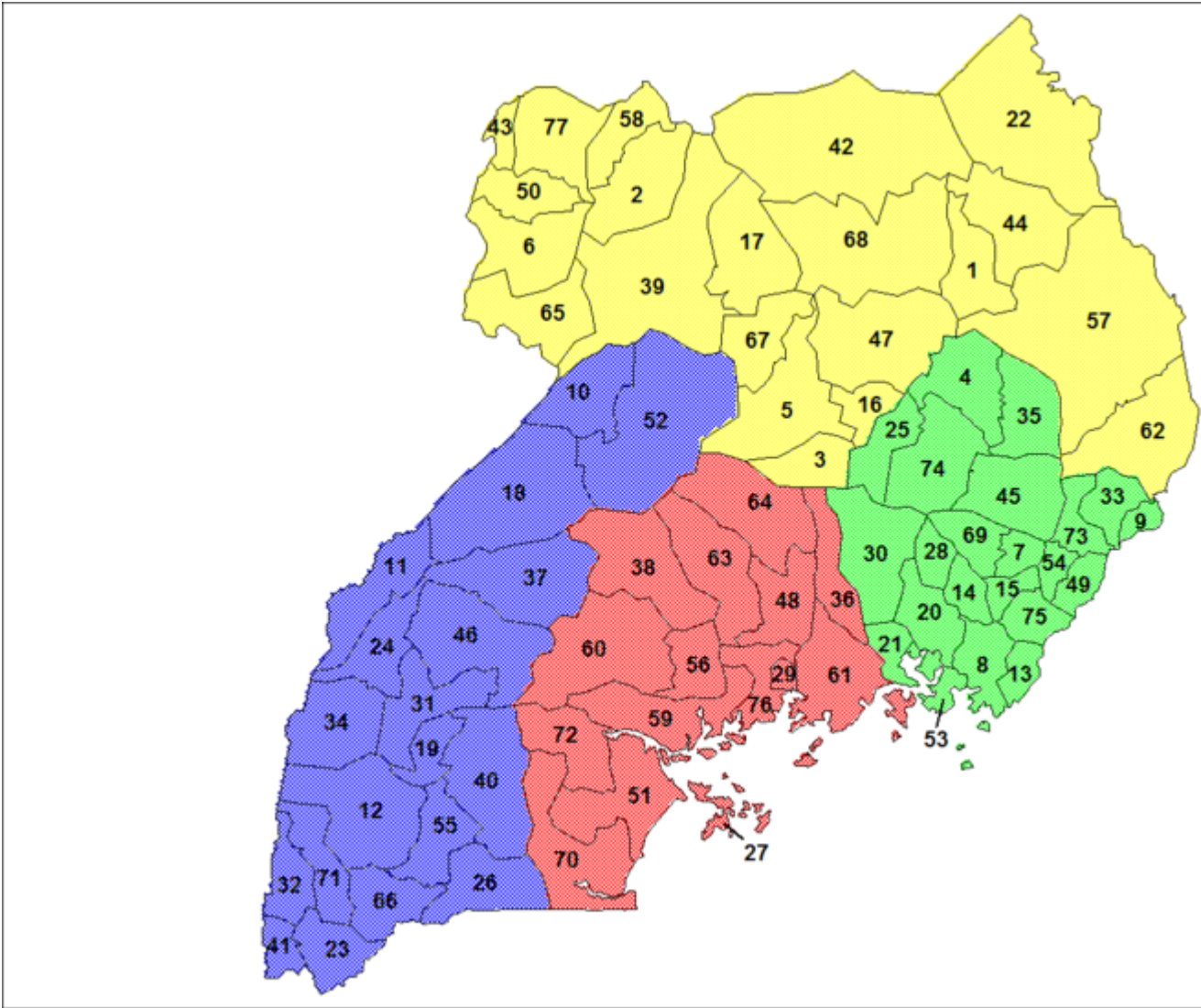
Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Districts_of_Uganda

Regions

Central Region

Northern Region

Eastern Region

Western Region
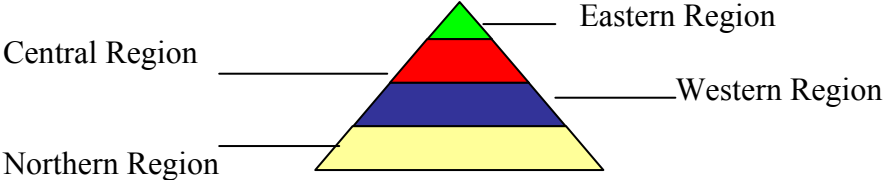
Districts of Uganda have been increasing from time to time as a result of decentralization process but as per the time of this study, Uganda consisted of 80 districts as indicated on the map above. Of the 80 districts and four regions, a total of nine local governments comprising

of four district councils, four municipal councils and one city council (the equivalent of a district council but with urban structure similar to that of municipalities were selected for this study. The location of the study cases according on the map include: Lira district Local government and Lira Municipality (47) in the Northern region; and Bushenyi district local government (12) and Mbarara Municipality (55) in the Western region. In the Central region the study covered Masaka Municipality (51), Kampala City Council (29) and Mukono district Local government (61); while in the Eastern region, Iganga district Local government (20) and Mbale Municipality (54) were selected.

4.2 Selection of Samples and Rationale

Sample selection is one of the stages in research that requires a conscious and deliberate strategy depending on the nature and purpose of the study. Once poorly selected, sample findings may fail to be representative of the population and unrepresentative sample may lead to idiosyncratic and unknown generality (Bryman 1989:107). It is upon such claim that this study resolved to employ a number of sampling strategies that provide an appropriate sample for analyzing women representation in Ugandan local councils.

a) District and Municipal Cases

Cautious selection of local council study cases was a necessary strategy to enable this research to obtain more valid data capable of national generalization. Council cases would easily enable me to acquire numerical data for addressing my research question concerning women status in the local councils. The underlying principles for selection of these cases were twofold: 1) the regional consideration; and 2) the urban-rural council classifications. The principle of regions was conceived with a presumption of the possible effects on women representation relating to cultural factors. Uganda consists of varied ethnic groups that fall into four categories that include Bantu in the west, central and part of eastern Uganda; Nilotes in the central-north Uganda, Nilo-Hamites in the part of east and north-east Uganda and the Sudanic in the north-west Uganda (Otiso 2006). The selected cases of Bushenyi, Mbarara, Masaka, Kampala, Mukono, Iganga and Mbale are habited by Bantu group with diverse ethnic cultures though. The other two cases of Lira district and municipality comprise of Nilotes ethnic group of Langi who have a different ethnic culture altogether. The cultures differ in many aspects including norms on gender roles and cultural practices.

Considering the rural-urban distinctions, one urban and one rural council were selected in each region. In the central Region however, Kampala City Council (KCC) was also included in the study amongst the district council case category on the basis of two reasons; one, that the council has a status of a district inspite of being an urban council, and 2) Kampala City council was one of the cases of my previous study (Kyohairwe 2004). Like Bushenyi district case from the Western region a review of these two cases – KCC and Bushenyi – would give me an extended insight of these councils' representation processes. The key rationale for selecting urban and local councils was largely on presumptions about the possible effect of the homogeneity and heterogeneity of the people in the two council classifications. In relation to my first research question, my assumption was that in rural local councils the population (the electorate) is more homogeneous and therefore women would find it much easier to contest in politics than in urban councils where the population is much diverse. I presumed that political candidates often get substantial support from relatives and close associates who are more common in the rural setting than urban. I also presupposed that urban councils consist of women with relatively higher incomes, education, wide public exposure and other individual attributes necessary for holding political office compared to rural women. As such, I anticipated finding more women political contestants, and perhaps more directly elected women in urban councils compared to women in rural councils.

The choice of municipal councils may seem inappropriate to be compared with district councils which are of a bigger size. In view of the fact that Uganda has only one city council (KCC) that is equivalent to other 79 district councils at present, the comparison of urban-rural representation using such comparative cases would yield highly unreliable results. It was also impossible to compare a municipality or a city division with a county which is the equivalent council in a rural setting because a county council is not a designated local government and therefore has no structures that exist in the city divisions or municipalities as seen in chapter 2. Considering all the options for rural-urban comparisons, municipal councils seemed relatively appropriate in numbers and structure to the district council cases. A total number of municipalities and municipal divisions (equivalencies) are 18 councils and they consist of councillors elected in a similar procedure from local council III level as for the district councillors.

b) Individual Respondents

The individual respondent sampling was effected purposively to enable me obtain extensive opinions on women recruitment and representation processes in response to all my exploratory research questions. Units of analysis included councillors (largely women), local governments' technocrats (administrative staff) and some key political party leaders within the studied councils. The intent of sampling many women councillors was to establish how such women perceived the processes of getting into local councils and the actual purpose of the representation act. The male councillors on the other hand were included to establish whether their views on women representation were of any divergence from the women views; and if so in which particular aspects. The council technical staff that comprised of Clerks to councils, Committee Clerks, Chief Administrative officers and Town Clerks were incorporated in the study basing on their administrative duties that brought them closer to the political representatives through council meetings or implementation of council programs. To my conviction, this was a potential group for the study on the assumption that by virtue of their positions, they were conversant with the recruitment processes of councillors, council composition and procedures as well as individual councillors. Indeed other than their own views about issues of women representation in their respective councils, the technical staff respondents – especially Committee Clerks and Clerks to Councils – were crucial in identifying councillors who were easily accessible and who were perceived to have wider knowledge and experience on local council issues. The non-councillor party leaders were particularly constructive in describing the recruitment process of women councillors.

Relying on such technocrats like the Council and Committee Clerks of course had a possible consequence of biased samples in someway. It is likely that such technocrats would suggest respondents basing on their own dispositions about such respondents and their interpersonal relations. As typical of purposive sampling technique, a possibility of biased responses could have been a result of this strategy used in sampling process. The advantage however was that the technocrats made it easier for me to obtain such respondents which might have been difficult with use of other strategies.

Because of my intent to employ in-depth interviews, a feasible target for my study had been a projected size of at 63 respondents with an original focus on 4 councillors and 3 technical staff from each council. The actual respondent obtained however totaled up to 54 because other targets respondents could not be accessed. The obtained respondents were from 9 local

government cases comprising of two local councils (one district and one municipality) selected from each of the four regions making a total of 8 councils and Kampala City Council (KCC) as an additional case. KCC case became considered due to its district-municipal features and on the basis that I had conducted an earlier related study in the same council (Kyohairwe 2004). The interviewees were selected as indicated below;

Table 1: Local Government Interviewees

	Female Councillors		Others		Total
	Political Leaders	Ordinary Councillors	Male Councillors	Technocrats	
DISTRICT COUNCIL					
Iganga	1	3	1	1	6
KCC	2	1	1	1	5
Mukono	3	2	1	1	7
Bushenyi	2	3	2	1	8
Lira	2	2	1	1	6
Total	**10**	**11**	**6**	**5**	**32**
MUNICIPAL COUNCILS					
Mbarara	2	2	1	1	6
Lira	2	1	2	1	6
Masaka	1	2	1	1	5
Mbale	1	2	1	1	5
Total	**6**	**7**	**5**	**4**	**22**

Table 1 presents a summary of the sample cases collected per council. It clearly indicates the categories of respondents and that included female ordinary councillors and those in political leadership[13]. Women political leaders from the districts and the municipality totaled up to 16 while respondents from the ordinary women category totaled up to 18, summing up to 34 female councillors. Male councillors comprising of leaders and ordinary councillors totaling to 11 were also obtained from the districts and the municipalities. The final category that comprised technical officers including local government staff and party leaders from the studied councils totaled up to 9 respondents, 2 of whom were female. The respondents from the districts and municipalities therefore were 54 in totality.

My other criterion in obtaining these samples was the principle of accessibility. Local government councillors with the exception of executive committee members and the speaker

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[13] Political leaders included executive committee, Speaker and Deputy Speaker.

are part-time politicians. They thus were not easy to locate because of their diverse private workplaces in and outside their constituencies. Whilst the Committee Clerks and Clerk to Councils assisted me to identify councillors appropriate for my study, for purposes of their accessibility, I resolved to employ a convenience sampling strategy on top of purposive sampling described above. A convenience sampling strategy had an additional intent of neutralizing possible bias of the recommended respondents from the clerks. The practicability of combining these strategies proved feasible most especially with incurred incidences of futile appointments of some councillors identified by council clerks after regular contacts with them. Major hindrances for obtaining targeted respondents were largely linked to their busy socioeconomic daily schedules as well as unreliable communication facilities of poor network coverage for their cell phones and irregular power supply to charge them. And certainly, the landlines are a historical event for many Ugandans due to inconveniences of inflexibility and connectivity. The ideal options therefore were to include some other councillors in the vicinity that had not been pre-targeted and these could easily be met during their short visits to the council offices, or in their reachable locations.

4.3 The Study Approach

Research approaches vary from one study design to another because the design gives an overall structure and orientation of the investigation. A study may be designed as a case study, an experimental research, survey research, an action research or any other type of scientific research category and in each of these designs, a range of data collection and analysis techniques by qualitative, quantitative or multimethod approach may be applied (Bryman 1989). The most critical issue to any researcher on the suitable approach to adopt for a study should be grounded in the research problem and the related questions set to tackle the identified problem.

The nature of this study is not only contemporary considering that the politics of presence dominates current discourses but also extensively explores *which* women (who) are chosen as political representatives; *how* and *why* women get selected into political arenas; *what* and *whom* do women political leaders represent, *how many* women compose these legislatures. The nature of research and form of questions identified set this study into a neutral position

for adoption of any of the distinctive conventional quantitative-qualitative approaches found in social researches.

4.3.1 Qualitative versus Quantitative Designs

Common problems associated with developing the research designs and methods are related to the conventional quantitative-qualitative approaches distinctive margin that tend to mask the benefits of exploring techniques beyond the presumed scope of one approach. The qualitative-quantitative distinction has always based on the assumptions that quantitative data exist in form of numbers, consist of big samples, is less flexible, is focused on structures and employs positivist approach. It is presumed to be of deductive approach, ideal for testing hypotheses and theories and employs "why" questions and highly generalizable data. The approach is often linked to such methods as questionnaires, observations and experiments. Qualitative approach on the other hand has been identified with small samples, "how" questions and "word" form of data presentation. It is often linked to case study orientation, inductive and constructivist approaches methods of inquiry and is considered to be highly flexible than quantitative approaches. Its data obtained from documents, correspondences and case histories is known to consist of detailed descriptions of situations events, people, interactions and observed behaviour, verbal quotations and as a reflection on people's attitudes, beliefs and experiences (Lynch 1983; Punch 1998; Bryman 2001).

The methodological distinctions however have remained more philosophical than empirical with a vast scholarship recognizing that often investigations approaches and methods overlap. Punch for instance observes;

> "While quantitative research may be mostly used for testing theory, it can also be used for exploring an area and for generating hypotheses and theory. Similarly, Qualitative research can certainly be used for testing hypotheses and theories even though it is the most favored approach for theory generation"(Punch 2005:235)

Punch analyses the two approaches from research strategy perspective but also it is further realized that the qualitative and quantitative approaches overlap in research designs. It is argued that some experiments and survey questions are found to rely on qualitative as opposed to quantitative evidence as some existing theories claim, while historical research may include enormous amount of quantitative evidence. It is also further noted that words and numbers supplement each other in the data presentation and analysis of either approaches

(Bryman 1988; Yin 2003). As many of the research-oriented scholars concede about the intersectionality of qualitative and quantitative to some degree, the research strategies call for a weaving back and forth a cross-section of methods through various research stages. There is a consistent overlap of quantitative and qualitative research methods and through experience it has been realized that any single method has inherent biases which could be neutralized or cancelled by other methods (Bryman 1988; Huberman and Miles 1994; Punch 1998; Creswell 2003). Thus a multi-method approach is found to be a probable ideal research strategy in circumstances that fail to consistently adhere to pure qualitative and quantitative methods and this is my core conviction of adopting a mixed method in this study.

4.4 Applying the Mixed Methods

The mixed methods approach (or multi-method as other theorist choose to name it) is one of the options of the contemporary research that holds pragmatic assumptions of knowledge claims, declaring the traditional polarization of the qualitative and quantitative research approaches as mere epistemological or technical (Bryman 1984:80). Mixed methods as already mentioned, derive their strength from the strong polarity of quantitative and qualitative methods. In the Mixed method approach, combined theoretical perspectives and methodologies may be adopted with a wide range of implementation strategies. These broadly include sequential procedures, concurrent procedure and transformative procedures depending on the initial intent of the researcher, the priority in the choice of the strategy and the data integration plan (Creswell 2003: 211).

Of the identifiable procedures, this study opted to use qualitative and quantitative approaches in a *concurrent nested strategy*. The use of a concurrent nested strategy was preferred to sequential and other concurrent strategies due to its integrative approach to the qualitative and quantitative research methods with a flexibility of embedding a less priority approach in a more prioritized one. This study's priority was largely usage of qualitative techniques supplemented by fewer quantitative tools to obtain data in a concurrent manner as suggested in Creswell and as illustrated in the model below:

Figure VIII: The Concurrent Nested Strategy Model
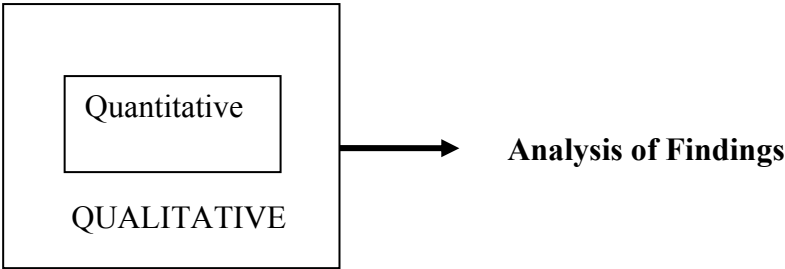
Adopted from Creswell 2003:214

While the concurrent nested model, according to Creswell, may permit the use of either a qualitative or quantitative method as predominant, this study adopted an approach of the model above in which data collection was largely through qualitative methods. This choice was influenced by the nature of my study that centered on exploring the opinions and perceptions of the councillors on varied aspects of recruitment and representation as reflected in my research questions. The quantitative data applied mainly on one research question for assessing women status within councils while in other questions the numerical data (normally associated with quantitative approach) was a supplement to individual opinions. In this strategy, the questionnaire used for the study was designed with both open-ended and close-ended questions to enable the collection of data in form of numbers and texts. A number of questions raised included personal attributes such as educational levels, political party affiliation, marital status, previous employment and income as well as individual councillors' opinions and perceptions on a number of issues on the representation process. Other questions typical of quantitative studies required rating the importance of certain issues about political recruitment and representation.

Archival records were instrumental in providing statistical figures of women numbers in local governments, and council executive committees and their political affiliation but this information was validated with answers from in-depth interviews. Still other records available including the organizational charts, regulations, procedural guidelines and manifestos were vital descriptions of the mandate and procedures, and functions of political representatives. As a whole, the qualitative form of data was the most widely obtained and the quantitative

data augmented the study findings and to some extent provided a basis for my research interpretations. Complementing numerical data with interpretive strategy was therefore found to be an appropriate way of elaboration, clarification, and illustration of the study results. This rallies with Jennifer Green et al conclusions that the appliance of the mixed method is intended to increase interpretability, meaningfulness and validity of constructs and inquiry results by capitalizing on inherent method strength and counteracting inherent biases in the research methods (Green, Caracelli et al. 1989).

Additionally, the concurrent nested strategy was found to be ideal for this study because by simultaneously allowing collection of qualitative and quantitative data in a single phase, not only it saved time but also other financial and material resources. The strategy further minimized the probable monotony of the inquiries to the respective respondent compared to a sequential design where a qualitative and quantitative method would have different data collection phases.

4.5 Procedure and Data Bases

I have briefly noted how the concurrent nested strategy enabled me to integrate both qualitative and quantitative approaches in this study. In this section however I elaborate the process of data collection including the employed tools and procedure which encompass primary and secondary data sources. Throughout the study, the primary data was obtained through interviews and questionnaire while secondary data originated from diverse archival records, publications and reports.

4.5.1 Interview Process and Data

The study sparked-off with a pre-test of the questionnaire on a few councillors in the district council of Bushenyi and Mbarara municipality. The pilot study indicated that questionnaires had some vague and similar questions which necessitated a slight review. I ensured that these anomalies were corrected before embarking on the actual data collection process. Providentially, I was building on my earlier study experiences on the councils like Bushenyi and KCC, that had enlighten me on the nature of the respondents I had to encounter with regard to their availability and attention. My personal working experience in the local government not only proved an asset for approaching the respondents, but also equipped me

with an insight of issues to explore extensively in the interview process. While these experiences could have threatened the independence of my thought and posed the "going-native" challenge, my self-restriction to academic study ethics proved competent to resist a possible diversion from the objective.

The primary data focused directly on the respondents using semi-structured interviews in which a series of standardized questions were supplemented by in-depth questions. A couple of semi-standard questionnaires with a blend of open and close-ended questions (see appendices 1 and 2) formed a primary tool for collecting data from the respondents. The women councillors' questionnaire differed slightly from the one employed on other categories of respondents. Other than the personal views about the process and purpose of having women in local councils (explored in both questionnaires), the questionnaire for female councillors additionally sought for individual women positions in the councils, their term of office, and a number of other achieved statuses as qualification, marital status, employment and income. It also explored women career plans.

The questions covered both personal data and perceptions of a number of issues on the political recruitment and representation process. The interview schedule was an extensive one; often taking over an hour with a number of open-ended questions and additional probes on related topics. Where as my preference for interviews was a one-to-one conversation, there were instances where some women councillors preferred to invite one or two of their colleagues to join in the discussion. Although group discussions were not part of my original study design, I found this self-initiated approach valuable because the respondents would supplement each other's views and in case of any divergences, this would be recorded separately. Their views on the checklist items for ranking were also treated separately together with the attached relevant arguments. Precisely, the respondents that preferred to be interviewed as a group had each one's views recorded on a separate questionnaire with a footnote on issues agreeable to all so as to save time spent on recording same answers.

The preference of semi-structured interview method was because of its flexibility. A preset questionnaire that contained closed and open ended questions provided a guide for this study. This was a great advantage for cases of respondents who preferred a face-to-face discussion as well as those who had no time for interviews. Respondents who seemed not to have time for extended interviews were left with the questionnaires to fill them on their own. The

method enabled me to conduct an extensive exploration of the women representation issues by permitting individual expressions beyond the pre-set response categories.

Indeed, as many research methodological theorists note, a semi-structured interview permits asking of predetermined questions in a systematic and consistent manner but at the same time allows freedom to digress by probing far beyond the answers of the standardized questions (Berg 1995). This proved to be an ideal strategy in this study to solicit information about individual opinions, attitudes and behaviour regarding selection of women councilors as well as unveiling their understanding of the intent for women representation. The questions posed enabled self evaluation of women councillors in terms of what factors enable them to be selected into politics as well as what fail their selection and political performance. The interviewees were able to assess the role of women in politics, and they were inspired into a deep thinking about issues women represent with a critical observation on whether these are women issues or general issues. Narrations related to selection process created a great insight on women feelings about the comparative selection process of the present multiparty politics and the no-party system they were in before.

To obtain more valid data, a number of these interviews were voice-recorded although many of the respondents shunned the method. Nevertheless, even where voice-recording occurred, I ensured that I took personal notes on all interview discussions. This was a safety measure just in case the voice-recording got a slipup as in some instances established in my data analysis where part of the voices would be interrupted by noise or other interventions and could hardly be audible.

4.5.2 Interview-related Constraints
The key challenge I encountered with the interview process was a time shortage that of some respondents had at their disposal for extended discussions. On the other extreme however, some respondents at times wished to offer too much information which had dangers of derailing me from the study objective if not controlled tactfully.

Another critical challenge was the availability of the respondents. Because of the part-time nature of most councillors – save for those on the executive committees – obtaining them for face-to-face interviews was quite cumbersome and the most appropriate strategy adopted was

to target them when they would be attending meetings for their respective standing committees or for the general council. Yet, even when they would be available at these meetings, many of them seemed to have limited time to await my discussion with them (per our earlier appointments) as they would often be rushing to attend their family responsibilities or other social demands of their constituencies or relatives immediately after the meetings. A case in point is during my visit to Lira district local government where I made an appointment with some members of Community Based Services Committee before they started their meeting. We agreed that I wait for them but after a lengthy debate that lasted for over four hours (twice as much time as they expected to take), seemingly tired, they all emerged out and on a humble apology, boarded a waiting vehicle to rush for burial of a close relative to one of their councilor colleagues. For other respondents that I met from their personal workplaces, there were always a lot of interruption from colleagues, customers and relatives. However, I had little influence on the interview setting because the ideal places in which I could access the interviewees were their workplaces or at council headquarters. Many of them were rarely at home during the day time and from my field experience there was a limited indication of a preference for locating such discussions in their home environment.

Even for women councillors on the executive and technical officers, the scenarios would differ marginally. Often, my prior appointments with them would be cancelled on spot, postponed, interrupted or delayed due to a number of official and private affairs. Adhoc meetings, family commitments, council duties outside office and many other obligations including their personal health revealed unimaginable roles underlying the position of councillorship.

4.5.3 Secondary Data

Secondary data was also obtained from archival records including council minutes, reports, organizational charts and other administrative legal instruments such as the Constitution, relevant Acts, regulations and rules of procedures. The electoral commission reports were particularly a substantial source of my quantitative data relating to numbers of women selected in different local councils. Other archival records were sought for in the respective local government record centers, and Ministry of Local Government. Such documents provided readily available information that needed assembling and analysis in coherence with

research questions. Other than being independent source of data, such archival records were essential for augmenting and corroborating interview data.

4.6 Strategy of Analysis and Interpretation

Data analysis involves examining, categorizing, tabulating and organizing the collected data sets to simplify the interpretation. It entails describing the data and how it was obtained, and interpreting it basing on the research questions. Similar to the data collection process, this study adopted a mixed method in data analysis by use of tabulation and captured texts.

Once out of the field, the data obtained by audio recording and hand-writing was transcribed in a more comprehensive manner. Separate individual responses were compiled (in form of a text) as a field report to ease the coding process. Through coding, the transcribed data was then reduced to simpler tables and phrases and categorized under specific themes and sub-themes that related to my research questions. Data related to individual councillor attributes were used to display characteristics of councilors such as income, education level and political affiliation.

The numerical data obtained from archival records and from interview responses generated tables showing a comparative composition of urban and rural local councils. The other data from responses regarding ranking of factors on "very important" to "not important" and from "great extent" to "not at all" scales was tabulated accordingly, establishing the response frequencies and percentages. The analysis of the data obtained from these ratings however revealed that respondents considered most of the raised issues as "very important" or "less important"; or of "great extent" or "less extent". As such, during the coding process, other intermediate ratings appearing in the questionnaire and the extreme "not at all/not important" were collapsed into the categories with high frequency respondents. From these tables, interpretations were drawn depending on the data relation to the research questions and study assumptions.

Another data set that presented extensive narrations, observations and opinions of the respondents captured through voice-recording and hand-recording provided in-depth descriptions of diverse issues relating to the study questions and assumptions. These were incorporated in the discussions of the study findings to generate a more understanding of

political representation. Some of the recorded observations however were used to substantiate the numerical data captured from secondary sources or developed from the tabulations of study variables. This analytical method provided clearer in-sight of the findings and a higher validity probability that this study claims. Use of both secondary and primary data also increased chances of reliability of the study findings because each data set was used to reinforce or rectify the other especially regarding actual women numbers in the councils. Conclusions were then drawn basing on detailed interpretations of the combined data sets.

4.7 Ethical Considerations

Every research is known to involve ethical issues by a mere fact that it involves collecting data from people and about people. As a result, codes of ethical and professional conduct have been developed by various social science organizations and a number of writers have come up with various commentaries on ethical issues to guide researches (Punch 1998:281) These issues include harm and benefit, informed consent and deception; privacy and confidentiality; and social control (Kelman 1982; Fontana and Frey 1994; Silverman 2001). These issues may arise in the process of questioning the respondents, administering questionnaires or in records and secondary data analysis.

4.7.1 Informed Consent and Confidentiality

Informed consent is a procedure by which the individuals choose whether to participate in an investigation after being informed of the facts that are likely to affect their decisions (Nachmias and Nachmias 1996). The participants need to be informed of the aims, benefits and potential risks of their involvement if any. With the notion of informed consent therefore, individual's participation in research process should be voluntary.

Ethical considerations in my methods of inquiry considered the principle of informed consent crucial and as such I always briefed the respondents about my identity as well as the purpose and outcomes of the study. In the initial contact process, I would inquire whether the discussion should be recorded. Indeed, during the process, many of my respondents never wanted to be voice recorded and as such, in many cases I opted for comprehensive hand-taken notes. My own observation however was that respondents who shunned voice-recording seemed freer to make comments on a wide range of matters. This suggested that voice-recording was a highly-doubted way of ensuring people's confidentiality.

4.7.2 Harm

Stressing confidentiality of data and notifying participants on any foreseen conditionality of divulging such information was the initial strategy of alleviating the possibility of harm to the respondents. Privacy and anonymity of individual respondents was highly regarded to minimize the possibility of mistrust, harassments, punishments, social disapproval, or denial of benefits and opportunities especially from their fellow councilmen, families or political and bureaucratic leaders. This is one of the reasons why I would request the interviewees to propose the time and place for the meeting. As I mentioned earlier, preferences of respondents to meet outside their home environment for instance could have been a way of ensuring the privacy of the responses given and avoiding possible harm from their spouses or other relatives out of the comments the respondents would make.

Effects of harm were also minimized in a number of other ways. The questions put to the participants were precise and largely impersonal to minimize the possible psychological harm – stress, discomfort or otherwise – that might arise as a result of unclear instructions or structure of the questions. Also, to minimize the harm caused by loss of time for participants – considering that respondents could be having a number of other commitments – prior appointments would be made and it would be agreed how long the interviews would take. During the interview process any interruptions would be tolerated patiently to limit the possible pressure or inconvenience that the respondents could feel out of the continuous discussions against their pressing issues.

4.8 Conclusions

This chapter elaborated the study methods and the tools used in data collection and analysis. In the chapter, it was argued that a study approach of mixed methods drawn from the conventional qualitative and quantitative research designs may yield a more reliable and valid data at the levels of data collection and analysis. The selection of regional council cases and respective individual respondents also proved a good strategy for obtaining a more representative sample for possibilities of national generalization. The chapter notes that secondary and primary data bases became appropriate as a matter of validity and that it is imperative to observe ethical considerations when doing research.

SECTION II

CHAPTER 5:

CURRENT WOMEN NUMBERS AND THE RECRUITMENT PROCESSES IN THE UGANDAN LOCAL POLITICS

5.0 Introduction

Women numbers have always been known as relatively few in politics and indeed many national and local studies have revealed so. As noted in Chapter 1, limited studies on Uganda local politics – as in many African polities – creates a theoretical gap in understanding women representation phenomenon. The studies are not only few but also less extensive covering isolated political positions as in the case of Josephine Ahikire 2003 and 2007 studies.

The process of obtaining political representatives has been examined in chapter 3 as lengthy, comprising of variable mechanisms for narrowing the population into a few leaders. Political selection takes many forms but the most underlined in this study are election and appointment. Recruitment takes place in an environment with political institutions including legal, electoral and party systems within which individual actors are central. In Norris theory, parties were noted as key selection agencies. Since Uganda is operating in the party system era currently and having experienced no-party system before, this chapter analyses the effect of each of these systems on women political recruitment.

The study among other issues aimed at examining the gender constitution of the Uganda local political institutions so as to establish a database of women numbers in the local legislatures for the current and future studies. This chapter unravels speculations of women political representation in Uganda local politics by presenting numerical compositions of district and municipality councils as well as the aggregate national women political numbers. The chapter presents an analytical view of the political recruitment process for local government councillors in Uganda under the no-party and multiparty regimes. It reveals the nature of elections in each system, and highlights individual perceptions on party and no-party system recruitment procedures. The chapter therefore addresses my first research question that seeks to explore a comparative status of women in the Ugandan district and municipal local governments.

5.1: Women Numbers in the Urban and Local Governments Councils

The secondary data obtained in this study reveals aggregates of women numbers at the national level for all categories of councillors including those with special interests. The secondary data is agreeable with the primary data covering 9 local governments undertaken as study cases. In both data sets the findings indicate a marginal difference of the urban and the rural councils' women representatives with the rural councils having a slightly higher percentage than urban councils according to the 2006 elections as presented below:

Table 2 Political Representatives in the District/ City Council

CATEGORY	MALES	FEMALES	TOTAL	FEMALE %
Chairpersons	68	1	69	1.4
Direcly Elected Councillors	980	23	1003	2.3
Women Councillors	-	636	636	100
People with Disabilities	69	69	138	50
Youth	69	69	138	50
Total	**1186**	**798**	**1984**	**40.2**

Table 3: Political Representatives in the Municipalities/City divisions

CATEGORY	MALES	FEMALES	TOTAL	FEMALE %
Chairpersons	17	1	18	5.8
Directly Elected Councillors	241	13	254	5.1
Women Councillors	-	166	166	100
People with Disabilities	12	15	27	55.5
Youth	9	9	18	50
Total	**279**	**204**	**483**	**42.2**

Table 2 indicates a total of 1984 councillors for district local governments of whom 798 (40.2%) are women. In table 3, the national municipality councillor aggregate is 483 of whom 204 (42.2) are women. This implies a negligible 2% women difference between the urban and the rural councils which is of no substantial significance on women representation as further implied in the findings of the case councils studied in the tables below.

Table 4: Council Composition in the Studied District Cases

Region	District	Male	Female	Total	Women Percentage
Western	Bushenyi	31	20	51	**39.2**
Central	Kampala	17	14	31	**45.2**
	Mukono	28	22	50	**44.0**
Eastern	Iganga	25	12	37	**32.4**
Northern	Lira	21	13	34	**38.2**
Average					**39.8**

Table 5: Council Composition in the Studied Municipalities

Region	District	Male	Female	Total	Women Percentage
Western	Mbarara	12	9	21	42.8
Central	Masaka	15	8	23	34.7
Eastern	Mbale	17	10	27	37.0
Northern	Lira	22	16	38	42.1
Average					**39.1**

Table 6: District-Municipality Variations

Region	District	Percentage	Municipality	Percentage	Average
Western	Bushenyi	39.2	Mbarara	42.8	41.0
Central	*Mukono*	*44.0*	*Masaka*	*34.7*	41.3
	KCC	45.2			
Eastern	Iganga	32.4	Mbale	37.0	34.7
Northern	Lira	38.2	Lira	42.1	40.1
Average		39.8		39.1	39.3

Table 4 and 5 indicate male and female representatives of the 9 councils in my study. Like at the national level, the tables indicate an insignificant variation of 0.7% between the urban (municipalities) and the rural (district) women representatives. Rural district councils have 39.8% women representation while the urban councils indicate 39.1% implying an insignificant difference of 0.7%. With exception of the central region rural and urban councils – that is, Mukono and Masaka[14] which show a difference of 9.3% – all other cases indicate a higher women percentage in municipalities than district councils although with less than 5% difference.

 The variations of Mukono and Masaka may be explained by two factors; First, Masaka is at the central core of Buganda kingdom where women are traditionally regarded more as homemakers than public figures. The women in Buganda culturally have a more subjective position compared to other parts of Uganda. Secondly, Mukono is a relatively big district with a population of over 0.8 million people which implies more constituencies for women representation according to law governing women constituency demarcation as per Section 109 and 110 of the LGA. The argument concerning Mukono district big size also offers a reasonable account of its highest number of women representatives in all studied districts with exception of KCC. KCC stands out as a unique case because of being an urban council of a district status.

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[14] I preferred comparing Mukono district and Masaka because KCC is not a rural council although it is graded as a district.

Further, the percentages of women local council representatives at the national level (presented in Table 2 and 3) show a less significant variation from the percentages of the cases studied. The rural councils' data at the national level indicate 40.2% women while the rural councils cases studied consist of averagely 39.8% women representation which presents a negligible divergence of 0.4%. Urban councils at the national level consist of 42.2 % women while the case study findings show an average of 39.1% women representation indicating a marginal difference of 3.1%. These minor divergences therefore imply that there are no significant statistical differences in the study cases and the nationwide data which in a way suggests the validity of the data used in this study. Where as these marginal differences could be accounted for by duplication and omission errors of councillors names and numbers, the differences could also be an indication of the shortcomings related to generalization of the findings from the few cases. It is obvious that numbers of women are not evenly distributed in all councils and as such, an average of women representative from a few cases may not necessarily be equal to the national average women representatives.

5.2 Women in the Top Council Leadership

While the focus of this study centers on women councillors as a whole, the element of council leadership became a pertinent issue of scrutiny in the political recruitment. In addition to establishing council composition therefore, the study further evaluated the constitution of executive committees, and the nature of councillors who held positions of Speaker and Deputy Speaker. Legally, the Executive Committees of local government councils comprise of the chairperson, Vice chairperson and a number of Secretaries not exceeding three of whom *at least one must be a female* (Uganda 1997:Sec 16 & 25). The Speaker and Deputy Speaker are also included in the leadership category for this study. These categories consist of the topmost leaders in the local councils.

5.2.1 Selection Process for Council Leaders

There are two ways in which the local council leaders in Uganda are recruited from within the councils; election and appointment. The chairperson of the councils, the Speaker and Deputy Speaker are elected while the district Vice Chairperson and the Secretaries are appointed. The district Chairperson is elected by the public through the universal adult suffrage and a secret ballot. Within the prevailing fast-past-the-post electoral system of Uganda, the winner for the post of the chairperson must obtain the largest number of votes cast. The district chair however additionally, must be qualified to be elected as an MP,[15] with age limit ranging from 30 to 70 years and should be a resident within the contested constituency (Uganda 1997: Sec 12 & 115). A Chairperson for a municipal council is also obliged to have all these requirements with exception of the education qualifications on which the law is silent.

The Vice Chairperson for the district is required to possess the same qualifications as the chairperson. Together with the council Secretaries, they are nominated by the chairperson among the elected councillors. The members of the executive committee are nominated by the council chair and approved by the majority of the council. The Vice Chairperson nominee in particular is approved by *two-thirds* of the council while the other nominees for the post of council Secretaries are approved by the majority of the council members. Whereas the law equates the Vice-Chairperson's qualification to that of the Chair, it is silent on the necessity for the Secretaries' education qualifications. The holders of positions for Speaker and Deputy Speaker on the other hand are nominated and elected through a secret ballot by fellow councillors. The successful candidate must have more than 50 percent of the votes cast but like the council Secretaries, the law also does not stipulate any education qualification for the two posts.

Agreeable with the theorized processes suggested by Suzanne Keller and Prewitt as discussed in Chapter 3, the key selection methods for council leaders are appointment and election. The council chairs, the speakers and deputy speakers are elected. The vice chairpersons and Secretaries are appointed in the executive committee positions but are also elected to the councils before they obtain the political leadership appointments. As held by Prewitt

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[15] The qualifications for MP according to the Article 80 of the Uganda Constitution include: a Ugandan Citizenship, a registered voter, and a minimum of formal education of Advanced level standard or its equivalent

therefore, these are typical empirical political leadership cases which combine several methods of recruitment process.

5.2.2 Women Numbers in the Council Leadership

 In the subsequent table, I indicate the numbers of women in the leadership positions of the studied councils and their respective percentages. The number of leadership category (Executive Committee, Speaker and Deputy Speaker) sums up to 7 per council. The total number of political leaders under this consideration therefore comes to 35 in the five districts studied and 28 in the four municipality cases.

Table 7: Women Numbers in the Local Council Leadership (Study Cases)
(N per council =7)

District LCs *(N=35)*	Executive	Speaker	D/Speaker	Total Women	% of the leadership
Bushenyi	2		1	3	42.8
KCC	3	1		4	57.1
Mukono	1		1	2	28.6
Iganga	2		1	3	42.8
Lira	1			1	14.3
Totals	**9**	**1**	**3**	**13**	**37.1**
Municipal LCs *(N= 28)*					
Mbarara	3	1	1	5	71.4
Masaka	1			1	14.3
Mbale	1			1	14.3
Lira	1			1	14.3
Total	**6**	**1**	**1**	**8**	**28.5**

From the table, it is noted that the number of women leaders were relatively many in district councils where the leadership comprised of 37.1% women compared to municipal councils with 28.5% women making a difference of 8.6%. Whereas municipalities indicated a lower women percentage in the council leadership positions, Mbarara was exceptional with women holding the majority of executive positions, and both posts for the council speaker and the

deputy. The explanation for such an incidence that seemed extra ordinary out of all the councils studied however was not established.

Considering the issue of executive emoluments seen in chapter 2, the low number of women on urban council executive committees – which attract no salary – may suggest a less interest in posts of political responsibility with no remuneration; which implies financial gains as one aspect of women running for political leadership positions. While urban areas have more options for all councillors utilizing the time at their disposal for financial gains outside the political arenas, men would perhaps find it easier to hold the non-salaried council leadership positions because they possess variable sources of income compared to women. In a general view however women are found to be fewer in such hierarchical positions that are associated with power and political decision influence which implies a vertical marginalization.

In both the rural and the urban councils, it is also evident that the post of the speaker was held by women in only those councils with the highest number of women leaders; and that women are concentrated in the posts of deputy speaker. Although it is not indicated on this table, the study established that among all executive committees studied, there were only 2 female municipal deputy mayors, 1 female district vice chairperson and no woman chairperson. The finding about the absence of women in key leadership positions of council chair and speaker – and the relatively higher number in the deputy/vice-posts – confirm the hierarchical nature of functional marginalization advanced by Raaum as seen in the introductory Chapter of this thesis.

What is implied further in the findings portraying few women in posts of council chair and speaker is that these posts are filled through competitive elections as described in chapter 2. The district chairs and mayors are nominated and elected by adult suffrage while the council Speakers and their deputies are nominated and voted for, from within the council by fellow councillors. Whereas a higher number of male councillors that occupy these councils may partly account for the domination of male Speakers, it is also noted that the process of filling the posts of Speaker and deputy Speaker is through direct elections which do not favor women candidates as will be seen in the subsequent discussion.

Table 8: Gender Distribution of Executive Committee (Secretaries) by Sector
(N=45)

Sector	District N=25		Municipality N=20		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Gender & Community Dev't	1	4	2	2	3	6
Production, Agric & Marketing	2	3	2	2	4	5
Works, Water and Roads	3	2	4	0	7	2
Finance, Admin & Planning	4	1	3	1	7	2
Education, Sports, Health & Sanitation	5	0	3	1	8	1
Total	**15**	**10**	**14**	**6**	**29**	**16**

Table 8 shows that women in the studied councils occupied 16 (35.5%) of the 45 executive committee positions. In the district council 10 (40%) of the 25 Secretaries were women while in the municipal council 6 (30%) of the 20 Secretaries were women. The female Secretary percentages in the district were higher than those in the municipality which finding corresponds with the women distribution in the political leadership as presented in Table 7.

Besides the male-female numbers in these positions however, the table also depicts the way members of executive committees were distributed amongst the sectors in the councils studied. From the 9 councils studied, most female Secretaries belonged to the Gender and Community Development sectors, which affirms theoretical claims that underline their dominance is social policy and social services and welfare. Many women leaders were also found to be secretaries of Production, Agriculture and Marketing affirming claims of defendants for women presence in local self-governance on accounts of decentralized services that simulate much of what was previously provided as underlined in Anne Phillips (1996:13-14). This is agreeable with empirical facts that 60% Ugandan women dominate agricultural production (Ellis, Manuel et al. 2006:28-29). The findings of this study on the other hand contradict claims of women affinity to education and health sectors but the explanations for such incidence were hardly ascertained. As indicated in the table, these sectors were dominated by male councillors in both urban and rural councils. Perhaps one could conceive

this phenomenon as an indicator of changing gender roles. The male Secretaries were also found to dominate sectors of Finance, Planning and Administration; and Works, Water and Roads. This is a finding agreeable to the theoretical claims of men's concentration in 'hard' sectors like transport, finance, and foreign affairs (Raaum 1995:31), or like economy, industry energy and foreign affairs as argued Phillips (1996). Ambiguities of horizontal functional marginalization appeared in areas of agriculture, education and health that in this study happen to fall out of their "hard" and "soft" sector analytical classifications.

5.3 Comparisons of Rural-Urban Council Women Representation

Besides establishing women numbers, this study explored the effect of rural and urban political structures on women recruitment into politics. Based on the assumption that women in urban areas are endowed with relatively higher incomes, education, experience and knowledge which are frequently considered to determine the success of political candidates, the study presumed that they find it easier to compete and get selected in local politics than the rural women. On the basis of these assumptions, all respondents were asked whether they consider selection of women representatives as being easier in rural or urban councils basing on their individual experiences as voters, as election officials or as candidates. The responses came in three categories; the pro-rural, the pro-urban and the neutral arguments as presented below:

Table 9: Conceptions on Rural-Urban Council Women Selection

CATEGORY	NO: OF RESPONDENTS	ARGUMENTS
Pro-Rural council Representation	23	- The rural needs are largely communal and affordable e.g. providing water sources, opening up roads, etc as compared to towns where voters largely demand money. - There are more social ties in the rural than urban and this is key in the selection process. The population is more homogeneous and there is a potential support from relatives -Rural voters are easy to mobilize for meetings and rallies compared to Urban voters always claim to be busy. - Rural voters are easier to convince due to their living conditions, less education, ignorance and poverty compared to urban areas where people are very much informed.
Pro-Urban Council Representation	21	-Urban voters have less demands that can easily be met by the candidate - Village constituencies are too big which makes it costly to campaign - In the urban area, the conservative norms against women are much less than the rural. This is because urban areas consist of people with different cultures. -Most urban women are capable of competing for politics. They have money, and some have wide experience in politics compared to rural women
Neutral	10	-Both urban and rural councils are equally difficult because people have high demands and expectations that individual women candidates may not meet.

As noted in Table 9 above, 23 (42.6%) respondents who supposed that women find it easier to get recruited in rural council argued that the local demands are affordable because they are mostly communal; that the voters are easy to mobilize and convince; and there are higher chances of getting massive support from relatives and friends. Arguments for 21 (38.9%) pro-urban councils respondents on the other hand held that the voters' demands are mostly individual and affordable by candidates; that urban constituencies are smaller than rural areas which ease campaign process; that urban women have more abilities for political competition; and that due to diversity in culture, there are less prejudices against women political participation in urban areas.

Yet there was a third category of 10 (18.5%) respondents who argued that urban or rural, selection in any councils involved high demands and expectations which women candidates

could not afford. The respondents noted that in all councils there were crosscutting electorate demands which included providing water sources, maintenance of roads, building of schools, churches, contributions and attendance of ceremonies, catering for individual needs and contributing to civil organisations. On critical emphasis, one of the councillors reiterated: *"politics is the same everywhere, it has become business"* (woman councillor Mbarara municipality). This councillor argued that whether rural or urban, voters are ever making excessive demands and that if you cannot meet them as a candidate or a councilor they deny you their support.

A critical observation about these arguments was that in either category – whether pro-urban, pro-rural and neutral– the respondents happened not necessarily to be from the councils which they argued for or against. While some municipality councillors and technocrats argued that women found it easer to be selected in district councils, others contended that urban areas were better as others held a neutral stand. This was a similar incident in the district councillors and technocrats. The balanced arguments of either side are a possible explanation of why there is an insignificant difference between the urban council and rural council women representatives.

The insignificant differences between the urban and rural council female numbers as well as the corresponding arguments regarding the opinions on being recruited in either of the councils suggest a necessity for exploring further into the political recruitment processes. Considering that women numbers in Uganda increased during the no-party regime and that there has been a transition into a multiparty era the subsequent sections examine the selection processes in the two systems. The exploration follows Prewitt thesis of political recruitment under nonpartisanship and Norris's partisan recruitment model.

5.4 Councillors' Selection Process under No-party System

The earlier discussions pointed out a number of political transitions in Uganda including the move from centralised to decentralised governance and from no-party to multiparty democracy. Political recruitment of Resistance Councils' executive members prior to the 1995 constitution was by lining up behind the candidates of their choice. With the coming into effect of the 1995 constitution and the LGA 1997 however and the subsequent varied representation categories, diverse modes of selection procedures were introduced at different

local council levels. Prior to 2001, councillors for all councils were selected through two ways; one by the ballot box and the other by the electorate lining up behind the candidates, candidates representatives, or candidate's portraits (Ahikire 2007). Ahikire presents a comparison of electoral modes for Ugandan local government councillors during 1998 elections as given below.

Table 10: Types of Elections for Various Local Government Positions (1998; 2001/2)

Level	Position	Type of Election	Nature of Election (1998)	Nature of Election (2001/2)
LC5	Chairperson	Adult Suffrage	Secret ballot	Secret ballot
	Direct Councillors	Adult Suffrage	Secret ballot	Secret ballot
	Women councillors	Adult Suffrage	Lining up	Secret ballot
	Youth	Electoral College	Lining up	Secret ballot
	PWD*	Electoral College	Lining up	Secret ballot
LC4	Chairperson	Adult Suffrage	Lining up	Secret ballot
	Executive Committee	Adult Suffrage	Lining up	Secret ballot
LC3	Chairperson	Adult Suffrage	Secret ballot	Secret ballot
	Direct Councillors	Adult Suffrage	Lining up	Secret ballot
	Women councillors	Adult Suffrage	Lining up	Secret ballot
	Youth	Electoral College	Lining up	Secret ballot
	PWD	Electoral College	Lining up	Secret ballot
LC2	Chairperson	Electoral College	Lining up	Secret ballot
	Executive Committee	Electoral College	Lining up	Secret ballot
LC1	Chairperson	Adult Suffrage	Lining up	Secret ballot
	Executive Committee	Adult Suffrage	Lining up	Appointment by C/person

Source: Josephine Ahikire (2007:89)

PWD = People with Disabilities

As noted from the table, until 2001, the nature of women councillors was by lining up. This was a characteristic of Electoral College elections as in the Youth and PWDs councillors. Ahikire holds that the divergence in modes of elections between the women councillors, chairpersons and directly-elected councillors implied a legal importance attached to the different positions. She particularly points to posts of chairpersons for the district and subcounties (LC3), and directly elected councillors who were elected by secret ballot as

having a high status compared to women councillors and councillors of other electoral colleges.

I noted in Chapter 2 that lining-up was a popular method of election initiated during the NRA guerrilla war and adopted in the post-war period of political reconstruction. It was regarded as a more transparent and cost-effective measure in the democratization process and was more ideal with small local government structures of RCs and LCs that only elected a few executive members. The lining-up method of women councillor selection was also feasible with women electoral colleges that were comprised of a five executive members per LC level. Unlike in the selection of council chairmen and directly-elected councillors, a five-member executive of women councils for lower levels formed electoral colleges for selecting executives for the next LC level. This method enabled women to select their fellow women representatives which in some way could have been of relevance for arguments related to representation of women interests. Much as the lining-up method could be a viably transparent and economical electoral way, it could however also be conceived as men's scheme to sustain intimidation and hatred amongst women voters and as a tool for regulating their wives' voter-choices.

The 2001 electoral law changed mode of constituencies from the women-only electorates to subcounties and wards – for district and municipality councillors respectively – while the mode of election also became a secret ballot. This implied that election of women councillors was the same as the one for the directly-elected councillors. Under the no-party system, the directly-elected councillors and women councillors were elected on merit. The election process was structured in a way that individuals, who met basic legal requirements and expressed their desires to run for councillorship, would require secondment by a number of stipulated voters per the law. They would then be nominated by government agencies acting on behalf of the electoral commission and compete on their own merit for the available political positions. Whereas women could compete amongst themselves for quota seats, they also had opportunities to compete with men for the non-quota council positions. Winners would be the candidates who obtain the highest number of votes casted and each elected councillor would represent a constituency as typical of a single-member plurality majoritarian electoral systems.

Like in Prewitt's thesis (Prewitt 1970:16-17), the mode of recruitment under the nonpartisan Movement system meant that the selectors were numerous and varied which to some extent gave the contestants meritorious opportunities to be nominated and elected. Nonpartisanship

implied that there was limited voter bias which is normally associated with parties, and that political contestants would aim at constituency interests than party ideologies. Such political system lessened women stigma attached to politics as experienced in previous Ugandan party and authoritarian regimes. The problem however became the nature of the constituencies that contrary to Prewitt's view were as big as in the subsequent party political system. With the exception of the quota electoral opportunities, the procedure for quota women councillors that was made the same as direct councillors constrained them in the bigger constituencies. At the same time, direct elections became more cumbersome for women who were perceived (and who themselves perceived) that they basically ought to contest for the reserved seats. The problem of increased polarization for women in direct constituency is evidently established in this study where only a few women were found to be directly-elected councillors.

5.5 Councillor Recruitment under Multiparty System

The multiparty political system that took effect with the 2006 elections introduced electoral procedures that slightly differed from the no-party Movement political system. Under the new system, the national laws maintained old electoral and local government structures and the individual parties had to fit their recruitment structures within the bigger national framework. Another systemic challenge of the party system at the onset was the emergency of numerous parties some of which were unable to mobilize and form substantial structures nationwide. Because local governance has national political structures, most of the small parties therefore had limited coverage and opportunities on the electoral process. As such, the majority party (NRM) whose membership was largely a component of the old Movement system dominated the political recruitment. One emerging party, the Forum for Democratic Change (FDC) and two post-independent historical parties; the Democratic Party (DP) and Uganda peoples Congress (UPC) could comparably compete with NRM in the recruitment processes. This study examines the processes for political recruitment in three of these four parties. Since the general electoral law covers electoral processes within all parties, I present an overview of this law before elaboration of individual party procedures.

5.5.1 Eligibility of Councillors

The Ugandan current law provides standard guidelines for structures and requirements for council members and leaders. An eligible council member (to be selected by adult suffrage) must be a citizen of Uganda and a registered voter of a sound mind who is not a cultural or

traditional leader defined in the constitution. The candidate must not be acting or holding an office involving the local government election responsibility nor should the candidate be employed by the respective local government council to be contested in. Unlike in the previous Movement political system where interested persons who wished to contest for a local government office were required to apply for an annual leave without pay at least 14 days before nominations commence, the law governing multiparty system under Sec 116 of LGA decisively states:

> Under the multiparty political system, a public officer, a person employed in any Government department or agency of the Government, an employee of a local government or an employee of a body in which the government has a controlling interest, who wishes to stand for election to a local government office shall resign his or her office at least thirty days before nomination day in accordance with procedure of the service or employment to which he or she belongs (Uganda 1997:90).

To underscore this regulation, the law under section 116 (6) of the LGA prohibits a public officer employed by a particular local government from being a councilor for any other higher or lower local government. The law only permits public officers to be elected for political offices of the village and parish level.

Candidates for posts of chairpersons of local councils in addition to these procedural nomination demands of councilors are required to be a registered voters and residents of their respective electoral areas. They should be at least thirty years and not more than seventy five years old. Further, for a district or city council, the candidate for the post of the chairperson should possess at least a Ugandan Advanced Certificate of Education (UACE) or equivalent qualification and under Sec 112 of the LGA they are subjected to payment of a non-refundable fee of *ten* currency points[16] for a district or city, *five* currency points for a municipality and *two- and-a-half* currency points for a city division, town or subcounty. Under Sec 119, all other councilors for a district, city or municipality must pay *two- and-a-half* currency points while councilors for other lower local councils (town, city division and subcounty) require paying one currency point (Uganda 1997)

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[16] A legally stipulated currency point is equivalent to twenty thousand Uganda Shillings (about $12) according to the LGA Sixth Schedule

These provisions of course have a big implication on the nature of the candidates to compete for available political positions in the local councils. It is common sense that a few candidates will find much interest in vying for positions that will deprive them of their prime means of earnings. A councilor in the first instance is a part-time politician and unless the selected councilor of a higher local council obtains a position of council chair, executive member or speaker, he or she earns no salary except meager allowances for council sessions. Other salaried local council leaders are the chairpersons for subcounties, municipal division and town councils – positions which only a few women access. Choosing to be a local council politician therefore requires a well calculated comparative advantage of political candidates and most especially women. It is factual that women in Uganda (like else where in the developing world) have historically experienced marginalization in education and labour market. A few contemporary educated and formally employed women therefore would reluctantly rush for politics of uncertain future careers. Resigning a salaried job for a temporary non-paying political position of four years that may or may not be regained (after that term of office) is not only shortsightedness but rather a huge blunder on the part of women and the families they economically support. Again, the financial requirement for candidature registration is a big disincentive for some interested candidates who estimate cost-impact of the entire electoral process on their economic standing.

Whilst women elections continued to be by secret ballot and universal adult suffrage, with the return of multiparty democracy in 2006 elections, political recruitment in Uganda became subjected to political party structures including the party organisation, rules and ideology. Selection of women councillors became more complex with the political party primary election processes and much wider constituencies. The women's dilemma remained to resolve on whether to compete with men for the many and relatively smaller constituencies of the directly elected councillor or to bear with a few bigger constituencies and compete with their fellow women. Another dilemma for some women was whether to seek for possible political opportunities in opposition parties where competition could be minimal or whether to remain and compete for a fewer selection chances within the NRM majority party to which many belonged and a good number of them were the incumbents. Of course, while these dilemmas prevailed in women's thoughts, the effect of party ideology could not be underrated. The major ideology behind opposition parties was to overturn the longstanding NRM leadership of which they claimed had overstayed in power, capitalizing on unaccomplished NRM service delivery pledges. They principally craved for a change; for a new breed of political leaders

who would improve service delivery, where as the NRM party supporters considered nothing new in the oppositions' agenda.

By 2006, Uganda local governments had increased from 56 (that existed in the 2001 elections) to 69. Decentralisation had led to a further subdivision of districts with claims of more improved service delivery in respect to size and ethnic minorities but also as a result of local pressure for local self-government. At the same time, 32 political parties had been dully registered and were prepared for electoral competition. At the national level, only 13 political parties managed to nominate candidates for parliamentary elections while other candidates stood as independents (Electoral-Commission 2006). At the local government level, 9 parties managed to nominate candidates for councillorship (the independents exclusive)[17], of which selected councillors came from 5 parties and women candidates from 4 parties.

5.5.2 The Party Recruitment Process

a) National Resistance Movement (NRM) Candidate

NRM being a well established political and majority party happens to have more defined structures compared to other parties. Its number of nominated candidates and selected councillors therefore surpasses all other parties as indicated in Table 11 and 12 above. According to NRM procedures, all party members in LC1 (village) voted for a five-committee member. These comprised of the Chairperson, Vice chairperson, Secretary, Treasurer and Publicity secretary. Alongside this committee, the party consisted of other 5-member committees for Women league, Youth league, disabled league, veterans' league, elderly league and workers' league. This party committee executive and the league committees' executives came together with the old existing local council 1 executive of 10 people[18] to form a parish (LCII) conference. Similarly, members of each league committee from all villages formed a parish conference of respective league members and this process would repeatedly be undergone through LCII and LCIII (parish and subcounty or equivalent urban council levels). The party executives and league committees at LCIII level together with the old executive of the LCIII would subsequently form LCV conference. All LCV conference and executive committees would finally converge into a national conference.

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[17] The independent candidates were in this study were treated as an additional category of the candidates recruited under the party system.

[18] See the local government structures in chapter 2

Like other LCV candidates, female candidates within the NRM party were nominated and approved by the subcounty conference. Where more than one candidate contested, a secret ballot was used by the conference to determine the winner. The losing candidate would be expected to consent or alternatively opt to contest as rival independent candidate. The critical issue in the NRM party recruitment structures was the adoption and assimilation of the existing LC executives at all levels. As described, the existing local council executive committees were co-opted and incorporated into the NRM party conference outrightly. However members of these executive committees that supported opposition parties had a right of not being co-opted. The opposition party members of the old LC executive committees would also be incorporated in their respective parallel opposition parties' conferences which were formed as a similar strategy used by the NRM. According to the respondents however, those who joined opposition parties were only a handful because the NRM party was formed out of the Movement political system that revitalized the local councils in Uganda. The LC executive members therefore in Prewitt's political recruitment framework could be perceived as recruits and apprentices of the movement system; which guaranteed NRM party a presupposed authority to subsume them. In Norris's party system classifications seen in Chapter 3, NRM party implies a highly institutionalized and localized system because of its detailed and standardized recruitment procedures and dominant grassroots gatekeepers.

b) Forum for Democratic Change (FDC) Candidates

The nomination procedure of the women candidates in FDC began from the village level. All FDC supporters at village level selected village executive committees of 20 people. Because the political party had a small membership and loose structures at a local level, there were no party committees formed at the parish level. Instead, the 20 members of each committee from all villages formed subcounty committee which voted for candidates to compete with other party candidates at the municipal or LCV level.

In the FDC selection process, any interested party member was free to declare her intention to stand as an FDC councilor at LCV or municipality. The sub-county party committee vetted their qualifications and suitability basing on FDC national electoral affairs committee standards. At the district and national level, there were FDC committees that served to guide and oversee lower level party activities and to select district and constituency party candidates

for national legislatures. Because of uncoupled structures and insufficient membership within the party, in some instances, the district committee would be responsible for vetting subcounty candidates as well.

The described FDC recruitment structures suggest a relatively centralized party system compared to NRM structures. The centralization of FDC is gauged on the nature of gatekeepers which are largely located at the district and national levels compared to NRM where candidate selection was largely effected by the LCIII and grassroots party committees.

c) Democratic Party (DP) Candidates

At the village level, all Democratic political party members converged to select 9 executive members. The formed executive committees in all the villages then merged to select amongst themselves parish executive committee of 9 members. The 9 Parish executive members from all the parishes within converged and selected amongst themselves a 9-member LCIII executive. All LCIII executive of 9 members converged to form a district DP council which vetted and voted DP candidates at the LCV level.

The nominated candidates – who would or would not be on selected party executive committees – submitted formal application to the DP council at the district, paid some fee determined by individual councils. For instance, in case of KCC, candidates were obliged to pay 100,000 Uganda Shillings (about 50 USD) in order for their applications to be approved by the party. The district party council then announced the applicants and voted for the competing party candidates. A candidate who got the majority votes qualified as a party candidate to compete with candidates from other parties for LCV councillorship.

DP party structures as described were relatively localized although their gatekeepers were located at the district – like in typical centralized party systems. The party's application procedure seems to be relatively closed and semi-standardized leaving each council with a discretion of determining the nomination fee. DP therefore exemplifies a form of patronage system structure that is partially localized and centralized according to Norris's classifications.

5.6 Outcomes of the 2006 Party Recruitment Processes in Local Councils

The candidates that contested and won the 2006 local elections in the 69 districts, 13 municipalities and 5 city divisions are given in the tables below[19].

Table 11: Nominated and Selected Councillors by Political Party in the District Councils

Political Party	Total		Percentage
	Nom	Elect	
Conservative Party (C.P)	1		**0**
Democratic Party (D.P)	176	44	**25**
Forum for Democratic Change (FDC)	524	150	**28.6**
Justice Forum (JEEMA)	1		**0**
National Resistance Movement (NRM)	1698	1277	**75.2**
Progressive Alliance Party (PAP)	1		**0**
Uganda Peoples Congress (UPC)	146	49	**33.6**
Movement Volunteer Mobilisation's Organization(MVMO) Action Party (AP)	1		**0**
Independents	929	188	**20.2**
Totals	**3477**	**1708**	*49.1*

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[19] The data indicated in these tables excludes People with Disabilities (PWDs) and the Youth Councillors included in Tables 2 and 3. This data is left out because the categories are not easily classifiable as Directly-Elected Councillors or Women Councillors on which this study is focused. The omission accounts for the divergence in the grand totals of Table 2 and 3 compared to sub-totals of Table 11 and 12

Table 12: Nominated and Selected Councillors by Political Party Municipal Councils/ City Divisions

Political Party	Total		Percentage
	Nom	Elect	
Conservative Party (C.P)	21	2	**9.5**
Democratic Party (D.P)	209	111	**53.1**
Forum for Democratic Change (FDC)	122	57	**46.7**
Justice Forum (JEEMA)	2		**0**
National Resistance Movement (NRM)	438	197	**15.4**
Progressive Alliance Party (PAP)			
Uganda Peoples Congress (UPC)	40	14	**35**
Movement Volunteer Mobilisation's Organization(MVMO)			
Action Party (AP)	1		**0**
Independents	285	57	**20**
Totals	**1118**	**438**	**39.1**

Source: Table 11 and 12 are excerpts of the 2005/2006 Uganda Electoral Commission's Report (pgs 32, 34; 89-90)

Table 11 and 12 show the number of councillors nominated and elected in the district and Municipal local government councils respectively during the multiparty elections of 2005/2006. A comparison of the nominated and the elected councillors in both councils indicate 49.1% in district councils and 39.1% in municipal councils making a difference of 10%. This implies that generally, candidates were more likely to win elections in rural (district) councils than urban (municipal) councils.

The tables also reveal that the candidates in the majority and ruling party – the NRM – had a higher likelihood of winning in district councils (75.2%) than municipalities. On contrary, the data indicates that opposition party candidates found it easier to contest and win municipality seats than the district council seats. One key argument for these differences is in the perceptions of the people about the party politics in Uganda. Party politics have a negative connotation in the Ugandan history and the rural citizens who are less informed about political issues have been highly influenced by the "no-party" doctrines of the past NRM regime. These perceptions appear different in urban areas where there are more elites who are

not only politically knowledgeable and experienced but also who possess other capabilities of running for politics under opposition parties.

Whilst the findings about the general councillor elections show that NRM candidates succeeded more in rural than urban councils, the case of female councillors differed. NRM had the highest number of female councillors in both urban and rural councils as indicated in the table below.

Table 13: Selected Female Councillors by Political Party in the Districts and Municipal Councils

	C/PERSON	DIRECTLY ELECTED COUNCILLOR	WOMEN COUNCILLOR*	TOTALS
DISTRICT				
Democratic Party (DP)			15	*15*
Forum for Democratic Change (FDC)		1	55	*56*
National Resistance Movement (NRM)	1	21	487	*509*
Uganda Peoples' Congress (UPC)		1	18	*19*
Independents			61	*61*
Totals	**1**	**23**	**636**	*660*
MUNICIPALITY				
Democratic Party (DP)	1		45	*46*
Forum for Democratic Change (FDC)		1	23	*24*
National Resistance Movement (NRM)		12	68	*80*
Uganda Peoples' Congress (UPC)			6	*6*
Independents			24	*24*
Totals	**1**	**13**	**166**	*180*

___Source:___ *Derived from 2005/2006 Uganda Electoral Commission's Report; and from The Uganda Gazette, Vol. XCVIX No.29 and No.30 of May 2006.*[20]

* <u>Women Councillors</u> denote the women politicians in the local councils who are selected to fill women quotas (the 33% women reserved seats). Other women however may compete with men as directly-elected councillors.

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[20] Whereas women councillor figures could easily be derived from Electoral commission report summarized in Tables 11 and 12, the data of the other female councillors is not easily depicted therein and was thus derived from the cited Uganda Gazettes.

As noted in Table 13, NRM party won most seats for female representatives in both urban and rural councils. The party won 509 of the 660 district seats which is 77.9%; and 80 out of 180 municipal council seats representing 44.4%. The figures clearly indicate the effect of party competition typical of majoritarian electoral system where small parties are marginalized. Inspite of marginalization however, we realize that the opposition parties was much better in the recruitment of women in urban than the rural councils. FDC for instance obtained 24 (13.3%) out of 180 seats in the municipalities compared to 56 (8.5%) in the districts. DP similarly won 46 (25%) of the municipal council total seats compared to 15 (2.3%) in the district councils. These findings are coherent with the data presented in table 11 and 12 that indicate a better selection percentage of opposition party candidates in urban councils than rural councils.

Table 14: Summary of the Nominated and Elected Councillors

Category	District		Municipality		Totals		Percentage*
	Nom	Elect	Nom	Elect	Nom	Elect	
Chairpersons	171	69	67	18	238	87	**36.5**
Directly Elected Councillors	2153	1003	657	254	2810	1257	**44.7**
Women Councillors	1153	636	394	166	1547	802	**51.8**
Totals	**3477**	**1708**	**1118**	**438**	**4595**	**2146**	**46.7**

* The percentages relate to the numbers of total councillors elected out of total nominees.

Table 14 presents an overview of the nominated and elected councillors in both district and municipality councils. The table reveals that women councillors (under quota system) are more likely to run and win local government council elections compared to directly-elected councillors and aspirants for the post of chairperson. The findings that indicate 51.8% likelihood for women councillors to win local council seats in some way however suggests a

limited number of contestants for the available political posts. It implies an average of 2 political candidates per post (2:1 ratio) suggesting minimal competition that may be explained by political recruitment factors discussed in Chapter 6.

This study unsuccessfully attempted to obtain a detailed comparative secondary data for selected candidates[21] in these respective categories during the 2001 election. However, the obtained comparative figures for the nominees (Electoral-Commission 2001: i) indicated the following:

> ➢ Chairpersons   175 for District and 61 for municipalities,
> ➢ Directly-Elected councillor   2671 in the district and 1051 for municipality
> ➢ Women councillors   1464 in districts and   569 in the municipalities

The comparison of the 2001and 2006 nomination figures reveals virtually a constant in the candidates for the post of chairperson. Candidates for the directly-elected councillor posts indicated a considerable increase in municipalities while in the case of women councillors there was a slightly more increase in the districts than municipalities. This suggests that a turn to party politics had a significant implication in the selection of directly-elected councillors within urban areas. As noted from the subsequent discussion, the directly-elected councillor posts were male-dominated implying that Ugandan local women have less political claims regarding benefits under party politics compared to the Movement system of governance.

The findings in table 14 also reveal another significant factor concerning the differences between recruitment of the women councillors in the municipal and district councils. Out of the 1153 women nominated in the district council, 636 (55.1%) were elected; while of the 394 women nominated in the municipality, 166 (42.1%) were elected. A comparison of the nominated and elected women in the district council and the municipality councils implies that under the quota system, women are more likely to be elected in the rural than urban councils. The situation however is different for the directly-elected councillors and chairpersons as revealed in the table below:

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[21] Only partial municipality results were indicated in the 2001 Electoral Commission report and the district selected councillors were totally missing.

Table 15: Chairpersons and Directly Elected Councillors by Gender

Category	District Council		Municipality		Total		Percentage*
	Elect	Female	Elect	Female	Elect	Female	
Chairpersons	69	1	18	1	87	2	**2.3**
Directly-Elected Councillors	1003	23	254	13	1257	36	**2.9**
Total	**1072**	**24**	**272**	**14**	**1344**	**38**	**2.8**

 * The percentage in table 18 relate to total females out of total elect

Table 15 presents women numbers of the district chairpersons and directly-elected councillors. From the table, it is indicated that of the 87 selected chairpersons, only 2 (2.3%) were female, where as out of the total 1257 directly-elected councillors, 36 (2.9%) were female. The implication of these women percentages for the post of chairperson and directly elected councillors suggest that women in general continue to find it difficult in competing for non-quota seats within the local politics. A number of hindrances for women political competition with men are both individual and structural as presented in chapter 8. The small women numbers under these categories not only affirm existing constraints for contesting a direct-election vote but further imply a definite necessity for women quotas.

Whilst women are generally marginalised in the direct elections, some divergences appear in the districts and municipalities. The comparisons indicate that there is 1 woman out of 69 chairpersons which is 1.4% in the district councils; and 1 woman out of 18 women chairpersons being 5.5% in the municipalities. For the directly-elected councillors, among 1003 district councillors the findings indicate 23 (2.3%) women whereas within the 254 municipal councillors 13 (5.1%) are women. When compared with the findings of Table 14, the comparison reveals that whereas women have more possibilities of being elected in district councils than municipalities for the quota seats, they are on contrary, more likely to be selected for posts of chairpersons and direct-elected councillors in the municipalities than in district councils as found in table 15.

5.7 Implications of Partisan and Nonpartisan Recruitment on Women

The findings of this chapter indicated that women hold a substantial status in the local councils as high as 41.2%. The chapter further indicated that in the leadership positions, women were more in rural councils than urban councils suggesting the significance of emolument factor. Functional marginalization was established where women leaders were found dominating sectors related to Gender and Agriculture. While numerical differences were found to be marginal in urban and rural councils, analysis of the recruitment processes revealed a number of issues. One observation was that rural and urban councils were both considered equally cumbersome to access and represent; and secondly it was noted that that women face similar political challenges in the partisan as in the nonpartisan politics.

Arguments relating to similarities in the urban and rural councils women recruitment were evidently affirmed by the women numbers in both forms of councils that indicated marginal differences. Although women seemed to have slightly higher opportunities as directly-elected councillors in urban areas under partisan politics, their actual numbers remained relatively low compared to men. The common challenges regarding access and representation by women related to electoral demands. For the partisan and non-partisan politics, it was noted that women face challenges of marginalization, intimidation and huge constituencies. It was for instance noted that in the nonpartisan period before 2001 women faced a problem different electoral procedure that subjected them to control and intimidation. The latter eras also imposed intimidation on them, polarized them into quota seats and continued subjecting them to bigger constituencies. The more or less standardized procedures for elections at the national level seem to allow limited opportunities for party influence on the recruitment processes and as such similar women outcomes are likely in the partisan as in the earlier nonpartisan system.

Whereas women political challenges are noted under both political systems, the party recruitment system raised mixed feelings amongst the respondents of this study. From the sample of female councillors interviewed, it became apparent that the party selection process was largely negative although they also recognized a few good elements of it. When asked their views on the multiparty selection process with respect to women, the respondents credited it on issues of enabling competition and easing the campaign process. Many of the interviewees however decried the process not only for being disadvantageous to the minority party women but also a source of disunity and abhorrence amongst same party members.

Ragnhild Muriaas's empirical study on Ugandan local level attitudes towards multiparty system corroborates this argument. Muriaas findings indicate similar fears against multiparty which relate to divisionism amongst the citizens, marginalization of specific groups and a possibility of more illiberal practices (Muriaas 2008:70). A further related incident which confirms this finding was cited in the by-elections of the Ssembabule district women MP where the NRM supporter who contested as an independent but lost the elections commented " I have left Ssembabule politics…because I have witnessed massive rigging and total corruption" (Aliga 2009). The by-elections were an outcome of similar accusations regarding the 'irregularities' in 2006 elections that led to the court nullifications of the incumbent MP in Nov 2008. The irregularities cited include massive political interference, rigging and intimidation. While this appears to be a national level political case, it is an indicator of the manifestations of party politics recruitment experiences. In my study, individual women respondents kept drawing comparisons of the party era and the previous no-party politics where voters were the principal gatekeepers for political aspirants. The electoral support of such candidates therefore would be derived from other factors than their party affiliation which fits in Prewitt's non-partisan theory of political recruitment.

Prewitt particularly notes that in non-partisan leadership selection has a profound effect on the circumstances under which citizens are likely to become political actives, the routes that are taken to attain a political office or to progress in their political careers (Prewitt 1970:16). He holds that in non-partisanship, the agencies involved in the recruitment and screening of candidates are numerous and varied compared to partisan communities and that voter behaviour is not limited to party labels and ideologies. Prewitt adds that non-partisanship is essential in regulating individual perceptions about politics. He is of the view that many candidates may conceive council activity being non-political and distinct from party politics as he succinctly maintains: "The stigma attached to politics in many communities is a stigma attached to party politics not to council activity" (Prewitt 1970:17). He also argues that non-partisan is often characterized by relatively small constituencies which increases the opportunities of exposure to the would-be leaders.

Of course, Prewitt's argument of political stigma is implied in Ugandan local politics. This is evidenced in the perceptions held about the opposition and independent councillors as one councillor remarked; *They call you a rebel and abuse you for having betrayed the system* [the NRM] *that gave you power to be where you are",* Councillor Bushenyi LG. The

councillor noted further the common local label given to the opposition candidates *Abebibiina* [meaning those in political parties] and strongly condemned the negative stereotype that people have acquired about party politics. She stressed that women at the grassroot were so obsessed with the Movement system to the extent that they were unable to comprehend the present NRM in terms of a political party. Her views suggested a non-separation of the Movement system and the NRM party and confirmed the arguments regarding parties as being a cause of social divisionism. Female councillors from other parties and the independents also condemned the continued existence of the old Movement system structures (LCs) which favor the mobilization and selection of NRM candidates against the opposition.

From the presented recruitment frameworks of political party cases in Uganda, it is also evident that the recruitment and screening agencies at the grassroot are few, being dominated by party executive committees at LCIII and LCV. The party recruitment procedures further becomes laborious with a replication of the candidacy process at a point when a qualified party nominee has to contest with candidates of other parties. At this level, the process begins afresh with standardized procedures of the government laws. Like in the no-party election system, the party candidate must meet the age and citizenship requirements, pay a stipulated non-refundable fee and other legal basic requirements as noted earlier in the chapter. The candidate also is required to submit nomination papers with secondment of two registered voters; and a duly signed list of fifty supporters in case of a district or twenty for municipal councils (Uganda 1997:Sec 119). With party system therefore, the local council candidates are subjected to hefty electoral process that some women may not withstand. Moreover, the replicated process subjects candidates to enormous expenses in nomination fees and campaign, yet they have limited sources compared to men. Incidences of electoral failure thus leave women political contestants poorer and disillusioned.

Whilst the Ugandan party system subjects women to rigorous selection processes, it is imperative to note that this is typical of party organization that is highly bureaucratic and largely dependant on explicit standardized rules and procedures as it presented in Norris's theory. We further need to detect the corresponding effect of the prevailing electoral system – the first-past-the-post single member plurality system – compared to the PR system with multi-member districts as in the political theory and as seen in chapter 3.

CHAPTER 6

SELECTION OF WOMEN IN UGANDA LOCAL COUNCILS: WHO GETS INTO POLITICS AND WHY?

6.0 Introduction

Political recruitment as noted in chapter 3 is theorised to be influenced by individual and institutional factors. The recruitment process is conceived to encompass *achieved statuses*, like income, occupation and education or *ascribed statuses* like race, religion, sex and birth place. It is hypothesized to be a function of the existing legal system, party system and electoral system but also of other non-party selection agencies like the public and semi-public groups within or outside the party systems (Prewitt 1970; Norris 1996).

This study conceptualized political recruitment in Uganda as being influenced by a number of factors and actors as those in the existing theories. These theorised factors and actors are elaborately presented in this chapter and the study findings are discussed. The chapter highlights the level of importance attached to the factors and actors in the selection of female councillors and council leaders

6.1 What Factors Influence Women Recruitment?

This study conducted in the Ugandan Local governments had one of its objectives focusing on finding out what determined selection of women as councillors and council leaders. The major assumption was that women recruitment is influenced by a number of ascribed and achieved statuses as well as the institutional frameworks theorised in Prewitt and Norris models. A number of variables presumed to influence the recruitment from without and within the councils were put to respondents to be rated accordingly. The rating ranged from being "*very important, important, less important* and *not important* as indicated in the questionnaire appendices 1 and 2. The respondents however were additionally asked if there were other factors not in the presented categories that they considered to be crucial in the recruitment process.

All respondents rated the factors, and the responses of the pre-given factors when obtained were collapsed into two major categories: "very important" and "less important". This was because it occurred during interviews that some respondents were unable to put a clear

distinction between "important" and "very important"; or "less important" and "not important". This was ascertained in subsequent probing on some given responses when the respondents would give answers as "not much" "very little" in respect to such a question like "did you say that religion is not important in elections for councillors"? The given responses on the rated variables for the councillors and the political leaders were coded separately. Since the same factors applied to councillors and the political leaders, a comparative analysis was done as per the table below.

Table 16: Rating the Importance of Factors Affecting Selection of Female Councillors and Council Leaders
(N =54)

FACTOR	COUNCILLORS		POLITICAL LEADERS	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
1)**Government Laws**	49	**90.7**	52	**96.3** #2
*1)**Financial abilities**	49	**90.7**	13	**24.1** #10
3)**Personality**	48	**88.9**	49	**90.7** #4
4) **Knowledge**	45	**83.3**	42	**77.8** #6
5)*Political Party*	41	75.9	47	87.3 #5
6)**Education**	39	**72.2**	50	**92.6** #3
7)*Previous Experience*	38	70.4	37	68.5 #7
8)**Regional Balance**	30	**55.0**	54	**100** #1
9)*Marital Status*	22	40.7	20	37.0 #9
10)**Religion**	7	**12.9**	31	**57.4** #8

Note: The rating for councillors is presented in the descending order of importance while for the political leaders the rating position is indicated as #1, 2, 3…
* Financial abilities factor is also ranked in the first position as government laws with respect to councillors.

Table 16 above illustrates the degree of factors influencing women recruitment within Ugandan district and municipal councils. To establish whether there was a correlation between the analysed factors for the councillors and political leaders, a Spearman's Rho

measure was used[22]. The obtained correlation coefficient of 0.141 implies that there is a minimal correlation between the importance of factors that affect councillors and those that affect council leaders.

Finding a minor correlation between the recruitment factors, a further data analysis was done based on the percentages. The analysis divided the rated factors into 2; one part consisting of the first 5 highly rated factors in each category of politicians assessed and the other part comprising the remaining least rated factors per category. Using this approach it is realised that of the ten theorised factors for political recruitment, *government laws* scored highly in the recruitment of the councillors and the political leaders. Other major factors rated high as very important in the women councillors' recruitment into the council included *financial abilities* that was equated with government laws rated at 90.7%, followed by *personality, knowledge and political party* in their descending order. On the scale of political leaders however, regional balance scored topmost (100%) as a very important factor for their recruitment. Next to regional balance were *government laws*, e*ducation*, *personality* and *political party* ranked in their order of importance respectively. On the other scale extreme, *religion* was ranked least followed by *marital status* and *previous experience* in case of councillors' recruitment while for political leaders the least factor was *financial abilities* followed by *marital status* and *previous experience* respectively. The findings further reveal that 3 factors were considered to be of equal importance in the recruitment process for women as councillors and as political leaders. These included political party, previous experience and marital status. The political party according to my analytical categories therefore appears to be the only intersecting factor highly influencing political leaders and councillors recruitment to the same extent.

While the analysis reveals some common recruitment factors for councillors and political leaders in Uganda local government councils, the findings also indicate that the influence of other factors has extreme divergence. The most divergent factor appears to be financial ability

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[22] The coefficient was then calculated using the formula: $\rho = 1 - \dfrac{6 \sum d_i^2}{n(n^2 - 1)}$ Where ρ is the correlation coefficient, d_i denotes the differences in the rankings for councillors and council leaders and n is the total number of ranked factors. Following this formula the coefficient was:
$\rho = 1 - \dfrac{6 \times 141.74}{10 \times 99} = 1 - \dfrac{850.44}{990} = 1 - 0.8590 = 0.141$

which scored topmost in the recruitment of councillors but was considered least in the selection of political leaders. Regional balance on the other hand is controversial in a way that it scored the uppermost ranking in recruitment of political leaders, but its significance for councillor recruitment is amongst the least. This incoherence suggests an effect of different recruitment procedures subjected to the two political representative categories as seen in Chapter 5, but also may be explained by the effect of other individual and structural factors as discussed in the subsequent sections.

6.1.1 Additional Recruitment Factors

The factors presented in table 16 had been theorised as important in political recruitment and presented to the respondent for rating their significance. Realizing that the list might not be exhaustive, and bearing in mind that the assessed factors were theoretical and general, I asked whether the respondents knew other factors that influence recruitment of female councillors. The diverse responses included:

1) Past performance
2) Ambition and self-esteem
3) Confidence and Assertiveness
4) Personal Abilities
5) Physical appearance and beauty
6) Being social and interactive and all-embracing
7) Having good campaign strategies
8) Having a genuine character
9) Personal behaviour
10) Family background and family ties
11) Tribe
12) Custom and beliefs
13) Trade-offs e.g. where a woman and her husband get interested in being elected.

Women political leaders on the other hand were said to be further influenced by:

1) Personal choice of the appointing authority (the council chairperson)
2) Capability to do duties for such positions
3) Communication skills
4) Support rendered by the nominee to the appointing authority.
5) External influence from the public or from national politicians

Essentially, we realise that the additional factors are related to personal attributes with few exceptions like tribe, custom and beliefs for female councillor selection and external influence for women political leaders.

6.1.2 Why Rank Government Laws very Important?

The general laws of Uganda but mostly the electoral was emphasised as being of great importance in political recruitment of women councillors and political leaders. This view is agreeable to Prewitt and Norris theses that underline the significance of the legal and electoral systems in political recruitment as noted in Chapter 3. The Uganda local governments' law (LGA) stipulates the number of council seats, the number of mandatory women seats in the council, the qualification for councillors, the electoral process (including the nomination, campaign and elections) and requirements for eligibility as a candidate as seen in Chapter 5. The law further specifies the nature of constituencies for women and other councillors.

The current government law provides for at least 1/3 of women representation in the local councils for councillors and council leaders (Uganda 1997). The LGA derives its women quota mandate from article 180 (b) and (c) of the Uganda government 1995 constitution, which stipulates one third women membership of each local government council and restates the affirmative action for all marginalised groups underlined in article 32. Article 32(1) of 1995 Uganda Constitution categorically stresses the government's commitment to protect marginalized groups under which women fall. It states thus;

32. (1) Not withstanding anything of this Constitution, the state shall take affirmative action in favor of groups marginalized on the basis of gender, age, disability or any other reason created by history, tradition, or custom for the purpose of redressing imbalances which exist against them

(2) The parliament shall make relevant laws, including the laws of the establishment of an equal opportunities commission for the purpose of giving full effect to clause (1) of this article (Uganda 1995)

The constitution further underlines the provision of rights of women under Article 33 where the law underscores the State's dedication to accord them equality with men. The law under this same article avows a number of measures to ensure that rights of women are attained. These measures include; provision of facilities and opportunities necessary to enhance the welfare of women to enable them to realize their full potential and advancement; according women equal opportunities in political, economic and social activities; and offering women an affirmative action for the purposes of redressing the imbalances created by history, tradition and custom. More pro-women legal provisions under the same article emphasize on the protection of women and their rights taking into account of their unique status and natural maternal functions in the society. The constitution underlines further the prohibition of all laws, cultures, customs and traditions that are against women dignity, welfare, interest or

which undermine their status; and underscores the need to accord women full and equal dignity of the person with men. Article 78 of the constitution further stipulates a woman representative for each district to be elected in the parliament while at the same time other women are free to compete with men for county constituencies' representation.

The constitutional affirmative action provision and indeed the general legal framework including other laws that operationalize the constitution – such as the LGA and Land Act 1998 – have come a long way to promote women political participation. The quota law has been implemented in all local governments and in the national legislatures and indeed as noted in the introductory chapter to date, women quotas have augmented women numbers in the Ugandan politics.

Not only has the Ugandan constitution enhanced women political participation through quota law but also, a number of other enlisted fundamental rights such as freedom of expression, movement, association, education and property ownership provided in Chapter 2 of the constitution have proved constructive in enhancing women's self-determination. The constitutional human rights and freedoms are known to have created awareness and promoted women's confidence to actively participate in politics as voters and as representatives. The legislation of freedom of association has further accelerated the formulation of enormous civic organisations in which the women have actively been engaged. These organisations are of variable categories: professional and non-professional, economically or socially oriented, nationally or locally based, big or small. They include such organisations as Action for Development, Grassroot Women Association for Development, Safe Motherhood Initiative in Uganda, Uganda Women Writer's Association, and a number of Credit and Savings Women's groups (WOUGNET 2007). Indeed the contribution of local associations was deemed being of great importance in the women recruitment processes.

6.1.3 The Facet of Financial Ability

A financial factor in the Uganda's political recruitment needs less emphasis. In chapter 5, I noted the way eligibility for nomination of candidates is determined by a non-refundable nomination fee of two-and-a-half currency points for a district, city or municipality councillor; five currency points for a municipality chair; and ten currency points for a district council chair. Again, I also mentioned that some political parties like Democratic Party (DP)

had a nomination fee for its party candidates. The fees are only initial costs and a small fraction of the entire recruitment process financial demands.

Josephine Ahikire elaborately discusses the effect of money and commercialised politics in Uganda local governments (Ahikire 2007). She notes that besides the minimum requirements of the nomination fee, huge investments also go into candidate publicity. She particularly underlines the issue of campaign posters, colourful and sizable to attract the voters. A candidates display and appearance on the posters appeals for her support while at the same time the quantity and quality of these posters appeals to the candidate's income.

Posters are one part of the political campaign because the candidates need to move around making regular mobilisation visits throughout the constituency. The respondents views on this point made it clear that in the current commercialised politics, a candidate who does political mobilisation by "cheap means" of transport like bicycle, or motorcycle receives less credibility. A credible candidate moves around with a fleet of cars and with a number of supporters while doing the campaigns. She needs to facilitate the campaign managers, and to offer gifts (or what I would consider as indirect bribes) to voters ranging from domestic utility items like sugar, salt, and soap, to hard cash and non-tangible offers like jobs, and pay-off of the rival contestant. Respondents admitted that these campaign strategies are common in the Uganda local politics although they are illegal according to Sec 147 (1) of the LGA which categorically states:

> "Any person who, with intent either before or during an election, either directly or indirectly influences another person to vote or to refrain from voting for any candidate, or gives, provides, or causes to be given or provided any money, gift, or other consideration to another person, to influence that person's voting, commits an illegal practice of the offence of bribery" (Uganda 1997). Under sub-section (2), the law also implicates the person receiving the money or gift.

Although payment of money or gift offers to individual persons or groups in order to influence election decisions is unlawful, this strategy is only normative in the Ugandan sense but also appears amongst Susanne Keller's classification of leadership selection. Such a kind of political leadership selection is referred to as "Purchase of Office" which according to Prewitt is a "seldom consciously chosen system but with modifications…" involving heavy

campaign contributions and subsequent patronage position in machine politics in the US (Prewitt 1970:5).

The financial factor becomes challenging for women councillors who have bigger constituencies compared to directly elected councillors. The councillors' financial demands were found to be long-lasting, extending beyond the nomination and selection process. It was noted that after the selection phase, the councillors as representatives of the people were obliged to attend to individual and electorate problems and to make contributions to funerals, school fees, fundraisings, weddings, medical bills and all sorts of needs. With Uganda's current decentralisation, many councils can only afford meagre and untimely allowances for councillors. This means that councillors must dig deep in their pockets to meet electoral interests if they are to demonstrate their electoral accountability. Women councillors do not only find this a challenge due to their big constituencies but it appears a bigger problem for most female political contestants at a local level who possess limited control over economic resources as chapter 9 reveals. On the contrary, most of the economically well-to-do women were said to possess little ambitions in politics as one respondent indicated:

"…those are business women. Business people in most cases don't want to engage themselves in politics, even men…they see politics as a game… you lose a lot of money or you gain a lot of money. And politicians don't want to engage themselves in business; I don't know how this thing is. For them [business people] *they go with any person who comes, and in most cases they don't vote… hmmm… those big ones, they don't vote, they don't have time"* Councillor KCC

The expression above suggests that the wealthy women express limited interest in running for political positions. It signifies lack of motivations for political representation amongst the rich women social class and suggests that politics is a form of gambling where individuals may "lose" or "gain" economically. This is especially so, that the money spent in the entire recruitment and representation process may be far below than what is obtained from council emoluments and allowances. The excerpt thus implies that this tendency of withdrawing from politics by the rich is an individual's choice. We have however noted that the political recruitment process is imbued with standard procedures and extensive processes that narrow down the politically eligible. While it may be true that the wealthy women may not have time and interest for political self-selection as implied in the above response, it may also appear

that their pre-occupation with business limits their interaction with the public and consequently affects the perceptions about their personality. The selection agencies and the public therefore are likely not to demand their candidature because they may not serve the latter's interests. Under section 6.1.1, I noted the emphasis which the respondents put on the personality but also we realise that personality is another highly rated factor for political recruitment according to Table 16.

Moreover, the electoral procedures regulate the significance of financial status in the entire recruitment process. The laws establish minimum financial requirements which many women can meet and stipulate the women-only political positions that in some way serve as political motivations. This minimises the significance of the wealth social class in the dominant social stratum as suggested in Prewitt's recruitment model and as presented in my critique of the model under chapter 3. The importance of electoral system and procedures are further noted when we consider the significance financial factor in the selection of female councillors and council leaders. Considering the mode of selection for each category, it seems logical that the ranking of this factor indicated its less significance in selection of council executive members who obtain political positions through hand-picking and appointment by the chair on the approval of the council. The electoral processes which involve a number of activities including candidacy and campaigning therefore require funding that appointed political leaders are not subjected to. We realise that even the speaker and the deputy speaker who are selected for their positions through election within the council may be as a result of other highly ranked factors like education, personality or the political party than their financial status. Besides, it may be more feasible for a candidate to influence voters by "bribe" inducement than a councillor winning selection support of fellow councillors with such inducements. First, we may view most voters as able to be convinced by small gifts which may not work with fellow councillors. Secondly, voters belong to a constituency in which affordable communal donations and inducements may win a candidate massive votes which is less applicable to the council that elects the speaker and deputy speaker and approves political leaders appointments. As gatekeepers in the political leaders' recruitment process, the councillors' needs are more individualistic and may be substantially bigger than the voters needs.

The critical analysis of the financial factor therefore reveals that it influences individual supply as well as institutional demand for political representatives and is essential in the

legislative recruitment process. The findings however indicate that financial abilities in Uganda are of great significance amongst the elected political leaders than the appointed politicians. In a way therefore, this finding suggests that economic status largely influences the supply than the demand of political leaders. As a whole, the emerging intricacies between political candidacy supply and demand on the basis of financial ability reflects the complexity in unravelling individual and institutional factors as discussed in chapter 3.

6.1.4 Personality

Personality was one other factor scored on the higher side of importance in the Uganda's local government recruitment process. Rated as the third important factor for councillors and in the 4[th] position for political leaders, the respondents considered personality in terms of confidence, assertiveness, ambition, self-expression and self respect. They also perceived personality as being social and interactive, being all-embracing, having a genuine character, having good behaviour as well as having good appearance and beauty. From these perceptions, the issue of personality seemed broader and as a follow-up, I asked about possible reasons why some of the women candidates they knew who contested for councillorship in 2006 elections did not succeed. Among many expressions there were arguments that some opponents were arrogant and anti-social to the extent that they could not easily mix with the electorates. One councillor from Mukono LG stressed *"To be a local councillor, you need to be simple, approachable and social. Actually you need to be a down-to-earth person. The way you handle electorate matters"*. A female councillor from KCC of the similar view stated: *"…Well, number one, you need to be very social; two the voters also consider education; three, apart from the political* [meaning the political affiliation]*, they even consider the face…* [laughter]*..; and even your accent, the way you walk, the way you look and interact with them."*

The influence of personality on political recruitment need not be over-emphasized in this discussion. It emerges clearly that the respondents not only ranked personality highly but predominantly mentioned it among the additional factors for the councillors and political leaders (see 6.1.1). This implies that women recruitment into and within the councils was seen as a function of personal traits and attitudes towards politics that influence self-selection and selection by the public – an observation that is coherent with Prewitt's and Norris's views on individual variable seen in Chapter 3.

6.1.5 Effect of Political Party

Political party is one of the factors ranked equally in the fifth position of the relevance in political recruitment. According to my analysis strategy in which the ten rated factors were subdivided into two categories, political parties rank least of the "very important" factors. Although not rated highly as being very important, political parties were considered as having some influence in the Uganda local council recruitment process. Respondents noted that political parties campaigned for their candidates and that they facilitated them with some resources. They noted that, as agencies for political recruitment, political parties provided recruitment structures seen in an overview of recruitment procedures for candidates in three political party cases. Although the majority party (NRM) had more extended structures, a common feature for all the studied party cases were the grassroot committees from village level (LC1) upwards which served as nominating and vetoing agencies for party candidates for the council levels above them. Amongst all the three parties, women councillors for the district and municipalities were nominated and approved by respective LC111 (subcounty) party conferences. The party structures had characteristics of bureaucratic systems detailed and standardized rules and party recruitment procedures stipulated in their respective constitutions. The existing electoral structure also revealed a characteristic of highly localized system with key party gatekeepers who include interest groups (presented in form of women, youth and disabled leagues), grassroots members and voters located within their constituencies.

Whereas parties have their structures and rules, the nomination, candidacy and election procedures remain a prerogative of the general electoral law, as stipulated in the national Constitution and in the Local Government Act. The nomination procedure, nature and number of political posts (such as women quotas), and basic qualifications for some posts – such as the council chair and the vice-chairperson – are non-negotiable for the party gatekeepers. Since the electoral laws and rules are not exhaustive on all detailed procedures, qualification requirements for other council posts, party gatekeepers remain with a high discretion of the application processes and the nature of the candidates they deem fit for their ideology. This is a common element in the selection of councillors but is particularly implied in council leadership selection where the chairperson has the power to nominate and appoint executive members. It is also implied in the selection of the speaker and deputy speaker where the law only stipulates the posts and procedure for filling and removing the incumbents but is silent on the prerequisites. In such circumstances, the selection process is highly guided by informal

rules and procedures that become pre-eminent as in typical patronage systems. This is when factors like party affiliation and other personal attributes capable of promoting the party that are commonly perceived by the gatekeepers serve as guiding principles for candidate selection. Moreover, as noted in the additional factors for selection of leaders, external influence is inescapable with the intervention of national key players and other faction leaders which make the system more or less centralized.

Political party analysis also evidently suggested the effects of party context (party strategy) and competition. Some of the respondents for instance noted incidences where political parties encouraged conspiracy of some candidates against others even within the same party as well as across different parties. Without pinpointing on specific cases – for purposes of confidentiality – respondents mentioned generally some cases where candidates would be bought-off or compromised to stand-down in favor of other candidates of a different religion or tribe; or on the basis of comparable personal abilities. The respondents further noted that in other instances however, some of the party members conspired, mobilized against and sponsored other candidates due to personal grudges of their private social life and business including property acrimony and business rivaling. Yet in other instances, the underlying factor according to the respondents was the impetus for "change" pointing to candidate's indefinite political incumbency and to some, for "failure to deliver" in their past terms of office.

Indications for the effect of party context and party competition however remained limited in scope. The existence of government standardized procedures, legislated women quota, affirmative action policies, and regular rhetoric strategies left parties with marginal range for new initiatives to promote women political participation. In other words, parties had little to offer to women in the existing legal framework other than speculating an increase of women quotas from 33% to 40% in party constitutions as suggested in cases of NRM and FDC parties. These proposals for quota changes could largely be a result of party competition as theorized in Norris, contagion effect as suggested in Matland studies, or due to party women pressures as conceived by Lovenduski (Lovenduski 1993; Norris 1993; Matland 2005).

A final issue of contention to respondents on parties was that the majority party candidates – citing NRM in this case – got more support than those in the opposition and minority parties. In their view, candidates from the opposition parties or those from NRM majority party who

were believed to be sympathizers for the opposition were bound to fail. The respondents argued that the impact of the previous regime (the Movement system) which had brought women massively aboard and which introduced affirmative action had created an impression that the opposition may not provide anything more for women. Having experienced regimes in which majority political parties totally submerged other parties and discriminated opposition party members, multiparty politics seemed to have a negative connotation in Ugandan vocabulary. It was realized that the dominancy of a "no-party" NRM regime from 1986 to 2006 not only affected the disposition but also the understanding of party politics in Uganda. As such, there seemed to be a mix-up of the term multiparty and opposition parties as established during the interview interactions with respondents which ultimately must have had a profound effect on their interpretation and rating of the parties as a recruitment factor.

The party effect is summed up with the general views obtained when I asked respondents whether "they would consider multiparty system as good, bad or neither". Although some respondents held that multiparty is good because of support from fellow party members and because it allows competition amongst parties, many argued that it fields party favorites who are not necessarily competent and that it promotes divisionism and hatred within and amongst party members. They noted that most people are immature in party politics and that it is difficult to be conceived by women who have been politically promoted by the movement no-party system. They suggested that multiparty would be good if there is enough sensitization about its facts and procedures. Relating to the level of rating and the supporting arguments, effect of political party seems to be similar for the political leaders and female councillors.

6.1.6 Regional Balance

Regional balance is a factor that scored highly in the recruitment of local council political leaders. Although the regional balance factor was rated highly for political leaders, it occurred that respondents did not have extensive explanations for this factor. The common argument was found to be that it is imperative for the purposes of balancing the constituency representation, a practice that is replicated from the national level as one the respondents asserted: "*You see, even the president when appointing his cabinet he puts into consideration the issue of regional balance. He cannot appoint all the ministers from one region; say from the west where he comes from or from the central. That would be unfair...Yes, he has to include other tribes*" councillor Mbarara municipality.

The above assertion implies that regional balance at a local level is a norm that is followed in recruitment process for the purposes of ensuring fairness in the distribution of political opportunities. Fairness in constituency political opportunity distribution was found to parallel gender political opportunity distribution since leaders from different regions had to include at least one woman as per the law. A crucial point to note on the post of top political leadership positions is that, as seen in chapter 2, not only the posts attract monthly salary and other facilities like office space, transport and allowances, but also the incumbents are instrumental in initiating and implementing government policy decisions. The posts therefore are associated with higher authority and power that the electorates may be pleased to associate with. Again, the holders of such positions are also seen as representatives capable of influencing decisions to meet their respective regional electorate demands. Yet in another perspective, such appointments that are deemed fair serve purposes of legitimating the incumbent chairpersons and their regimes from the public within the entire local government but also from the outsiders.

Contrary to the political leaders, the issues of regional balance were found to be less important for the councillors' recruitment. Grassroots key gatekeepers and voters deal with aspirants and candidates who come from the same locality (village, parish or subcounty in case of women who represented two subcounties) upon which the issues of place of origin have a limited significance. A few instances were mentioned where voters (including close relatives and friends) held the "our candidate" or "our seat" tendencies and worked hard through campaigns to maintain the previous incumbent in the chair or select a new ones from the same locality. Although female councillors represent bigger constituencies comprising one or two subcounties, particular places of their origin seemed not as essential as legal, financial, personality and party factors in the election processes with intervening influence of national and district party executives.

6.1.7 Education, Knowledge and Experience

Whereas education was not highly ranked in the recruitment of councillors, and although it is not a legal requirement for political recruitment save for the post of chairperson, it was ranked as the third most important factor in recruitment of political leaders. As seen in Chapter 5, the law only explicitly demands a chairperson and vice chairperson of a district council to have a

minimum or equivalency of Advanced Level[23] standard (Uganda 1997:Sec 111). Additionally, the council rules also require that the record of council proceeding be in English[24], implying that although the electoral law does not dictate on the education minimum, all councillors must have ability to read and comprehend English. The relevance of education was also found to be essential for purposes of council deliberations. The study established that not only council minutes and proceedings were documented in English, but also all government policy and legal documents that provide a background for council debates. Having English as a record language suggests that council leaders who are responsible for initiating policies and guiding the council deliberations as their functions stipulate (Uganda 1997: Sec 11& 17) must be of a higher level education grade and its by no mistake then that education is ranked highly in selection of political leaders.

Whereas the level of education does not fall in the first five-factor category of high importance for councillors, it does not rank amongst the least either. Being ranked in the sixth position, it signifies that education is of moderate significance in the entire political recruitment process and indeed all the female councillors interviewed had a minimum of Ordinary Level of Education. The issue of having all records in English affects all councillors who need to comprehend documented issues – including district plans, budgets and other policy matters – and to freely express their views in council deliberations. This was found as a big challenge for some women as it was said to have a possible effect on their confidence. Some respondents for instance pointed out the way most women were quiet during council deliberations due to the fear of uttering wrong words. They however also mentioned issues of limited knowledge and experiences as part of explanations why some women may be silent in council meetings suggesting a linkage between these factors and education. We realise that knowledge was ranked as the fourth most important factor in councillor recruitment and as the sixth important factor in the selection of political leaders suggesting that it is also of considerable influence in the entire recruitment process.

However, while education and knowledge were assessed as distinct factors that influence political recruitment of women councillors, it appeared that respondents found it difficult to

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[23] Advanced Level in the Ugandan education system is a 3rd level of education undertaken for two years after 7 years of Primary Education and 4 years of Secondary Education.
[24] Rule number 6 of Model Rules of Procedure for District Councils (1998) provides that the proceedings and debates of the council shall be in English language but councils may resolve to debate in vernacular, provided the minutes are kept in English language.

delineate the impact of the two aspects and in many instances they linked them to previous experience. They contended that some women were silent in council meetings because they were not conversant with issues being discussed due to their low education, lack of knowledge or limited exposure is political and policy matters.

6.1.8 Marital Status and Religion: Why Least Important?

The ratings for factors influencing recruitment of female councillors and council leaders indicated clearly that marital status and religion ranked least. Marital status scored the ninth position for both categories of politicians suggesting that it affects the selection of councillors and political leaders in a similar manner. Religion however scored slightly higher in the selection of political leaders compared to councillors.

Marital status appears in Josephine Ahikire's study as a crucial factor for women recruitment. According to Ahikire, "appearing at the campaign podium with a husband is a big plus for the female candidates. It prevents voters from posing embarrassing questions such as whether or not a particular woman wood not become a 'loose' woman" (Ahikire 2007:121). Ahikire thus regards marriage as a source of women candidates' legitimacy and correlates it to respect and morality.

While cultural stereotypes about women's marital status may still be held by the selectors, these negative attitudes were proved to be marginal in determining eligible aspirants and in final selection of councillors and council leaders. Society is dynamic and marriage status is not a constant to provide a stable social basis for leadership selection as suggested in Prewitt's theory. As some of the respondents noted, married women politicians have failed to be ideal models of other women. It was noted that many married women change marriage status – turning into widows or separating from their husbands or at worst being "loose" (as Ahikire terms it). Moreover, among the gatekeepers, there are married and unmarried women to whom marital status is a lesser virtue for political representation either as councillors or council leaders.

Religion was said to have small importance in the appointment of council leaders where there is a tendency to balance candidates on the basis of their ascribed statuses including place of origin, party affiliation, sex and beliefs. In the recruitment of councillors however, the

importance of religion was found to be negligible and the factor was ranked last and one of the councillors had this to note:

Religion here doesn't hold, because what is important is what you can deliver. Well, inwardly one might be having it but it doesn't surface during the politicking ... and say support me because I am a Moslem... no; support me because I am protestant...no. What is important now is the political ideology. Is it the Movement, is it the Multiparty and do you have the capacity? Male councillor Bushenyi LG

The observation of this respondent implies that other factors such as political party and personal abilities overshadow the significance of religion in the recruitment of councillors. In another perspective however, the last sentence of the quotation validates my earlier argument about perceptions surrounding Uganda party politics where candidates tend to conceive the NRM party (which is regarded as Movement in this excerpt) as not part of multiparty – a distortion that has disadvantaged women in opposition parties.

6.2 Sources of Electoral Support: Who influences Recruitment?

The theoretical chapter and the discussion of political parties revealed the role of recruitment agencies. Apparently, it emerges that both Prewitt and Norris institutional theories suggest the significance of the selection agencies including the public and semi-public groups which sponsor and veto candidates, or block their political careers. This study apart from a number of factors discussed in 6.1 had hypothesised that political recruitment is a function of a cross-sectional political actors that are examined below. The theorised actors involved in the recruitment of councillors included close relatives, local associations, national politicians, local media, predecessors, religious institutions (church or mosque) and local business people. The rating of the electoral support ranged from "great extent" to "not at all" and the findings indicated the level of extent for each actor category as per the table below.

Table 17: Sources of Electoral Support with regard to Persons or Groups of people (N=54)

ACTOR	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Close Relatives	47	87.0
Local Associations	43	79.6
National Politicians	42	77.7
Local Media	35	64.8
Predecessor	26	48.1
Church or Mosque	21	38.9
Local Business People	5	9.3

Table 17 indicates that of the seven theorized actors in the recruitment process, close relatives emerged the most influential, followed by local associations and national politicians. Least of all factors were considered to be the local business people, religious institutions and predecessors while the local media rated as having a moderate significance.

6.2.1 Close Relatives

Influence of close relatives was linked to their moral support, financial contributions and practical campaigns for women candidates. Within a framework of extended families of relatively high population in the Ugandan setting, these arguments were conceivable particularly in the rural councils. The social ties when extended from the woman's maternal and paternal families to immense in-law networks in case of married women would not only suffice in electoral campaigns but also in the actual ballot numbers. This arguments correlate with some the additional factors indicated in 6.1.1 that considered family ties, family background and tribe as partly influencing the recruitment process.

6.2.2 Local Associations

In their rating, the respondents regarded local associations to be a second important factor in the recruitment process. Local Associations – the Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and Community Based Organisations (CBOs) – were considered as important training grounds for candidates' leadership skills and for interpersonal relations. Respondents further noted that Local Associations provided a platform for candidates and that they helped in the mobilization of the electorate. They participated in campaigning for the candidate, they mobilized resources for the campaign activity, and members gave their own votes, moral and

group support. Through interaction with other organisations, the associations also enhanced women social networks that are crucial in mobilizing more resources and support.

6.2.3 National Politicians

National politicians were also rated as essential in the women political recruitment processes. The role of these persons was related to providing resources for campaign activity but also as key gatekeepers in the nominations of candidates. The Members of Parliament in particular were cited as having a big influence on the choice of the favorable candidates for local council members that represent subcounties within the MPs constituencies. They would campaign for their own party candidates and mobilize for them campaign finances. They also assisted in coaching favorable candidates in campaign strategies.

6.2.4 Local Media

Influence of local media was considered to be of modest extent with respondents relating it to the candidate publicity of candidates. It was for instance pointed out that local radio stations provided talk-time and programs for individual candidates who wished to express their views. Radio presenters also occasionally aired out complements for specified women political contestants and highlighted achievements of those seeking for another political term of office. A number of local newspapers contained a daily or weekly column of political issues with highlights candidates contesting for councillorship in particular constituencies and what they wanted to do for their electorates. Media credibility on women recruitment also centered on the publicity of election schedules and procedures as published in The New Vision Online *Go you all and vote in LC polls* of 22[nd] June, 2006. The major contention about the media effect was not a limited coverage as found in some empirical studies (for instance in Dolan et al 2007), but rather the major problem for female councillors lay in the media negativity. It was noted that in many instances, media concentrates on personalities and daily private lives of particular women candidates or "role model" female politicians with the intent of disrupting political support and attention to others. As argued in Dolan et al therefore, media coverage is imbued with stereotyped gendered nature and roles for women. Finding such attitudes in the male-dominated media signifies the complexity in the way of understanding institutional effect on women recruitment

6.2.5 Predecessors, Religious Institutions and Local Business Community

The significance of predecessors was regarded as dependent on their achievements during their term of office and the way they left the political scene. Those who performed poorly in their term of office and those who retired from politics because they failed to be re-elected were said to be of less influence. Likewise, the role of religious institutions like church or mosque were said to provide some support with regard to platform for campaign, moral support and votes. These institutions however were said to be deconstructive with implications of divisionism if religion was taken at the forefront of political candidacy and campaigns. The local business community was not only considered to provide limited financial support and campaign involvement, but also offer few votes. As revealed under the financial factor, the business community demonstrated less interest in the political activities. Business people were said to be pre-occupied, had limited time and were skeptical of committing their financial resources in endless activities of local and national politics.

6.3 Conclusion

Analysis of the factors and actors for political recruitment indicated that laws, finance, personality knowledge and political party are respectively significant to female councillors. Comparatively, regional balance, laws, education personality and political party were factors found to considerably influence selection of council leaders respectively. This observation suggests an insignificant correlation between ways the assessed factors affect legislative recruitment of the two categories since the ranking of the factors was found to be different with exception of political parties. The findings suggest that political party factor has a substantial impact on the recruitment of both categories. While the party is found to influence women political recruitment, it is placed at a lower scale of the most important factors signifying that it is not highly regarded in the recruitment process as suggested in Norris's theory.

The assessment of the seven actors' impact on the political recruitment of women revealed that relatives, local associations, and national politicians were the most influential respectively. These highly rated actors comprise a big portion of the public and semi-public groups identified in Prewitt's and Norris' institutional variables. Relatives and local associations for instance may be considered as primary groups that inspire individual political ambitions and motivations through advice, suggestions or social pressure as theorized in Prewitt (p.110). Indeed this study established that women councillors were more selected in

rural councils where family ties are maintained than in urban areas (see chapter 5) validating the significance of the relatives in the recruitment process. The national politicians on the other hand are part of the gatekeepers who sponsor, veto, or block political candidates as theorized in Prewitt and Norris. Assessing media as relatively significant in the recruitment of councillors suggests the importance of non-party gatekeepers in the recruitment process as proposed by Norris.

CHAPTER 7:

WOMEN POLITICAL QUOTAS AND THE RELEVANCE OF WOMEN REPRESENTATION

7.0 Introduction

Observations about women political representation indicated in the first and the third chapters suggest not only for the necessity for women political inclusion but also the significance of their presence in relatively large numbers. As indicated in the discussions and as much of literature suggests, representation claims stem from women interests, fairness and justice, accountability and responsiveness, legitimacy and women experiences (Darcy, Welch et al. 1994; Phillips 1995; Mackay 2004). The question of women representation however does not end at their presence in political arenas but extends to seek for answers related to their numbers. Large numbers of women in politics is defensible on such similar accounts similar to those of their representation with emphasis on gender quotas as a way of counteracting a possible marginalization of women when fewer in political decision-making arenas.

This chapter therefore presents an overview of women quotas including the modes and arguments backing quota reservations in legislative recruitment. Relating the findings to the theoretical perspectives, the chapter explores the nature and relevance of women representatives in Uganda with respect to their numbers and purpose. The chapter thus addresses the concerns of my research questions aiming at exploration of the importance of women in local councils, and the perceptions on the existing quotas necessity and sufficiency. Its findings are based on the women representation claims underpinned in the existing literature, as well as on conceptual theories of Representation and the Critical Mass theory.

7.1 Gender Quotas: Modes and Justification

Having noted the arguments for women representation in chapter one, I turn to observe in this section that agitations for women is not limited to their practical presence but also relate to their numbers. The modes of instituting quotas vary ranging from mandatory seats – in legislative assemblies, committees, governments and political parties – to voluntary option. Two familiar types of electoral gender quotas identified by Dahlerup include; *candidate quotas* and *reserved seats*. With candidate quotas, a minimum percentage of women candidates for election is specified and is applied to political party lists. This form of quota

may be laid down in the national constitution, electoral laws or laws for respective political parties but in other instances, political parties may adopt a voluntary quota approach without any legislation. Reserved seats on the other hand are a form of women quota, which by legislation a number of seats for women for a legislature is stipulated (Krook 2004a; Dahlerup 2005). Dahlerup however additionally observes that in some instances, quotas may be gender-neutral where a maximum percentage of either sex is set for candidates on party lists or reserved seats (p142). Krook particularly notes that while all of quotas types appear world over, reserved seats are common in Africa, Asia and Middle East, party quotas are common in Western Europe and national legislative quotas are more pronounced in Africa and Latin America. Indeed reserved seats are noticeable in Uganda's national and local politics through national legislative quotas; in Tanzania where 20% of national seats are reserved for women in proportion to the number of party seats; and in Kenya and Arab states through appointments (Dahlerup 2005:142).

For quotas justification, the existing literature indicates that over a couple of years, women quotas have been instituted as a political measure in a number of countries in an attempt to remedy social disadvantage that women have always experienced in the "selection by merit" political processes. It is widely acknowledged that open selection of political candidates has often underprivileged women's access to political power in larger numbers. The literature recounts effects related to socio-cultural barriers, socioeconomic developments as well as political institutions (including the political culture, electoral systems and political party ideology and organisation) upon women recruitment into political arenas (Lovenduski and Norris 1993; Reynolds 1999). Dahlerup similarly considers gender quotas to draw legitimacy from the discourse of women under-representation due to exclusionary practices of the political parties and the political institutions at large. She conceives quotas' cardinal aim as to increase women representation in publicly elected bodies or appointed institutions as governments, parliaments and local councils (Dahlerup 2005:141)

Dahlerup thus enlists a number of advantages accruing to the use of women quotas which among other arguments include: compensation for actual barriers preventing women from attaining a fair share in political positions; minimising shortcomings of token women in organisations; realising equal-rights citizenship; ensuring a gender balanced political decision-making that entails women experiences and interests (Dahlerup 2005:144). While such claims tend to pursue an normative account of women historical marginalisation, parallel arguments

on the initiation of women political quotas concerns women political activism, political equality, the political elites strategic aims and the process of international norm transfusion (Krook 2004a; Squires 2007). Krook argues that quotas are an outcome of women's efforts to mobilise more women for political representation. She also recognises that quotas are applied by political parties due to the contagion effect and are embraced by political elites for power consolidation over party representatives and political rivals. Her third explanation for gender quotas concerns the normative notions of equality and representation with such claims of fairness, proportionality and democratisation. In the final contention Krook's view on quotas is that influence of the global quota trends by trans-national actors and networks through information sharing and campaigns.

The claims for gender quotas however have met contestation of the critics who argue that in pursuance of equality, they discriminate against men by giving a preference to women which implicates them as unfair and anti-democratic. Quotas are considered as undemocratic because they limit the voters' choice by stipulating the category from which to select which sometimes leaves out other better qualified candidates. When legislated, they also viewed as interference in party organisation and priorities upon which social categories are imposed. They are further seen as enabling group identity competition with regard to material benefits (Krook 2004a; Dahlerup 2005). In the earlier quota report series on Africa Experiences however, Dahlerup had observed that:

> If we take the actual exclusion of women as a starting point, that is, if we recognize that many barriers exist that prevent women from entering the realm of politics, then quotas is not seen as discriminating (towards men), but instead as compensation for all the obstacles that women are up against. When all these impediments are removed, quotas will no longer be necessary, it is argued. In this respect quotas are a temporary measure. It may take decades, though, before all social, cultural and political barriers preventing equal female representation are eradicated (IDEA 2004:17).

Dahlerup's argument emphatically stresses the barrier cause and the need for compensation in respect to gender quotas suggesting issues of equality and fairness. By recognising temporal nature of quotas, he alleviates the threats of the speculated gender imbalances (in disfavour of men) which could be regulated by political institutions. In any case, numbers largely define the nature of representatives – the gender proportionality regarding representatives' characteristics. There is thus a limited indication of marginalization of men in relation to their

substantive roles. In this sense, we can perceive gender quotas as a justification for descriptive and symbolic – "standing for" – representation. This argument is compliant with such claims that consider quotas as being adopted for political strategies of elites and parties or as a global fashion based on international norms. However the extent to which we can limit quota representatives to this "standing for" form of representation is an issue of debate considering theses underlying the Critical Mass theory which suggests that critical masses may translate to critical acts as seen in chapter 3.

Whilst women quotas are defended however, their critics argue that they achieve little in reducing male-female disparities in political positions. Birgitta Dahl's observes that quota system alone is insufficient to promote women participation if a multitude of organisations like political parties, education systems, NGOs, trade unions, churches do not take initiative of promoting women within their own systems (Dahlerup 2005:143). The challenges of such affirmative measures have equally been echoed by scholars like Mary Segers (1983), Iris Young (1990) and Sandra Harding (1991), who are critical of the attempts to redistribute available opportunities within the frameworks of the existing social and political structures. Young for instance considers such attempts as largely maintaining a status quo of structural division of labour and basic processes of allocating positions; while Mary Segers regards such affirmative actions as "a lonely policy, a voice in the wilderness" that can achieve little if they operate independent of policies directed at reducing disparities in wealth, status and power (Tamale 1999: 23 & 25). These views turn round to underscore the significance of social cultural, socio-economic and socio-political barriers identified by Dahlerup. Accordingly the critics seem not to contest the use of quotas but rather to suggest supplementary strategies for making them more effective.

7.2 Quotas in the Ugandan Political Realm

Like elsewhere in the world, and as presented in the historical developments of Uganda women in politics under chapter 2, political quotas in Uganda were created in recognition of the gender imbalances in public arenas. Beginning with one woman seat on the Resistance Councils committees in 1986 – Secretary for women – women quotas were extended to National Resistance Council (Parliament) in 1989 where each of the 39 districts was represented by a woman MP (Byanyima 1992; Tripp 2000). In 1995, a new Constitution of Uganda was inaugurated and promulgated. The new law institutionalised one national women

MP per district and introduced 1/3 minimum women representation in the local councils amongst other variable quotas for special interest groups (Uganda 1995; Uganda 1997; IDEA 2006).

This form of affirmative action was meant to address the structural causes of marginalisation for women among other disadvantaged categories like the aged and the disabled. The political affirmative action measure however was intended to be momentary, aimed at bringing women on board and enabling them to participate in decision making arenas in certain numbers. As such, the government constitutionally instituted one-third seat quota for women at local council level and one woman for a district representative in the national legislature. As a transitory measure, Article 78 (2) of the Uganda Constitution clearly stipulates:

> Upon expiration of a period of ten years after the commencement of this Constitution and thereafter, every five years, Parliament shall review the representation under paragraphs (b) and (c) of clause (1)[25] of this article for the purposes of retaining, increasing, or abolishing any such representation and any other matter incidental to it (Uganda 1995)

As a temporary measure and as a matter of quota principle (as in Dahlerup's view), the law-makers who established Uganda women quotas were of hope that gender gaps in politics would be neutralised over time – a valid explanation of the stated periodic quota reviews. After ten years of women quota legislation, the constitutional reviews upheld the women quotas and those of other disadvantaged groups maintaining that special interest groups were still necessary to be represented in legislatures. They realized that direct elections continued to be problematic for such representatives – as noted in the chapter six – and as such, quota law sustainably exist todate with ongoing debates suggesting an increase to 40% women representation.

7.3 Perception on the Importance of Women Representation in Uganda

To explore these perceptions, the respondents were asked "how important is it to have women in the local councils" and the crosscutting response agreeable to all was that it was *Very important*. Raised arguments in relation to this response varied but virtually all answers given were classifiable according to the existing theoretical claims for women representation.

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[25] Paragraph (b) refers to one woman representative for every district and (c) refers to other interest groups' representative as army youth, workers, persons with disabilities and any other to be determined by parliament

While some claimed that women representatives were necessary to cater for women interests, others raised issues suggested that women representation is a fair and justifiable cause. Yet, other responses implied issues of accountability, responsiveness and women experiences as suggested in the literature.

7.3.1 Representing Women Interests

Arguments for women representation have always followed a claim that women representatives who share experiences and interests of their fellow women hold a better position of "acting for" them compared to men. Women are also theorized to possess diverse ideas, values, priorities and styles from their own experiences which are regarded as being of great importance in the political representation processes. Women representative thus would be expected to substantively advance policies that address unique concerns of women such as women's health, child care and work issues. In real essence however, do women political representatives represent women interests?

Anne Phillips's observation about women interest holds that, "Women occupy a distinct position within society: they are typically concentrated for example in lower paid jobs; and they carry the primary responsibility for the unpaid work of caring for others. There are particular needs, interests, and concerns that arise from women's experience, and these will be inadequately addressed in politics that is dominated by men" (Phillips 1995:66). She considers such experiences to cover sexual harassment and domestic violence, unequal position in the division of paid and unpaid labour, and their exclusion from most arenas of economic and political power. Darcy et al equally believe in ideological advantages associated with women representation pointing specifically to the reliability of women in "feminist legislation" on such policy issues as affirmative action, abortion rights and daycare for children (Darcy, Welch et al. 1994). Reynolds in a supportive argument claims that electoral system employing exclusive mechanisms to a large degree membership of a particular ascriptive group (women or otherwise), signifies a possible omission of their respective *interests* in decision-making (Reynolds 1999:549). Pro-women interest theoretical arguments therefore seem to defend women representation on accounts of women shared characteristics and similar experiences that generate issues of commonality requiring deliberate policy attention.

Issues concerning women interests were constitutive of the perceptions held about representation in Uganda. While the responses obtained indicated that women representation was very important, specific remarks pointing to women interests were that:

"It is very important...because our needs are catered for. Take an example when we are budgeting; on votes for women if we are not present they may put zero but because we are in the council we take care of the needs for women", female councillor Bushenyi LG. Her colleague, a female councillor from Bushenyi LG also reiterated:

"It is very important... it was realized as an important concern for development of the country.... And it was also important for us women to join politics to represent the views of our fellow women... you cannot say that you develop the men alone; women also come along with men,".

Because this response hinted on "women coming alongside men" prompted me to inquire whether it was therefore impossible for male councillors to represent women interests and her additional answer was that *"...yes, but to some extent but not so much... you see, men have tendencies of wanting to keep women low. So even if that happened* [meaning men representing women], *men would want to have their issues come first"*.

Another councillor stated:
"...It is very, very important. Much as our issues are cross-cutting with those of men, the best handlers for women's issues are women. They are accommodative; they are parents...and they even include men issues" Female councillor KCC.

In yet another related excerpt, a male councillor from Masaka Municipality emphasized:
"...their numbers are many and again women play a key role in the responsibilities of the country so if you leave them out may be u would have left out the children because they are the ones who can represent the children, the ones who understand the language of the children."

Relatedly a male technical officer from Lira district LG expressed*: "...in the past women were considered as weaker vessels but apparently the experience I have got now in the council has given me a very good lesson about women. ... Their participation is so good*

especially when it comes to enactment of law. Recently we had a bill which was compiled and presented to the council...one of the pertinent issues in the law somehow affected women, child labour... you know women alone, there is a tendency for them to be mistreated . Therefore they are represented to have a better position to talk... I mean they are in a better position to express matters that affect them directly". When asked whether men can not represent such matters, he stated *"Yea, but not so much, you know... personally, in my experience, there are matters that affect only women and not men ... naturally you cannot talk on the matters that do not affect you".*

A similar view obtained from Mbarara Municipality female councillor who also stressed the need for women representation for purposes of women interest when asked whether male councillors could not represent women interests she precisely stated: *"Men may not represent women well because human beings are naturally selfish... men cannot be judges in their own case...yes, take an example of issues like domestic violence".* Yet, a Male councillor from Bushenyi district LG also held a related view; *"...and then another issue they must participate so as to agitate for women affairs ...personally yes, I can* [Represent women affairs] *but, women must be brought on board and also participate. And you know at times men are very selfish. That is why you find that there is friction here and there. And don't think this domestic violence is brought for nothing; it's just because women have began understanding their rights. Though you can* [represent women views]*, but women should articulate their own issues"*

Pointing to their personal women experiences as imperatives for representation, one of the respondents noted

"Okay, you see I had worked with women groups and seeing their needs, ideas and desires. I realized all they needed was a representative…. a local woman councillor knows problems of an ordinary local woman, like this rampant malaria in the villages... You therefore agitate for nearby services which they can easily access" Councillor Bushenyi LG.

Another one stated:

"After attending so many workshops, because I began at the grassroot in women councils, my mind was exposed to so many ideas. So...I wanted to be one of the policy makers at least as a woman. May be if you are in a local council you can argue on a law favoring a woman.

Because in most cases if you are not the one suffering from that disease, you cannot feel it"
Female councillor Iganga District LG

As noted from the above responses, the issue of women interests was shared amongst men and women respondents, and many of the interviewees hinted on it in one way or another. Women's own experiences also sounded a convincing claim for their possibility of representing women interests. Although the answers varied, the common arguments were that women have particular issues for representation which men cannot easily articulate; that women representatives lobby and advocate for women rights and that women representation is essential for airing women opinions and priorities. Some of the respondents also held a conviction that women representatives are essential in matters of disadvantaged groups like the children and the elderly – the social categories with no own specific representatives in the councils – who form part of the social roles that women carry on.

 Identifying that there exist women interests is agreeable with such an argument that women need to be represented in order to cater for women interests as raised in the literature. It suggests that women are custodians of their fellow women's interests compared to men and implies a likelihood of men's "selfishness" marginalizing women's interest when they [women] are absent in political arenas. The opinions further indicate that women share experiences and issues of commonality suggesting common characteristics that are ably represented by fellow women. In Pitkin's view therefore, this may imply that female councillors "stand for" women while on the other hand the opinions relating to existence of women issues signify that female councillors "act for" fellow women.

a) Controversies of Women as a Social Category
While the argument of women interests happen to be at the forefront of women representation, a wide range of core controversies noted in the representation process emerge from the social categories in which women present and their nature of constituencies. Two questions that arise here are: 1) If the women form a special interest group (as it is presupposed) what are their interests that are supposedly represented and how can their interests be delineated from interest of their entire constituencies? 2) If the women are not a special interest group, what are they and how ably can their interests be represented?

An interest group, according to a Wikipedia encyclopedia is considered to be "an organized collection of people who seek to influence political decisions". Eric Schattschneider however argues that interests groups may be organized (known, identifiable and recognizable) while others are unorganized (Schattschneider 1975:27-29) Organized interests groups according to Schattschneider differ from unorganized interest groups in that they are self-conscious and form most intense and developed active groups. Schattschneider holds that "special interest organizations are most easily formed when they deal with small numbers of individuals who are acutely aware of their exclusive interests" (Schattschneider 1975:34). He thus considers organized special interest groups as being distinguishable by a crucial common element of being "all-exclusive" which means that they possess a clear margin separating them from other groups.

In a related view, Schattschneider explores issues of regarding special interests and public interests. He notes that "public interests refer to general or common interests shared by all or by substantially all members of the community" while special interests " are interests shared by only a few people or a fraction of the community; they exclude others and may be adverse to them" (Schattschneider 1975: 23). He realizes that in a complex society, there exist interests that are shared by all or substantially all members of the community and others which are not shared so widely. He further notes that whereas the society is made up of different interest groups, some groups hold interests of common good and others share particular interests with exclusive nature of benefits for the respective groups. Schattschneider's however appreciates the complexity of making an apparent differentiation between special interest and public interest groups as well as among organized and unorganized groups.

Schattschneider's views on interests and interest groups reveal a number of issues on Ugandan women representation. We realize that the nature of Ugandan women can neither qualify as organized group nor can they be considered to be a special interests group by Schattschneider's standards of the definitions. Like elsewhere, and as Sylvia Tamale observes, Uganda women cannot be perceived as a faceless monolithic with respect to class, race, religion, age, ethnicity and any other known social categories (Tamale 1999:74) and so are the issues that stand out to be represented. Because of the overlap of the women social categories, the women group becomes unorganized, imbued with diverse interests of each social category. Moreover women numbers seem to be extremely exceeding the level of the

theorized special interest groups. Indeed Anne Phillips considers the presumption that all women share the same preferences and goals invalid. She regards this claim as erroneous on accounts of absolving representatives from any responsibility for finding out what the represented actually want; and by lending legitimacy to representatives with unrepresentative policies (Phillips 1995:157). Indications of other feminist research consider representing women interest as unattainable pointing to such situations of distrust, uncrystallized interests, and women heterogeneity, while acknowledging the practicability of non-biologically female representatives to represent such interests (Celis, Childs et al. 2008).

These arguments therefore suggest a conclusion that the interests which are categorized as women interests are very difficult to delineate from other interests and therefore may be treated as public interests. It therefore becomes the onus of the represented to authorize political representatives and hold them accountable for such interests if they are regarded as outstanding and beneficial for the public that constitute women.

b) Pragmatic Controversies on Women Constituencies

While the women social category remains imbued with vast ambiguities, the issue of women interests is further complicated by their nature of constituencies. Urbinati and Warren observe that the modern state has introduced a territorial residence as a fundamental condition for political representation vis-à-vis the status and corporate-based representation which existed pre-contemporary democracies. They note that territorial constituency has indeed demonstrated a historical significance of political equality by progressively including more masses of individuals in the power sharing (Urbinati and Warren 2008:389). Whereas the argument for political equality of geographical constituencies is seemingly convincing, Urbinati and Warren contend that territoriality identifies only one set of ways in which individuals are involved or affected by collective structures and decisions. They realize the existence of many non-territorial issues such as religion, ethnicity, nationalism, social movements, and gender, professional or individual identities that consist of non-territorial interests. They also note the prevalence of extra territorial issues like migration, global trade, and environment. The territorial and non-territorial factors, according to Urbinati and Warren comprise of international formal institutions actors like World Bank and United Nations, and a multitude of transnational movements, NGOs, associations and social networks each of which making representative claims and serving representative functions (p.390).

Given these social interest frameworks, Urbinati and Warren review the theoretical controversies regarding whether representatives should represent individuals or corporate interests. They conclude that in the modern constitutional democracies there is a representation of individuals whose only commonality is residence. They note thus, that however much a residency-based electoral representation progressively include more social classes within territorial communities, such people are 'only a "demos" insofar as their primary interests and identities are geographically in nature' (p.396). For non-geographical constituencies formed on basis extraterritorial and non-territorial identities like gender, race, or global trade, they are considered to be represented as long as they intersect with circumstances of location, resulting into incidental relationships between democratic autonomy and forms of representation.

It is clearly noted that women representatives derive authority from diverse groups with various interests which generates multiple legitimacies and insurmountable electoral accountability demands. This is an explicit challenge in representing women interests as Anne Phillips notes;

> "… the basic question is soon entangled with such issues as the relative priority of local versus national interests, the role of political parties and the nature of political questions. It tends to be complicated also by the differences between representing a single principal and representing diverse political constituency" (Phillips 1995:145). She further observes however: "The programs offered by competing political parties can never capture the full range of relevant issues… it becomes necessary to pursue some additional form of representation that deals with as yet unspecified areas of concern"(p157).

The impact of principal-agent relations between organisations or individual actors and women representatives is further implied in the formalistic views of representation that underline the relevance of authorization and accountability (Pitkin 1967). The principal-agency effect is also acknowledged in Habermas (1989) who consider political parties, interests groups and corporatist organisations as important in setting political agendas where as the public, civil society, media, and legislature leadership and debates influence opinions and formulate preferences (Urbinati and Warren 2008:389). Moreover, as Bobbio (1987) and Gargarella (1998) argue, maintenance of the principle-agent relationship is difficult for such reasons as information deficits and corruption (ibid).

Different principals including the government, political parties and other social organizations and the entire electorate or constituency render the issue of interest representation cumbersome. The principals not only have cross-sectional diverging interests but also multiple interests amongst themselves. This may prove a representatives' puzzle of establishing the wishes that will make them seem accountable. We particularly recognize the way in which representatives have to accommodate themselves with incredibly excessive demands of those who authorize them. Moreover, we need to appreciate that on the inside of the legislators themselves, there are personal values and parochial interests that do not necessarily tally with concerns of the represented at all times.

The issue of constituencies therefore becomes imperative in analyses of women representatives in the Ugandan local governments where they are elected by adult suffrage and they represent two subcounties in the district or municipal divisions in the municipality. They are elected by female as well as male voters. They are further nominated and sponsored by their individual political parties, massively supported by their relatives, friends, colleagues in their local associations and by national politicians as seen in Chapter 6. Female councillors therefore derive their authority from multiple principals but they are expected to distinctively cater for interests of the unorganized women group. The crux of the matter is that women are part of the constituencies and the multiple principals that female councillors represent; and that the public interests from which women benefit is an equal responsibility for female councillors. Therefore, what interests are not women interests?

c) Controversies of Ugandan Women Interests

The findings regarding women interests according to responses obtained during this study indicate that issues of women interests pose a big challenge to female councillors. In the study, a number of issues pointing to women as a contestable holistic social category and the effect of constituencies were raised with an indication that these are recognised problems of their representation process.

One technical officer from Bushenyi district LG when asked whether in his view women councillors represented women interests, he replied:

"Women in council are not championing women's cause. They mind about championing needs of their constituencies. Whereas they are selected by universal suffrage, they should

bring out issues on women... Actually, they behave contrary to the Disabled and Youth representatives". His views were supportive by his counterpart who stated: *"Women normally present general issues* [not women issues] *except our woman representative for the disabled. ...but you see issues of women generally crop up in the committee concerned with gender and community development"* technical officer KCC

In a related response, a woman councillor from Bushenyi LG who was also NRM party chairperson at subcounty level also affirmed: *"...That's true. You represent those who vote you. Services are demand driven and actually men come forward to demand more services than women"*. Additionally, she stated: *"Women are too much occupied. You call them for meetings or workshops, they never turn up...yes; and we therefore end up attending more to men. You see, mostly women approach us when there are domestic problems such as a family fight"*. She considered domestic duties as holding back women.

Another woman councilor and a district executive member acknowledged representing women interests but similarly noted: *"Together with the woman MP, we have helped in forming women groups, youth and disabled groups. Through a district fundraising, we helped the opening of the Women's Bank. We* [with fellow councilors] *also help in fundraising and organizing for sale of handcrafts for local women groups...But women problems are so many, and they still have a big problem with property and land issues that cause domestic violence. They want us to attend to individual domestic issues but we cannot manage. That is too much for us. Instead, we end up referring them to the district Vice chairman who is responsible for those issues[26]. ...We bring some women needs to the attention of government. It is not that we cannot attend to all women issues but we mostly do what is general because, when you attend to a woman's issue you will solve problems for the husband and their children"*.

Yet another woman councilor equally had this to note:*" Unlike before,* [meaning the previous regime of non-party politics] *we now use party manifestos and we consider all issues in the manifestos that cover all voters not only women"*. She meant to underline the fact that women councillors used to set their own objectives (women interests inclusive) during the non-partisan political regime but now they are conditioned to the government programs as per the NRM priorities. This response prompted me to take a closer look at the NRM majority party

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[26] Some of the Vice chairpersons for these councils were found to be holding the position of Secretary for health and children welfare as 'other functions' stipulated under Section 18 of the LGA.

manifesto and it was found to underline a range of issues from good governance and good quality of life through improved social services – of sectors like education, health, environment, and transport – to economic progress by improving markets and revenue generation. Other critical party issues included agriculture, employment, regional integration, and strategic interventions in land matters, war and conflict, poverty and human resource development. A subsection of good governance and democratisation particularly emphasized:

> "NRM shall continue to support women, youth, People With Disabilities (PWDs), workers, and the elderly to participate in policy, and decision making at all levels. Affirmative Action shall be promoted in all organs of NRM. Education of girl-child, Functional Adult Literacy (FAL) as one of the major areas of Beijing Platform of Action shall be entrenched in the NRM policies (Museveni 2006:4)"

This extract and the entire range of issues highlighted in the NRM manifesto suggest that women councillors are bound by their party interests which are both territorial (local) and non-territorial (national or regional) in nature but also extraterritorial being influenced by Beijing Platform decisions.

In a further exploration of women interests, women female councillors were asked what motivated them into politics and, one woman stated; *what drove me to be a councillor was representation, meaningful representation. Yea... I wanted to work for the people, I have got my small business at home but it is not enough for the whole constituency. ... the best way I could deliver services was by becoming a councillor... for all...men and women.... that's why we say woman councillor not women councillor. They are two different words"* Councillor, *KCC.* This councilor's emphasis was that she was a representative for everyone and not only women and therefore was obliged to meet interests of all men and women. Her point about the ambiguity of term woman and women councillor relates to what Ahikire's study reveal about the confusion of women political representative labels. Ahikire notes the variations in the labels for positions being contested by female candidates that include "councillor for women", "woman councillor", "women councillor" and "women representative" (Ahikire 2007:91). These labels are used interchangeably which breeds confusion in the role and nature of women councillors in the political process.

This diversity in thinking about women within the local government councils proves that women issues are part of broader interests that female councillors represent. The different

labels put on female councillors particularly signify their "double-face" as descriptive as well as substantive representatives. The findings reveal the complexity of delineating women interests from interests of their electorates or other actors. It demonstrates the difficulty of differentiating special interests from public interests and reveals that in many instances, the interests to be represented are demand-driven by individuals or by selection agencies.

7.3.2 Women Representation as a Virtue of Democracy

Women representation as earlier noted is theorized to a signifier of justice (Mackay 2004), and women absence in legislatures is considered as a form of alienation that retards their pace for equalization (Reynolds 1999). Darcy et al hold that women are a social category – like racial, ethnic, religious, or linguist groups – which a just society includes in its political deliberations. They thus consider a legitimate political regimes to be democratic if cross-sectional social groups form part of their government institutions (Darcy, Welch et al. 1994:18). In Iris Marion Young's view of a democratic public is that it "should provide mechanisms for effective recognition and representation of the distinct voices and perspectives of those of its constituent groups that are oppressed and disadvantaged" (Young 1990:184). Failure of such mechanisms is considered to result in policy outcomes that perpetuate supremacy of the dominant groups (Phillips 1995:21) and of course such a condition cannot be regarded as democratic.

Democratic institutions in David Beetham viewpoint that are characterized by two principles: *popular control and political equality* (Beetham 1999:5). Popular control underlines direct participation in decision-making process or having a control over decision makers which suggests ability to hold them accountable and responsive. Political equality on the other hand relates to arguments of equal votes, equal rights and opportunities to stand for a public office and equal conditions to make one's voice heard (p154). In his justification for the democratic principles, he underlines the normative values of *equal human worth or dignity* and *human self-determination* or *autonomy*.

Recurring claims of women representation center on some or all of these normative arguments as some of the findings for this study indicate. As a democratic value, women representation in Uganda was viewed as fair in as far as their comparative population numbers is concerned. Considering that in Uganda women constitute 51% of the total population (UBOS 2002) and

that they are a "backbone of the economy"[27] it seemed reasonable for respondents who argued that:

"Okay, I would think women would be important in the council for reasons that there is a number of women more than men in our country so if they are not represented it means you have left out a big potion of people unrepresented. So that is why we need them to be represented" councillor Masaka Municipality

Another councillor similarly claimed:

"Like in this country women are very many, actually compared to men that if they are not represented very well you can find that they can be marginalized but if they are represented they can bring out their views, problems and they can be worked upon" Councillor Lira district

While the issue of population proportionality was underscored, it was also evident that the respondent considered women representation as an issue of civil and political rights as stated:

"I totally support it [that women should be included in politics]. *One, they are also human beings like us, like men, and some of them have good ideas... and if we have women in councils, it also gives a good example even to these young children... it encourages the others also to go to school...we are talking of gender then why not join politics"* Male councillor, Iganga district

Another one asserted:

"One of the reasons is that like any other human being, it shouldn't be that in decision making it is just the men who are involved. So all human beings have a purpose in decision making therefore women must be brought on board". He however additionally claimed;

"And secondly in these councils it is where many projects and programs are decided upon and located to different constituencies and therefore women should have a key to participation, as they are the majority in the public so that they can gain from these

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[27] The 2002 Uganda census report corroborates this argument by indicating that women comprise 48% of the population engaged in economic activities, 63.1 % of the unpaid family labour and 77% in the subsistence farming (see UBOS 2002). The WB report on Gender and Economic Growth in Uganda also indicated a women contribution of 72.6% of GDP from Agriculture by 1997 while Agriculture earns 49% 0f the total GDP (see Ellis, Manuel et al 2006)

projects....they are the end users; that means if you don't involve them from the start to the end then sustainability of such programs will not be possible."

And relatedly he further noted:

"...then of course in these local councils the legislators access certain resources like allowances, like vehicles, others get salaries so in that regard when you have women they also access that resource thus developing their constituencies and themselves" Male councillor Bushenyi district

The observations above compound a number of factors related to women inclusion and justice. As the respondents noted, women representation is in this perspective viewed as an element of social justice enabling their equal treatment and opportunities with men in regard to their human rights and liberties reflected in Beetham democratic principles.

Whereas views related to social justice dominated the democratic argument, among other issues pinpointed as essentials in the women representation phenomenon were concerns of improved accountability and responsiveness as well as arguments for legitimizing the government. One of the arguments was that the law provides for women political inclusion as a special interest group and therefore the government was obliged to effect it implying that women representation legitimated the government. Other series of opinions on women representation however underlined the issue of women's outstanding support for the present government suggesting the government's accountability and responsiveness. Issues of accountability and responsiveness were further extended to individual women representatives on the claims of women being hardworking, less corrupt and possession of minimal tendencies for self-aggrandizement. The arguments that suggested political and financial accountability of the representatives stressed that:

"Women have that patience... And at least they are transparent and accountable. That is why I see it prudent to have women in all stages whether political or otherwise." Councillor Mukono district LG.

And in brief note, another councillor noted

"… you must have delivered… you see, how you delivered in the past regime and catered for the interest of your constituency will lead you to getting another term" Councillor Lira Municipality.

A female councillor who had been selected unopposed acknowledged the relevance of being accountable in her previous term of office when she stressed:

"No; no woman would out-compete me because everybody knew how I had performed in the previous term of office. Past performance is the basis for the voters... women however at times lack confidence for coming up to compete with the incumbents even when the incumbents have not delivered as expected" female councillor, Bushenyi LG.

Relatedly, in another account of attributes for winning elections one councillor further reiterated;

"When people come to politics, they think it has got a time frame ... But it is a process which you have to build overtime. So my colleague just came in at that right time and thought she would be elected ... but I have been in my area ... on the ground, and I would say I am pro-people. Many people come from outside to compete and win for their own interests." Councillor KCC.

Financial accountability served yet, as a motivation for some women councillors as one respondent from Iganga noted:

"… and my major interest has been on fighting for proper use of government funds. There is a lot of corruption...the local funds are little but the little money collected ends up in a few offices". She added that her predecessor never attended to the electorate and that she was accused of diverting government funds and programs.

These excerpts reveal the importance having women representatives as ensuring electoral and financial accountability. If we hold that women are deemed more accountable, then there is a possibility of having a corresponding accountable government when they are included. Since accountability is considered as an indicator of democratic governance, therefore women

political inclusion in one way signifies democracy. However, women political presence is in other ways considered as a strategic aim for legitimizing the governments in the global democratic context regarding the virtue for social justice. Such views generally suggest that women councillors are symbolic representatives but to the extent that women themselves are known to be accountable, it also implies that they are substantive representatives.

7.4 Perceptions on Ugandan Women Quotas: Do Numbers Matter?

During this study, quota law in Ugandan was found to be widely supported by all respondents interviewed. The study sought the position of respondents on whether they proposed an increase or decrease of women percentage in local councils or whether they preferred maintenance of the 1/3 quota. Regarding the council quotas, of the 54 respondents, 38 (70.4 %) proposed an increase of the quotas while 16 (29.6%) held an opinion of maintaining the 1/3 women quota. Of the 70.4 % who suggested an increase in the council women quotas, 11 advocated 40% increase while 27 agitated for 50% percent women political positions in the legislatures. None of the respondents suggested a decrease or abolition of women quotas as Table 18 below illustrates.

Table 18: Views on the Current Women Numbers in Local Politics

Note: N=54

	Frequency	Percentage
a) Increase quotas for Local councils	38	70.4
40% increase	*11*	*29**
50% increase	*27*	*71**
b) Reduce the quotas	0	0
c) Retain 1/3 quotas	16	29.6

Note: * *denotes the percentages calculated out of 38 respondents that agitated for increasing quotas*

From the above table, it is revealed that women quotas are massively supported in the Ugandan politics. The agitated increase was that quotas should be adopted in political parties and that it should continue to be enshrined in the Uganda constitution. A further inquiry on why the perceptions indicated that respondents agitating for 40% increase argued that legislation should provide for more women representatives slightly above the current 33% because women are still unable to compete on their own with men. Others argued for 40% women representation on the basis that the major political parties (NRM and FDC) had

already proposed incorporation of 40% women quotas and therefore it was considered appropriate. Yet other agitators of 40% women representatives considered it as a fair share for women basing on their past political numbers.

One male councillor Bushenyi LG for instance had this to note:

"Following the current trend where women are not coming up through direct representation and being many in the society, the percentage should be increased...currently it has been 1/3 but me I propose it to be 40%. Then if they go through the other direct competitive election, they can go more than 40." Expressing the fear about the effect of the prevalent attitudes however, he further remarked;

".. in the national conference of the Movement [NRM party]*, this matter was tabled and we discussed it but men were still adamant, not to increase the women percentage...They do not want women to be more... their fear of course is loosing their jobs... from councils of 100% to 70% and then to 60...increase of women numbers means that they encroach on representation of men".*

This observation from a male councillor was found incredible because not only did it indicate the appreciation that some men have on women quotas but also underlined the social-cultural barriers that women continue to encounter in political recruitment. This affirms Dahlerup's standpoint on the necessity for gender quotas as seen in 7.1

For the respondents advocating 50% increase, their arguments centered on the core issue of gender parity with claims of women being the majority of the Ugandan population. The key argument was that politics ought to be balanced in numbers and decisions of men and women and argued that only a few women (as in the current quotas) could not influence decisions. Others argued that women had given a lot of support to the government and therefore the government should recognize their efforts by equating their numbers with men. And yet, related to the critical mass theory, others held that women possess a lot of determination and that they can achieve a lot once they are many in politics. To strike a gender political balance of numbers, respondents suggested a two-member constituency representation; one of whom being a woman as the following excerpt states:

"The number of women should be increased. At least let there be a woman councillor representing every subcounty like what males do... even I would advocate for the same in the

parliament, where a woman should represent a constituency not a district because a woman is overloaded yet we get the same resources. For instance when they are giving us a constituency development fund, it is the same amount as that of councillors who represent a single subcounty yet we have to go to a bigger constituency [two subcounties]. *So that brings us a big disadvantage... Of course, let us be 50-50"* Female councillor Bushenyi LG.

As previously noted, the concern of this councillor related to issue of women constituency. While this expression points to the constituency size, the underlying issue regarding the composition of such constituencies causes equivalent tension to women representatives. The large constituencies that are composed of cross-sectional social groups who vote for the women councillors incontestably pose a great challenge to women representatives. We note that the diverse social groups have diverging interests upon which political representatives' accountability is gauged. Where as ordinary constituencies consist of such similar social groups, the women representation problem is inflated by the gigantic size of their constituencies.

Yet other arguments concerned maintenance of 1/3 women representation stemming from the perception that in spite of being many, only a few of them made contributions in council deliberations. Also, many respondents (mostly men) argued that the law has been favourable enough for women to offer women a political springboard from which they can compete for themselves citing such affirmative action measures in education and employment. They thus maintained that the current quota numbers were sufficient and that for the rest of the political opportunities, women ought to contest with men. Others however considered a further quota increase as a way of marginalising men. Such views held that if the law provided for 50% women quotas for instance and left other women to compete for open seats, then the number of women representatives would supersede that of men. In another perspective, this was also viewed as a way of disadvantaging some men whose capabilities of political representation were incomparable to some women that would come on board as a matter of increased quotas. On a more critical note, other respondents (particularly women) argued that increasing women numbers without proportional increase in resources to facilitate their councillor duties was bound to be meaningless because even with the current women numbers there were said to be a lot of hiccups in effecting government and own plans. Yet others viewed increase of women numbers as a probable source of contagion effect on other special interest groups as one respondent argued:

"Now if we say that we increase women from one third, even the youth will complain that we want also to be increased…. Even the disabled people will also say we increase… like that…" male councillor Iganga LG

This argument accordingly suggest that an increase of women without deliberate measures to cater for other marginalised groups would generate contention amongst council legislators and certainly there is likelihood of difficulties in the modalities and implications in increasing numbers of each and every marginalised social category. A further women quota increase therefore would perpetuate group quota demands in a similar way Krook and Squires conceive the effect of strategic aims of elites and political parties in quota adoption.

Another respondent who viewed 1/3 as being sufficient noted:
"Okay, I don't think the number should be increased because there are those vacancies which they must represent as women and they also have a chance to contest in the men's seats or in the other seats… because if a woman has got her capacity, she can take all those positions. So you can get more than those contained by the law" Male councillor Masaka Municipality.

And another councillor also stated:

"I think they should maintain the way they are because it would loose meaning… because it is representation, then what are they going to name it … Representation means to a certain extent. For the rest, let those who can ably come out and contest with men do it; 1/3 representation is a good fraction because if it came to ½ then the men would also be marginalised" Councillor KCC.

The views of the above two councillors suggest a fear of women superseding men and the latter's subsequent marginalization if quotas are raised. Their arguments support a claim of the quota critics who argue that quotas may be a source of gender inequality. In another way however the opinion suggests that as a temporary measure, there is possibility of some women having already overcome barriers for political competition to rend the purpose for the quotas minimal. The opinion of the KCC councillor who considered representation to be "to some extent" suggests that even women token councillors can suffice as presented in Crowley's arguments relating to critical mass theory.

In yet another response, one respondent noted:

"…Yah, they should be maintained the way they are…initially I mentioned the issue regarding the law. The law provided for the other 1/3 that would constitute the council… So we are now trying to balance the potential… I gave the reason why women are considered weaker vessels. So when they out-suit the number, then the council may be weak also"
Technocrat, Lira district LG

In this last response, prejudice about women capabilities in politics is implied. The respondent used the term "weaker vessels" to imply women personal abilities to effectively carry on council duties. Indeed some respondents hinted on women nature pointing particularly to the effect of pregnancy and child bearing as some factors accounting for limited political careers. One male councillor for instance noted the way pregnant and breastfeeding women were frequent absentees in council meetings and wondered whether such councillors would effectively do necessary political mobilisation of their constituencies. The excerpt therefore suggests that if women dominated the council there was a possibility of deficiencies related to meeting quorums and quality deliberations. The respondent's speculation about weak councils therefore implies that women have substantive roles to play in political arenas and their weak performance is transferred to the entire council. Taking another viewpoint however, this opinion indicates a symbolic outlook that women representatives put on the political arenas when their characteristics twin with their numbers.

7.5 The Significance of Critical Masses in Political Representation

The above discussion revealed a number of issues relating to women political representation. It indicated that women representation is perceived as imperative for attending to women interests but also for democratic values. The views for women interests show that women hold similar experiences and share interests and therefore are capable of representing women interests better than men. Other prepositions also stress representation capabilities of some women compared to men suggesting that given political opportunity, women may perform political roles sufficiently especially in matters that concern them. These views suggest that women representatives can be perceived as being capable of "acting for" women.

The democratization arguments held that women presence is necessary as a matter of justice considering their population fraction and their contribution to the state regime and the

economy as a whole. Such opinions also consider women political presence as symbolically and substantively being a matter of human rights, accountability and responsiveness. These views largely depict women representatives as *descriptive* and *symbolic* representatives implying their "standing for" representation nature but also suggest the "acting for" representation when we consider issues of their personal accountability and responsiveness.

Numerically, it is revealed that there exists unanimous urge for women's presence in politics in large numbers. Opinions on women quotas indicated a big support for increased women reserved seats on such claims as: women's enduring barriers that disable them to favourably compete with men; and the women's huge constituencies. Arguments relating to women persistent barriers suggested the possible effect of polarization that emphasizing cultural gender differences in political representation as theorised in the Critical Mass theory. The issue of women huge constituencies may equally be conceived as a polarizing strategy of men (the political dominant group) to frustrate women political ambitions. Importantly, we note that these constituencies were designed when women ceased to represent women councils that were relatively small and relevant to women interests. The legislation of 1/3 council quotas could have minimised chances for assimilating the women who had a possibility of allying against men's influence. The alternative strategy for the male dominants thus would be to designate bigger constituencies in which individual women could face a *status levelling* problem so as to depict women as inadequate substantive representatives. The big constituencies of course subjects women to visibility and they end up overachieving in a most strenuous way or under achieving as a result of the circumstances for representation.

In this view, arguments for gender parity or increased quotas seem sensible in the Uganda political aspect. Moreover, as pointed out, women big political numbers may be justifiable considering the women numbers in the population and their role in the economy and in the previous regime. We realize however that there is some satisfaction with the level of the current women quotas of 1/3 (33%) which is closer to the Kanter's titled groups of 65:35 ratio. Considering that at a legislated minimal 33% quota, the current total women numbers in the councils stand at an average of 41.2% as seen in chapter 5, a disapproval of quota increases on account of possible men marginalization might hold. In fact, if we refer to Kanter's typology, the current women representation in local councils is classifiable as a balanced group and therefore the contest about increased quotas in this sense may be regarded as appropriate.

The overall view of Uganda women quotas at the local level seems to indicate that increased numerical numbers is more of fairness arguments. As argued by Dahlerup, Uganda quotas are a form of compensation for women barriers and a reward for their contribution to the political regimes and the economy. It is intended to attain some level of gender equality at least in political numbers which is a component of democratisation values. As such the approach may be considered to relate to symbolic and descriptive representatives who "stand for" others. The question of women substantive roles however keep hanging in balance because as it appears, what is represented is highly dependent on diverse critical actors whose interests keep 'shifting goal posts'.

CHAPTER 8

WOMEN POLITICAL CAREERS AND CHALLENGES

8.0 Introduction

Women have always been known to be few in politics in relation to their numerical population numbers and compared to men. Often, cited impingements are broad ranging from social-cultural to socioeconomic and political factors. As seen in political recruitment, some theories also hold women psychological factors responsible for their retreat from politics. Of course, these universalized factors about women marginalization but as we understand, empirical findings normally reveal prevalence of some of these factors in some polities than others.

Previous chapters presented the processes in which women access local legislative councils, and the purposes they serve in these local councils. Ambitions and motivations were noted as prime factors driving them to seek political offices. However, the significance of pressure, advice and suggestions from other individuals are also underscored in women's quest for higher offices, a long tenure of the same council positions or retirement after serving a term of office.

This chapter highlights the key impingements for the Ugandan local government female councillors. It presents a brief overview of the theorized factors, and points out practical institutional and individual factors in the recruitment and representation processes of Uganda local politics. The chapter also presents the findings on female councillor political career trends in Uganda local governments and the suggestions for political empowerment. At the end, it draws a linkage between the women political barriers and careers. The chapter responds to the research question that seeks to map out linkages between women political barriers and careers.

8.1 Political Downsides: What Holds Women Political Recruitment?

In spite of many attempts to realize the intents of women representation, a number of limitations remain surrounding the political recruitment and representation processes. We

noted in the previous chapter that women political selection is largely hindered by socio-cultural and socio-economic constraints as well as political institutions (Lovenduski and Norris 1993; Reynolds 1999; Dahlerup 2005). These arguments are extended further by seminal works of other writers like Thomas and Wilcox (1998), Bochel and Bochel (2000), Nadezhda Shvedova (2005) and Dolan, Deckman et al (2007). Nirmala Rao's study that analyses demand and supply factors impinging women representation in local politics also augments the understanding of the phenomenon (Rao 2005).

While the approaches to analyses of women impingements vary, the agreeable views appear to hint on cultural norms and beliefs, the political systems, electoral systems, political parties and government institutions that affect not only individual adequate supply but also demand for women political representatives (Norris 1993; Reynolds 1999; Shvedova 2005). Similar to what is revealed in the recruitment process, barriers for women representation are often conceived as individual factors to include political ambition, qualifications, status, wealth, family responsibilities and commitments as well as personal confidence and self esteem (Bochel and Bochel 2000). At the structural level, the most emphasized factors include voter bias, patriarchal attitudes and practices, limited resources, party and electoral structure, media influence, the socialization effects, and failure of women to support their fellow women (Thomas and Wilcox 1998; Bochel and Bochel 2000). Like in political recruitment analyses, drawing a clear boundary between the individual and structural factors is found to be unworkable because of the systemic nature in which these factors function.

The previous discussions indicated that over decades, a number of measures including affirmative action and particularly quota legislations have been adopted by different countries to counteract problems of women political participation. Indeed overtime, as Reynolds notes, women barriers are being gradually eroded although the process is considered to be painfully slow (Reynolds 1999:550). Socioeconomically, Reynolds argues that women have continued to face the impact of male chauvinism and patriarchy that are responsible for cultural negativity towards the presence of women in political office. He also contends that culture precludes young women from high education, professional jobs and access to resources of public life and socializes them into roles outside public decision- making. Further, he notes that women find it more difficult to break into electoral office in big numbers due to burdens of health care, child care, unemployment or underemployment. He correlates women-unfriendly cultural norms with extremism in religion and philosophy or tribal beliefs that

confine women to subordinate roles. Nadezhda Shvedova, in a supportive view, observes the prevalence of women's primary roles of motherhood and housewifery considers arguments of inadequate financial resources, illiteracy, limited access to education and choice of profession; and the dual burden of domestic tasks and professional obligations. She regards lack of confidence and perception of politics as 'dirty' as some psychological hindrances to women active political careers (Shvedova 2005:39-45). Dolan, Deckman et al relatedly conceive the family as one crucial factor in political leadership selection process particularly for women. They argue that family and its duties of child rearing and housekeeping compel many women to postpone political careers because engaging in political duties is not only time consuming but also demands long and irregular hours as well as legislative business trips away from home. They hold that the family constraint does not appear to weigh as heavily on men as women decision to run for politics (Dolan, Deckman et al. 2007:150).

Under political obstacles, Shvedova underlines the masculine model of politics with men dominating the political arenas and political decisions being made on male norms and values or according to male lifestyles. She observes the party biased tendencies towards men in election campaigns, funding and mobilization support compared to women but also recognizes the negative effect of non-proportional electoral systems. She identifies a social network gap between women politicians and women organisations or other relevant organisations that are essential in promoting women representation. Reynolds similarly theorizes effect of political culture placing the party ideology and level of fragmentation at the core of the analysis as proposed in Pippa Norris (1993). He also conceives the impact of state-regime histories, democratisation levels and the nature of electoral systems as having a profound effect on women political involvement (p.552-555).

Dolan et al and Shvedova share another view featuring in many political discourses as an additional crucial barrier to women political representation. They condemn the role of media not only for misinforming the public about the rights and roles of women in the society or providing suggestive measures to improve women position (Shvedova 2005:47); but also on biased coverage of women political candidates as succinctly stated:

> "Not only do female candidates endure greater attention and stories about their physical appearance, but also suffer from being tagged as less viable candidates than similar men… And as

it to add an insult to injury, the press pays less attention to female candidates policy positions than they do for men…" (Dolan, Deckman et al. 2007:172).

Media coverage has a big effect on the voters' disposition and it has far-reaching effects including doubts about women competence and their credibility. It extends to areas where the individual candidate may not reach and its message is effective in the public that is not always well versed with the current political issues. Assuming a value-neutral media operating within a given societal culture however seems unrealistic because media reporting ought to be seen in part as a reflection of the societal norms about women as much as it may be imbued with political culture, regime history and economic influence.

Whilst the above enumerated barriers dominate representation theories and literature, this study considered it necessary to seek for individual respondents opinions with a less theoretical bias. As such, open ended questions and exploratory probing to respondents about what they considered to be reasons that limit women involvement into Ugandan local politics were employed strategies. Responses given in respect to this question were categorized into individual and structural factors and elaborated as presented in the sub-sections to follow.

8.1.1 Structural Factors

The structural factors identified in this study comprised effects of societal values and attitudes against women particularly with male bias and fear of losing their domination over women. Respondents particularly identified the problem of domestic chores, especially looking after children that occupied women all the time leaving them with limited opportunity of engaging in politics. They pointed out that the cultural beliefs which designate politics as a man's field are still somehow prevalent but also noted that many men married men do not permit their wives to join politics for such reasons jealous, superiority complex and insecurity of family breakage. They argued that men's bias against women political involvement stems from fear of being dominated by women and particularly emphasized men's selfishness to maintain domination the politics. Others however noted effects of family breakages and instabilities emanating from women politicians engaging in extramarital affairs in a few isolated cases cited. Some women politicians who were anticipated to be opposed to cultural norms in the name of "modernity" – for instance against women circumcision in part of Eastern Uganda – were denied political support. In other cultures it was a taboo for women who are regarded inferior to stand in front of men as cited among the Sebei tribe of Eastern Uganda.

Biases against girl-child education, and early marriages were also said to be of a considerable extent for women political careers in politics that require the educated and relatively knowledgeable councillors as established in chapter 6.

The vast challenges of women domestic roles and men-women domestic relations can be discerned in one of the Ugandan feminist teaching aid below

Figure IX: The Effects of Domestic Duties and Relations

CREDENTIALS OF THE AFRICAN WOMAN

Haraka, my darling!!

1. MOST EFFICIENT BEAST OF BURDEN
2. PLOUGHER OF MOST OF THE LAND (WHICH)
3. MANUFACTURER OF CHILDREN SHE DOESN'T OWN
4. MOST EFFECTIVE REPLACEMENT FOR WATER PIPE
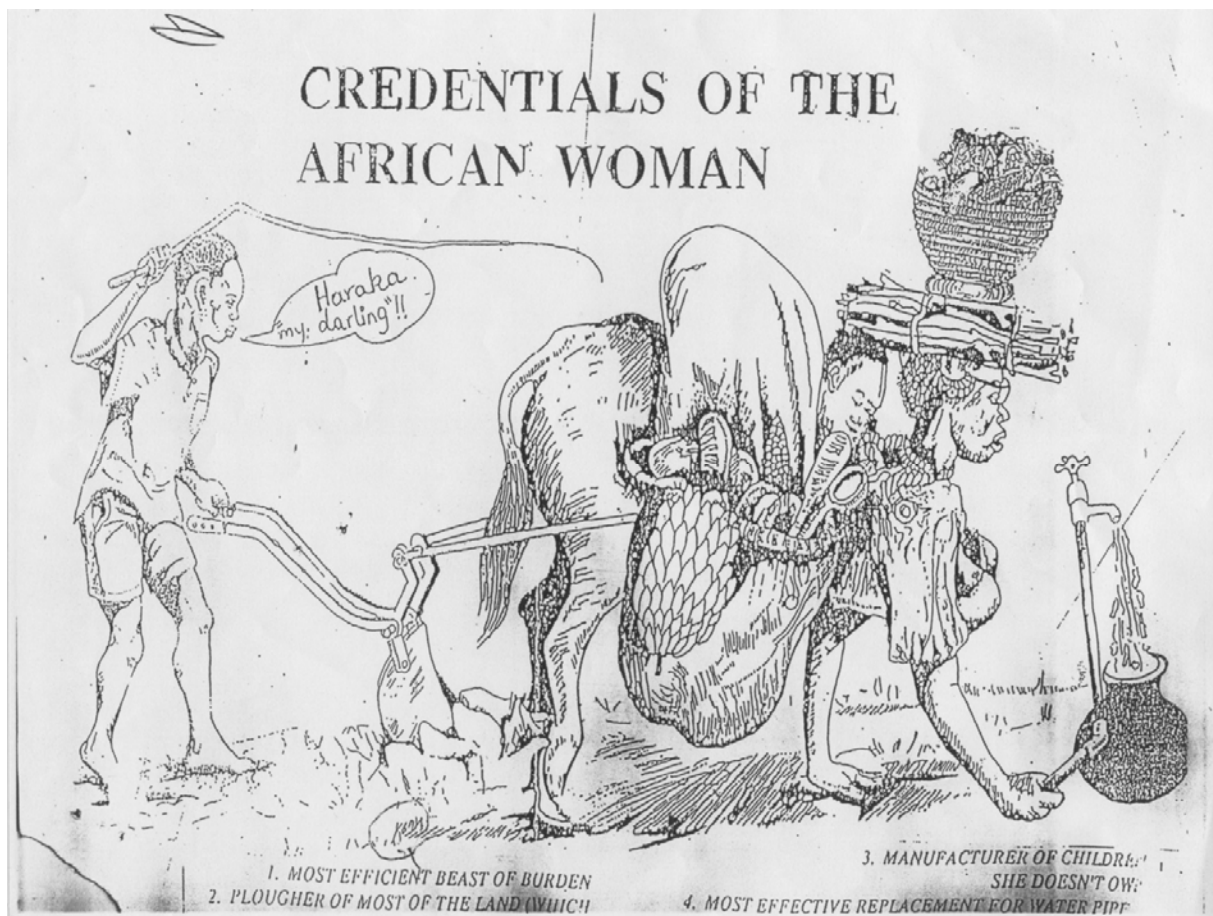
As shown in the above figure, a Ugandan local woman, typical of an African woman is responsible for virtually all domestic chores. Labelled as "a beast of burden", she shoulders agricultural production, mostly the subsistence agriculture for incessant domestic food supply while men engage in commercial farming and employment where they earn wages and

salaries as established in the gender and economic growth empirical study on Uganda[28] (Ellis, Manuel et al. 2006:28-29). Due to the existing property ownership customary laws, and as established in this study, the woman owns no land on which she cultivates and neither does she have a control of the agricultural outputs. As the illustration indicates, the woman also ensures that food she produces is collected from the fields, prepared with the self-sought firewood and water, and other complements. The bearing and caring of children she never owns is her entire responsibility over and above the daily domestic chores. While shouldering all these burdens, the husband forcefully dictates on the pace and efforts invested as implied in *"Haraka my darling"* meaning "hurry up my darling". The latter observation means that the man is in total control of the woman's domestic roles.

The summary of this figure clearly illustrates how difficult an ordinary woman would find it to run for political election in Uganda. With such burdens, where does she save time to actively engage in politics? How can she groom political ambitions when she has no control over resources or decisions? As expressed by the respondents, the tradition is that men control all the property women inclusive and as such men dictate whether their wives should run for politics or not. With a bias and fear of being dominated and with a concern of a possible change in the existing labour relations, men work hard to maintain their political dominance where they can continue to dictate and determine the laws and decisions favourable for maintaining their superiority. Indeed, the fear of women's domination was one reason behind the agitation that maintaining 1/3 quota in the local councils as seen in the previous chapter.

The additional structural factors that are less socio-cultural were also found to include bigger women constituencies compared to men that require a lot of money, and consume more time that women cannot afford to spare from their domestic duty demands. As previously noted, not only women confronted a wide constituency area to canvass votes but also with a cross-sectional group of people as the electorate comprising of a universal adult suffrage. As seen above, we note that these are male-dominant-value-laden voters who may not select a woman when there is a male alternative political contestant. To confront cultural stereotypes of a bigger constituency is a subjection of women to a double political selection burden. One could

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[28] The women's role in the economy has in earlier discussions featured as one basis of their claim for political representation and increased women quotas.

deduce therefore that such constituency design could have been a men's legislative strategy to limit women political ambitions.

Multiparty politics – as earlier established – were said to be equally disastrous to women political ambitions especially for directly elected councillors. It was considered to favor male candidates and candidates of the majority party leaving out women on the opposition and those not favored by party gatekeepers. It was found out that candidates would be fielded to out-compete others within the same party or from other parties on the basis of corruption and intrigue (as seen in chapter 5) and as such many politically capable women were said to have been left out of politics.

While fewer efforts for promoting girl-child were underlined as one other hindrance, an additional convincing argument was that politics in Uganda is a recent development for women and that with time women have advanced politically and are yet to gain more political supremacy. This is especially true as noted in earlier chapters the way women active political participation at the local level enlivened from late 1980s beginning with one woman on each Resistance Councils through 1990s to the present where women are found to be averagely 41% in the local councils and about 30% in the national legislature.

8.1.2 Individual Factors

The individual women political constraints were predominantly directed to property ownership and income which tally with findings indicating the financial factor as outstanding rated in the councillor recruitment process (see chapter 6). All respondents expressed the issue of commercialised politics as a great obstacle for women political involvement. From the nomination fee to publicity posters, mobilisation campaigns and actual buying of votes (and candidates when necessary), the issue of women limited financial resources was decried. One female councillor in Iganga district LC lamented the way she sold off her only three zero grazing cows to fund the campaign process. She narrated how her working daughter supplemented the initial campaign costs to the money from the first cow.

"…This money however took me about halfway of the campaigns. I called the butcher to take the second one and the money got finished towards time for elections. I then felt I could not give up but it was paining to see my last cow being taken. I am really disappointed because

we have no regular allowances and the council is now poor. I cannot recover my money for the sold cows," Councillor Iganga *LG*. This councillor was one of the few lucky ones to have a say on selling-off the cows she owned perhaps partly because she was a widow and a house head of her family unlike in circumstances of married women in which every property in the family is controlled by a man.

Where as some women do not earn substantial income to enable them run for politics, the findings of the study revealed that even some of those who had a considerable regular earning and were married had no control over the money or the family property from which money can be obtained to go through the electoral process. It was stressed that as a tradition, the majority of men in Uganda were decision makers in all aspects including women's own income as one female councillor from Bushenyi LG expressed *"omukazi tagira sente, omukazi tagira nabaana, omukazi bamutegyeka ashutama aho...kandi shi ebintu byona tebyomushija... Yes, at times when a woman gets a salary noyanjura owomushaija"* (a woman owns no money, no children; a woman ought to accept being dominated; all the things belong to the man. Yes, at times when a woman gets a salary is required to surrender it to the husband).

In a related comment another councillor from Mbarara Municipality noted *"marriage deprives you property rights from your father's family but at the same time you do not have any rights to claim property of your husband... and when he dies whether you have children or not everything is claimed by his family as if you never contributed to them"*. The man's family implied in this text include his siblings and parents and their claim for the property is often aggressive in case the children of the deceased are still minors or if the woman has no children at all.

Another respondent yet had this to note:
"Politics of this country partly have been monetised. That is another challenge we are having today. And the time one keeps on campaigning that means using a lot of resources... you have heard men selling their plots; many women have no property, what do they sell? So, that one will bar them from representation. He however additionally noted;
And again you are a lady [referring to me] *you know what normally happens for example if you are pregnant during elections and you produced today; will you be having energy to move around in the constituency looking for votes? You know, that natural aspect of*

reproductive system of women may bar the same woman from competing... there are many challenges" Male councillor Mbarara Municipality.

A more linked argument concerning gender stereotypes which have continually perpetuated women economic dependence and limited self actualisation is underscored by Margaret Vuchiri in one Uganda newspaper, The Daily Monitor of 8[th] March 2005. Under Opinion column article titled '*Has feminism failed to feminise society*' she analyses the attitudes that women have on themselves:

> Much as one would think the era of girls being girls and men being men are gone, today, even high salaried women always figure their husbands would take care of them, even if they earn more than these husbands. Why are such women clinging to their victimhood? Why are they so afraid of taking care of themselves and their families?

Vuchiri's observation about women's economic dependence tendency suggests the effect of structural values on individual abilities. The women's perception that men are responsible for providing everything remains a source of men's incessant authority to dominate in political arenas both in physical numbers and in decision making.

Whilst the question of limited finances was considered a big setback for women political participation, the nature of women themselves was equally considered a substantial hindrance for women political activity. All respondents regretted the way women were less supportive to fellow women. It was argued that women had a bias on fellow women and that in many instances when a woman stood with a man for the same post, through compromise or own bias, women gave their votes to the man. In relation to women bias, I explored how respondents conceived the common thinking that "women are enemies of fellow women" and one female councillor had this to note:

"...Ahaaa, to a certain degree I agree ... Because I can give an example... everybody was very happy that our chairman gave us a woman [her] *as a district vice chairperson...But I find I have a support with gents other than the women however much you call them. What's the problem, why can't we utilise this seat as women... someone just hates you; whether its nature, I fail to understand. That is why I say that some men if they see an element in*

somebody they can give support where as the lady's can pull you down". Councillor Iganga district LG

Similarly, a male councillor while responding to the question regarding limitations of women for direct councillor seats, a male councillor for Bushenyi LG council stated:

"...normally... when a certain woman is contesting with a man, they tend to side with men.... I don't know why they support a man other than supporting their fellow women, may be I may say women are not all that sectarian..., they do not favour their own specie."

The findings that women do not support fellow women affirm an earlier argument encountered in the critical mass theory under chapter 3. It has a correlation with Sue Thomas study findings about women office holders in the US in which she concluded that women had a problem of working for a common goal in collectivity. She attributed this tendency to psychological effects but also speculated the effect of divisive competitiveness among women instilled by the power wielders – who are often men. This point also emerges clearly from a further comment of the latter councillor about women role-models:

"...And my other point is of the role models. Those who have been in politics, what role model have they shown? ...you find that for example the local woman is remaining persistent with the husband, but you hear the women who are role models in politics are agitating for divorce... so that one may deter women from supporting their fellow women. This could be a challenge because most of the voters are village women and there is a gap now between the village women and the elite class... and you know how women despise each other, so that may lead them to support the man whom they think can bring down that woman who is controversial in that regard"

The above view suggests additional reasons explaining why women find it hard to cooperate in political recruitment and representation. The opinion reveals that beyond the women's psychological effects, are arguments related to their interest and experiences. It indicates that women have different social classes, a fact that disputes the claim about their homogeneity as a social group as earlier demonstrated in counter arguments for representing women interests. Views related to women elites and non-elites, or modern and traditional that frequently featured in the interview responses are clear indications of women heterogeneity.

8.2 Hitches of Women on the Political Board

Most of the issues discussed above relate to factors that limit women to be recruited into political positions in large numbers. Once they are elected in politics, do these problems cease to exist or are there any new set of problems that arise?

The findings of this study reveal that women's political performance remains laden with constraints of finances for mobilization of electorates and effecting programs that would depict them as being responsive and accountable. As seen in chapter 6, financial abilities were identified as an essential tool for acquiring and maintaining the political office and as noted in the previous section the limited funding is indisputably a big challenge for women political recruitment. Even as councillors, women politicians continue to face a financial problem of responding to the needs of the electorates within big constituencies of diverse social groups. As noted from the previous chapter, their urge to politically 'deliver' and to be visible constrains them to achieve so as to be re-elected in another term of office or compels them to quit the political race in subsequent terms of office as seen in the next section.

The language problem that frequently featured under education factor for recruitment was considered as another on board political barrier. Many respondents contended that women "fear themselves" and that they could not easily contribute to political deliberations as often as men. While knowledge appeared at the forefront of this argument, we find some of the responses linking the women inactive political participation in council deliberations to limited self-expression in English. Although this problem may be linked to their levels of education, effects related to environment in which they live in (together with the domestic confinement) limit their opportunities to know and speak English language fluently.

Re-echoing the problems of multiple principal actors that support them to come to power, the respondents noted the way this is a representation challenge. The key actors that enable the women to obtain political positions ensure that women prioritize their [actors] interests. The actor's influence is depicted in Charles Mwanguhya's newspaper article of March 12, 2008 in the Online Monitor (see Inside Politics). Mwanguhya notes; "The women in Parliament and other elective positions no longer look back to the roots that brought them to the fore, they seem to exude a sense of de-javu – there is nothing more to fight for. The link between the

elite urban woman who yesterday looked to the rural struggling mother as a reason to fight and be heard has been broken" (Mwanguhya 2008). Charles Onyango Obbo, additionally, enlists key feminist revolutionaries of the early Movement system era whose voices have long-ceased to exit as a result of what he considers as "re-masiculanisation" of Ugandan politics and "feminist-counter revolution" (Onyango 2008). The potential women capable of going higher in the political hierarchy in the national – as well as the sub-national – political arenas succumbed to the normative urge of being supportive to their political husbands while others became compelled to exhibit royalty to the President (Museveni) and his male-dominated political leadership.   Among the muzzled renowned case women are former ministers Victoria Sekitoleko, Betty Bigombe and Miria Matembe, parliamentarians like Winnie Byanyima and Cecilia Ogwal; and Vice President Specioza Kazibwe.

Mwanguhya particularly observes that women movements have been politically compromised by the 'political divides' to an extent that presently the few women who steered these movements in infancy have become cynical or powerless to push the struggle forward. He argues that some women movement cadres have treated the women political emancipation not as a global movement but rather as a donation from the ruling NRM since 1986. Like Onyango, he contends that over time women political leaders have lost their vision to fight for interests of their fellow women and their arguments seem to some extent coherent with Goetz's arguments relating to effects of Uganda patronage politics as seen in chapter 1.

Effect of the political divides was noted in the Critical Mass theory as a source of women's failure to collectively work for a common goal. Mwanguhya and Onyango views therefore reveal incidences of polarization of women tokens in politics. The views affirm Crowley's argument pointing to a possible counter mobilization against women due to increase in women tokens and reiterates Sue Thomas's observation that power holders encourage competitiveness amongst women by rewarding individuals and obstructing women to act as a unified group[29]. Their concern is appreciated with a review of many legislative incidences particularly with a case of reference to the Domestic Relations Bill (DRB) that has lasted close to a decade in the legislative process. This is a law that would have resolved many women issues of family relations and property ownership but it has repeatedly bounced on and off the parliamentary agenda for a couple of years. Political analysts blame the failure to

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[29] See discussions under the Critical mass Theory in chapter 3

pass this legislation on the negativity and apathy of male MPs while others note the sabotage from some female legislators themselves.

8.3 Assessing Women Political Career Ambitions

Women political barriers as discussed above are found to have a considerable influence on women political career ambitions. The previous discussion indicates that women barriers are in their recruitment process as well as their representation meaning that the barriers traverse women's political life. This forms a basis for exploring women barriers and career ambitions so as to ascertain the actual linkage in these processes.

Prewitt theories discussed in Chapter 3 revealed a number of factors determining political recruitment. In his theories, Prewitt evidently shows a linkage between political recruitment and political careers when he regards political recruitment as "the process by which institutions fill political offices" and political career as " the pattern of movement through those offices" (Prewitt 1970:20). He thus considers political ambition as an individual aspiration underlying the movement of an incumbent into and through the political jobs.

A theory of political ambitions is well developed in the scholarly work of Joseph Schlesinger who holds that "politics thrive on the hope of preferment and drive for office"(Schlesinger 1966:1). Schlesinger considers political ambitions to be of three categories: *discrete, static* and *progressive* ambitions. With discrete ambitions, politicians choose to serve a specific term and thereafter withdraw from a public office. Static ambitions on the other hand are found with politicians who seek to make a long-run political career of a particular public office. With progressive ambitions, politicians possess desires to attain higher offices, more important than they are holding (p.10). Prewitt's recruitment theory contends with Schlesinger's nature of ambitions. He notes that during their term of office after being elected into political positions, councillors often have differing wishes in their political career. While some may wish to stay in the council, others aim at advancing to higher political offices and yet many may opt to retire voluntarily after one or two terms of service. He theorizes that these political career trends relate to the aims of councilmen who may view the council as a 'springboard' to higher office or as a 'terminus' for political careers. He also conceives the political career plans as basing on the nature of political tenancy; that is, if it is frequently replenished with new recruits or whether it is unaltered from one election to another. His

other concern of political careers relates to the availability of new political positions for extended opportunities of other aspirants with similar political ambitions. Prewitt however realizes pitfalls within intended political careers and argues thus:

> Some councilmen, eager to retire, may submit to pressures of colleagues or constituents and consent to serve yet another term. Other councilmen who wish to remain in office will find they must exit voluntarily, their bid of re-election having ended in defeat. There will be council men ambitious for higher office but frustrated in their attempts, blocked by functionaries who control nominations or eliminated by the electorate itself (Prewitt 1970:175)

The observations derived from the above argument signal the impact existing structures and selection agencies on individual ambitions and political motivations. It implies that while individuals may have positive career visions based on their own wants, abilities, aims, and wishes, their careers may be thwarted by gatekeepers and voters who control the recruitment process. The entire recruitment environment including the legal system, the electoral system the incumbent regime may be a pressure factor that work for or against the individual career decisions as reflected in subsequent analyses of women in Ugandan local politics.

8.3.1 Local Self-governance and Political Career Ambitions

The present study presented argument about local self-governance and women representation. The related arguments (seen in chapter 2) revealed that local self governance widens opportunity for women to participate in politics, provides political education, and avails to women relatively manageable constituencies that are easily accessible by women. Accessibility, less competition and more political opportunities are other arguments underlined in local self-governance favor. Yet other theses relate to the control and increased accountability on the functions that are compatible with traditional women roles are implied as being of equal importance (Phillips 1996; Bochel and Bochel 2000; Goetz and Hassim 2003).

This study relatedly revealed a number of findings linked to political ambitions of individual women councillors focusing on their own assessment of the local politics, their experiences and future plans. Career plans of female councillors were explored by asking them what they intended to do when their term of office came to an end. A range of propositions provided included whether they wished to aspire for a higher political office, vie for another term of

office in the local council, retire from politics and go private or whether they would return to their earlier professions. Responses were as below:

Table 19: Political Career Plans for Female Councillors
(N=34)*

Career plan	Number	Percentage
To aspire for higher political office	16	47.0
To vie for another term of office	9	26.5
To retire from politics and go private	7	20.6
To retire and return back to their profession	2	5.9
Total	**34**	**100**

* The total number of female interviewees was 36 out of whom 34 were councillors and 2 were technical staff as indicated in chapter 4.

As indicated in table 19 the majority of female councillors (47.0%) political ambitions of advancing in their careers by aspiring for higher offices. Over a quarter of these women (26.5%) wanted to vie for the same councillor positions while 20.6% women expressed their willingness for voluntary retirement to engage in private businesses and only 5.9% hoped to return to their former professions after their term of office. From these findings it is evident that the majority of women councillors have ambitions for higher political careers which may suggest the role of local councils acting as training grounds for higher level politicians.

a) Progressive and Static Ambitions
As theorized by Schlesinger, this study established that a big number of female councillors had progressive ambitions. The responses indicated that most of those councillors with progressive ambitions wished to aspire for MP position and these largely comprised of council executive members and those holding positions of council Speaker of Deputy Speaker. Having served in positions of political leadership, many underscored their experiences and abilities to hold such higher political positions. Other related arguments for national level representation also included interests of being at the level where national policies were made and where policies to benefit women would be initiated. Some of them however expressed the interest of contesting as MPs and district chairs only in case a new district was created for their home constituencies – as per the decentralization plan at the time

of the study. Asked reasons for her interest in the new district, one councillor from Mukono district LG argued that while she had earlier wanted to run for the higher office, her fears were that the current district was too big for her as a woman MP. Expressing financial concerns the for campaign process, she argued that it was too expensive for her to stand in such a big constituency. In a related view, one female councillor from Bushenyi district which was under review for subdivision into four districts, stated that she would vie for another term of office if the district remained one but that she would opt to contest for the district chair in case the new districts' proposal became successful.

While a great number expressed ambitions of a progressive nature it occurred that 26.5% of all interviewed women councillors indicated static ambitions of vying for another term of same office. Some argued that it was a cumbersome task to attain a higher office because it required a lot of competitive abilities and others expressed their genuine worry relating to bigger constituencies and their respective demands.

b) Regressive Political Ambitions

Of the 34 female councillors interviewed, 7 (20.6%) had intent to quit the political scene and go into private business while 2 (5.9%) hoped to return to their professions as indicated in Table 19. While their political desires of quitting politics may be considered to be discrete ambitions as in Schlesinger, I choose to refer to them as regressive ambitions. This is because the choice of these councillors to quit the political scene was not entirely due to the specified term of office as suggested by Schlesinger, but involuntary – as put in Prewitt – in a way that they may not be re-elected due to their failures in electoral accountability. There was an outcry of limited resources to effect constituency development programs and an additional problem of national political leadership interference in the local politics. A Masaka Municipality councillor who wished to retire as a result of the government dismay for instance claimed that her council roles were becoming continually difficult as electorates always demanded the promises pledged by the government (the president in particular) for which she ought to offer explanations. The concern of the councillor could be collaborated with President Museveni's communication to the Ministry of Health cited in one of the Daily monitor articles of 24th May, 2008. Under *Museveni Grills Health Ministers,* Chris Obore cited part of the president's letter as stating:

"During the last presidential campaigns, I promised the people of Uganda that the government would sort out problems of diversion of drugs from the government health facilities to private clinics…I promised the people that this would be resolve by ensuring that health workers keep only one job in government health unit because their remuneration is being increased…"

This excerpt is typical of incessant and long-standing pledges that national leaders make for the local people to which the local councillors are held responsible. As representatives, they share the blame of performance deficiencies in the program executions that are neither part of their political motives nor of the presumed constituency interests. The intent of the local councillors to quit the political scene at the point when the political offices are at increase in the ongoing decentralization process therefore can be difficult to judge as discrete ambition.

The effects of the incumbent government and the national leadership interference apart, some councillors with regressive ambitions wished to retire as a sign of political fatigue. One councillor from Iganga, in her third term of office said that she wished to retire because she was aging and that 'she had done enough' for the council. A number of other respondents however were unsure of re-winning elections in vigorous multiparty electoral competition while others seemed disillusioned with the meager and irregular council allowances when their elections cost them a lot of money and the upcoming elections may demand more expenditure.

It is certainly understandable that many of the prospecting retirees wished to indulge in private business considering that the electoral laws demands contestants holding government jobs to resign their offices before they are nominated for political offices as discussed in Chapter 2. The jobs are then filled as soon as the political contestants quit them and therefore there are no chances of returning to them. In circumstances of scarce professionals like health workers and technicians, the question of the political retiree may not be the job availability in the government institutions but rather, the frustrations with the government that call for their involuntary political retirement.

In a yet another perspective, regressive political ambitions for some councillors should be considered as a distressing tendency because the political retirees will have gained knowledge and experiences applicable in other modes of political participation. Such retirees are informed citizens who, when they rather turn back to be the represented have abilities to hold

the incumbents more responsive. Moreover as Jacob Aars and Audun Offerdal maintain, in the existence of democratic governance, there is a wide range of other fora in which such retirees may politically participate to influence political decisions. These include referenda, community initiatives, popular meetings and inquiries, citizens juries and resident surveys (Aars and Offerdal 2000:68). In Uganda, a radio talk shows, local print media, local associations and lower local councils are such avenues for political influence and indirect representativeness. Education of citizens in the practice of politics and governance is an incredible value for local self-governance as seen in chapter 2. Political ambitions therefore should not always be perceived for purposes of advancing in political positions but also for training gains of the citizens about politics.

8.4 Improvement Strategies

Realizing the lengthy account on barriers hindering women representation, and basing on the analyses of women political ambitions, this study further explored the opinions on ways to enhance women representation in local politics. The responses obtained were surprisingly common to all respondents and though differently phrased, they underscored aspects of *training and sensitization of women*; *financing* women political activities and *revising electoral law* for quotas and women constituencies.

8.4.1 Training and Sensitization

Training and sensitization were considered essential approaches for women political empowerment. Indeed, all respondents regarded this as a critical measure for women political representation. Seminars, workshops and a number of variable women-focused trainings programs were regarded as prime ways of mobilizing women into active politics. They were seen as tools for sensitizing women about their rights, and enlightening about political strategies and opportunities available. Seminars and workshops would bring together men and women to share common knowledge of political and social issues which would not only narrow the knowledge gap but also improve attitudes and beliefs that exist amongst the folk. This approach was viewed as a source of women confidence for competitive politics; a tool to improve their personality. Additionally however, other kinds of trainings proposed would be tailor-made, covering a wide range of areas like income-generating projects and diverse skills focusing on improved women financial capabilities essential for political recruitment. The

approach was conceived to be broad based and a biggest solution to women cross-sectional problems.

Supplementary arguments for sensitization and training of women into political centered on contribution of the women role-model already in politics. It was argued that these women should step-up efforts to encourage and support their fellow women to actively participate in politics and that those in higher political circles (like MPs) should assist women at the lower levels. The role-models would be very instrumental in the sensitization and mobilization as they appear exemplary.

8.4.2 Financing Women Political Activities

The study as noted identified the importance of finances in the political recruitment process. At the same time however, the study realized that women face a big blockage of family-property-male-control and to some extent stretching to their wives' personal salaries. Realizing that women were vulnerable in regard to issues of property ownership and decision making on family financial matters, respondents greatly agitated for political party financing of women political activities with a particular emphasis on women campaigns. The arguments raised pointed out further that political party financial intervention ought to put into consideration the issue of women's big constituencies. It was reiterated that as a result of big constituencies, women councillors faced a big accountability responsibility of electoral demands including associational and individual contributions.

8.4.3 Legislation Review

As a matter of fact, the point of legislation was not contestable in the raised recommendations to enhance women political competition. Among all respondents it was for instance agreed women quotas should exist on the basis that women are not yet able to compete on the same footing as men. Some ideological divergences however appeared on the size of the present women quota with the 70.4% respondents agitating for 40/50 percent women council seats while a relatively small number of all respondent (29.6%) argued for maintaining quotas at the current 33% (see Chapter 7). Quota laws aside, a further contention was on the women councillor constituencies and an agitation for the law review to ensure equal representation in the constituencies was raised. Respondents proposed equal representation of one female and one male councillor per constituency which would ultimately signify 50% representation

proposed in the women quotas. Considering that government law was rated the highest factor in political recruitment, and a recommendation for its review to iron out defects of the representation process seems a valid submission.

8.5 Conclusion: Drawing the Political Barrier-Career Linkages

Political barriers as a cause of limited women ambitions seem more or less an obvious contention. Individual factors related to property ownership and financial independence as noted earlier in the chapter appear to be big constraints to women self-selection in the monetized Ugandan politics. The structural factors of the patriarchal social setting prohibit women political ambitions and limit their political support from men. They limit their abilities, (including knowledge and experiences), political opportunities and shape their stereotypes against political activities. It is realized that even some of those women who break the "glass ceiling" and appear on the political scene are made to abandon their political careers – or at least their political motives – as a result of political pressure from male colleagues who instigate abhorrence and divisionism amongst women and enthuse pessimism towards politics. Multiparty politics and national politician interference in the local elections and programs are additional forces for local level women regressive political ambitions.

In spite of these shortfalls however, we realize that a number of women are willing to carry on higher political ambitions. Their political inspirations are noted to include their abilities and experiences gained from their past involvement in the political activity. Women also claim to be motivated by not only the status of higher level political positions that confer authority on them and power to make crucial political decisions but also the manageable size of the newly created local governments. Earlier chapters indicated the women financial gains motive for women political involvement. In some way therefore the barriers for women political participation are their career motivations (the political office drives) suggesting that they derive political ambitions from their experiences as argued in chapter 7. Indeed a review of the recommended measures to empower women suggests overturning political barriers into ambitions. The improvement proposals are coherent with the theoretical views of Lovenduski and Norris's party context that underline rhetorical strategies, positive or affirmative action and positive discrimination in favor of women as seen in chapter 3.

One other important issue that emerges in the analysis of women political career ambitions is the importance of local government role in women political career development. Since the majority of the female councillors indicated higher political office ambitions, and only a handful were interested in quitting politics, it is apt also to conclude that local governments as political institutions perpetuate women political careers. The established moderate static ambitions imply a horizontal perpetuation of the women political careers while the progressive ambitions may be viewed as vertical careers enhanced by local self-governance. The argument for horizontal career perpetuation is coherent with the views on women and local self-governance advanced in chapter 2.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSIONS: REVISITING WOMEN POLITICAL RECRUITMENT AND REPRESENTATION

9.0 Introduction

Women political inclusion world over has attracted public discourses with wide ranging arguments relating to the necessity of representing women interests, fairness in the context of equality and for utilizing women expertise. Some perspectives also hold that the presence of women in politics serves to meet democratic demands and thus is essential for legitimation of governments, accountability and responsiveness; and yet in other aspects, it is seen as a way of increasing competition for the available opportunities. The inclusion of women in the legislatures is effected through different recruitment methods and processes.

This chapter presents a summary of the entire study about women recruitment in Uganda local politics. As an aid to the reader, the chapter gives a brief overview of the study problem and methods and summarizes the study findings that correlate with the research questions. It highlights the relevance of the study in relation to the prior researches and existing theories and concludes with hints on the unanticipated findings and suggestions for future research.

9.1 The Study Problem and Methods' Overview

At the beginning of this study, I introduced the theoretical arguments for including women into politics which cover a wide range of perspectives from representation of women interests and experiences to arguments of equality legitimation, accountability and responsiveness. I noted that although the women political representation trend has been positive world over, the global parliament averages still stand at 18.4%.

The study recognised that women political representation has been widely examined in national legislatures but limited update documentation appear for local government legislatures particularly on Africa. In Uganda, this study recognised that the existing local councils literature is less comprehensive, basically directed at a few cases of the local government top leadership or at women directly-elected councillors (as in Ahikire's 2003; 2008 studies respectively), the positions in which women hardly access. As such, this study was committed to examine recruitment processes for directly-elected and quota female

representatives in the district councils as cases of higher local government councils and municipal councils as sample cases of lower local government councils. The district local government councils were also considered to represent a rural council classification while municipal councils represented urban council classifications.

Within the framework of limited literature, the study laid its base on the foundations of Goetz and Ahikire studies that are critical on the mode of women recruitment into the Uganda's political legislatures as discussed in chapter 1. Goetz and Ahikire's arguments relating to the "add-on" method for women quotas and its impact on representation have been widely re-examined in this study. The role and impact of political parties on political recruitment of women that is raised in the literature as essential for women representation has also been extensively scrutinized and a clear analysis of electoral procedures and processes has been elaborated. The study assessed the importance of female councillors as perceived by themselves, by fellow male councillors and by administrative staff that work closely with the councils.

Through a Concurrent Nested Strategy, numerical and other secondary data from archival records were obtained and interviews conducted from which I obtained opinions regarding women representation in Uganda local governments. Numerical findings basically revealed the status of women councillors in the local governments and enabled me to make comparison of the representation in the district and municipal councils. The individual perceptions and expressions on the other hand were ideal for corroborating the numerical data and the opinions obtained were correlated with the existing theories of Political Recruitment, Representation and the Critical Mass to generate a better understanding of these processes.

The scholarly theoretical stands on political recruitment and political representation provided an analytical guidance of the entire project discussion and enabled drawing a linkage in the women recruitment and representation variables. On the other hand, the historical account of women representation in Uganda and a synopsis of decentralization aims and structures offered an insight of the women political pathways and trends in the representation process. This study explored perspectives in which political representation may be understood and examined ways in which challenges of women political representation relate to their political ambitions.

Throughout the study therefore, a number of issues emerging from the studies research questions were addressed upon which the conclusions revolve. These included women comparative numerical status in urban and rural councils; the relevance of women political presence and political quotas, and the challenges of women political careers. A concise abstract of the findings of each core issue is presented in the subsequent section.

9.2 Key Study Findings and Discussions

9.2.1: Women Status in Ugandan Local Governments

One of the key objectives for this study was to establish the repute of women in the Ugandan local councils in terms of numbers with a comparison of urban (municipalities) and rural (district) local governments. The findings of the study revealed that there are no significant numerical differences among the rural and urban women councillors as elaborately discussed in chapter 5. Nationally, the secondary data obtained indicated that women representation stands at 40.2% in district/rural councils while in the municipality/urban councils women occupy 42.2% of the seats. In the studied cases, district councils comprised 39.8% female councillors while municipalities were constituted by 39.1% women. The findings that reveal a marginal urban-rural difference of 2% in the national data and 0.7% of the case local governments studied corroborate each other, suggesting that the reliability of the data collected. Although marginal differences occur in the data which could be attributed to erroneous data entries, women numbers in the local governments is established to averagely be at 41.2%.

Whereas findings on female councillors show no significant numerical divergences in urban and rural councils, the findings of women in top leadership positions varied. The female council leaders in positions of executive committees, the speaker and deputy speaker, occupied 37.1% of the district councils and 28.5% in municipalities indicating a marginal difference of 8.6%. Divergences in the number of women political leaders in the rural and urban councils were largely attributed to differences in emoluments among the leadership of these two categories of councils. It was found out that district council leaders except deputy speakers were full-time councillors and therefore drew monthly salaries while in the municipal case only the Mayor and the Deputy Mayor were full-time councillors earning a salary suggesting that financial gains is a motivating factor for contesting such positions.

The findings further revealed that nationally, only 2 women held posts of council chair – 1 for a district and another for a municipality (see table 15). In the 9 studied councils however, there was no female chairperson, 1 district had a female vice-chairperson and 2 municipalities had deputy chairpersons. The speaker positions were found to be held by women in only those councils with highest number of women leaders in the urban and rural councils – as indicated in table 7 – which in a way suggests the effect of a critical mass theory. Women were more in the post of deputy speaker. This finding confirmed the theorised hierarchical functional marginalisation advanced by Nina Cecilie Raaum as seen in the introductory chapter. The study also found significant indications of horizontal functional marginalisation with female political leaders dominating theorised "soft" sectors of gender and community development while men dominated "hard" sectors of works, roads, water, finance administration and planning. Contradictory sectors were found to be agriculture, education, sports and health as discussed in 5.2

Further, the study revealed that women had more possibilities of being elected in district councils than municipalities for the quota seats, but on contrary they were more likely to be selected for posts direct-elected councillors in the municipalities than in district councils as presented in table 15. This finding confirmed my presumptions for rural urban comparisons that assumed a higher possibility of women winning in urban council seats on the basis of their own abilities and dominating rural councils because of their social ties as suggested in chapter 4. The finding also corroborates with analysis of actors that aid women recruitment where close relatives were highly regarded as seen in chapter 6, since social ties in the rural councils may be stronger than in urban areas. Nevertheless despite the rural-urban comparisons, women were found to be very few in directly-elected posts occupying only 2.9% of all councils. Such a finding not only affirm the prevalence of constraints for contesting a direct-election vote as established in Josephine Ahikire studies, but further implies a definite necessity for women quotas seen in chapter 7. The women political recruitment problem is also noted in the comparisons of the nominated-elected women councillors where an average ratio of contestants per post was found to be 2:1 as noted in chapter 5. This finding suggests the intensity of women political barriers and their effect on political careers as discussed in chapter 8.

9.2.2 Determinants for Political Recruitment – Which Women and Why?

The study examined a number of factors influencing women recruitment. According to the rating by the respondents, it was established that government laws superseded all factors in the selection of women as councillors and as a second factorial influence for council leaders. The findings of this study revealed that government laws were very significant in the recruitment of female councillors in the same way as women financial abilities. Personality, knowledge and political party respectively, featured as other important factors in the female councillor recruitment process. On the other hand, women political leaders were found to be selected essentially basing on their places of origin (territorial constituencies) while the legal factor appeared as a second consideration in their recruitment. Education, personality and political party respectively, were other important factors for the council leaders' selection. The findings further indicated that political party, previous experience and marital status were considered to be factors of equal importance in the recruitment process for women as councillors and as political leaders. Of these equally-rated factors for councillors and council leaders, only political party featured among the highly rated category. The assessment made on the actors that influence the recruitment process of female councillors on the other hand revealed that relatives, local associations, and national politicians were most influential respectively.

The high rating of laws could be largely attributed in the Uganda women quotas which provide for at least one-third of the councillors and council Secretaries. While it emerges clearly in the data and discussions that laws are pre-eminent in female councillor political recruitment, it is evident that laws provide a basic requirement for candidature as advanced in Prewitt's and Norris's recruitment theory. The significance of the legal factor therefore may not be done away with when considering the supply and demand for political candidates. The importance attached to financial status on the other hand suggested that the selected women were those not only able to meet enormous candidature expenses but also who could demonstrate electoral accountability by responding to the interests of represented. This meant that such female councillors ought to have a substantial source of income to sustain their political careers.

Personality of course is a necessary factor for interpersonal relations required by the representatives and the represented. Considering personality in the perspective of being a "down-to-earth" person has a big implication on the level of accountability and

responsiveness of the representatives. Education and knowledge is indisputably necessary for women for legislative purposes in regard to political decisions-making. This argument holds due to the likelihood of elites to take an upper hand in political decisions implying that it may be their interests – and those for whom they represent – that may dominate council debates. The political party factor may not be underrated either considering that many women were said to be easily nominated and supported if they belonged to the majority party. This implies that the position and role of the party as a selection agency must be well-calculated by women contestants. It suggests that in the current circumstances when multiparty politics is not yet well internalised especially in the rural Uganda, women have limited option for party choice other than the majority party.

Analysis of key factors influencing the recruitment of female councillors and council leaders indicate that the process involves many factors. These factors may be combined during the selection process in each respective political category. The entire discussion however, neither suggested a correlation of the importance in which the factors affect councillors and council leaders. The findings therefore imply that each of these factors and actors may distinctively influence the recruitment process.

9.2.3 Why Represent and How Many?

Throughout this study, claims about the importance of women representation were replicated with an emphasis on theoretical views regarding women interests, fairness and justice, accountability and responsiveness, legitimacy and women experiences. Out of these claims, the discussions emerged with two distinguishable arguments: 1) representation as a response to women interests; and 2) representation as a democratic value.

Regarding the first argument, the study findings acknowledged existence of some interests that concern women more than men. Some of the women issues considered were; budgeting for council women programs, initiating family and children policies, attending to common health problems like malaria, and 'women affairs' (as some respondents maintained). These were noted to be traversing women experiences at a local level and it was claimed that men were not likely to prioritize such issues. For democratic arguments, women representation was viewed as a human and women right, while others contended that women are half of the population and so deserve an equal share of the available political opportunities. Additional

claims yet centered on the contributions women make on the economy and the support they have been giving political regimes – especially the previous Movement system. They therefore considered it fair to be included in the decision making for their meritorious abilities, as recognition (reward) and also as a right. Many though, also looked as women as being more accountable, transparent and hardworking suggesting that their inclusion was likely to improve the councils' responsiveness, making them seem more democratic.

The question relating to 'how many' concern opinions held on the current women quotas. In this study, there was a unanimous support of women quotas and a big agitation of increasing the quotas from the legislated 33% to 40% or 50%. Claims for the increase based largely on the recognition of women enduring challenges regarding socio-economic barriers and big constituencies. The two challenges seemed to be a polarization strategy of men – as suggested in Kanter's Critical Mass theory – aimed at trimming women political ambitions. The underlying argument for the increase generally pointed to the necessity for gender equality in the political representation.

Overall views on women presence in politics and the question of the women numbers however generated a number of controversies. While women's own experiences and interests sounded convincing claims for their representation, other varying arguments seemed to contravene such a stand. It was for instance noted that women were neither a coherent social category to have all-embracing interests nor could they qualify to be categorized as an interest group. Since women group is not "all-exclusive" as typical interests groups, their interests could to a great extent be considered as public interest because some of them are found to be overlapping with men's interests. This argument holds if we consider the opinions on women interests that underlined issues of family, children, and health policies. These are issues that could be regarded as a common good and are not of exclusive nature to be claimed by women. It is possible that women's experiences may enable prioritization of such policy issues when women are politically present. There is no guarantee however that this assumption holds in the event where women representatives have to demonstrate electoral accountability. This brings me to the second controversy on the women interest, the issue of constituency.

The women's constituency was found to be a great source of controversy for women representation. The constituency was not only too big to challenge the abilities of women

representation but also being a geographical location, was found to consist of cross-sectional identities with multiple interests. Additionally, the study indicated the intervening non-territorial interests from national politicians, political parties, relatives and local associations and other stakeholders (the critical actors). In non-geographical understanding therefore, the women constituency is as amorphous as the one for the male counterparts. It is crucial to note that the territorial constituency and the extra-territorial actors play a big role in the recruitment – or authorization – of women representatives. The latter therefore have to ensure that they are electorally accountable to all if they are to realize their progressive or static political ambitions. Considering that women are part of these constituencies and actors, the isolation of their interests remains a challenge for the female representatives.

The argument about women quotas also does not go uncontested however much support it is found to have in the Ugandan local politics. Considering that women are found to be currently occupying an average of 41% municipal and district councils when the legislated quota is 33%, there is a likelihood that a number of female councillors may supersede that of men if the quotas are increased to 40% or 50% as agitated. As a possible threat to men's dominant position therefore, increasing quotas further may heighten the level of polarization of women representatives, with men counter mobilizing against women as theorized in the Critical Mass theory. This may explain the de-javu sense of some women politicians noted in Mwanguhya under the discussion on women hitches on the political board.

As a whole, the general view of representation in terms of women presence and numbers reveal that a key argument centers on democratization. This is particularly so if we consider that women are claimed interests are contestable and that their agitation for increased quotas is largely on accounts for equality and fairness. This implies that women in the Ugandan local politics should largely be viewed in the context of being symbolic and descriptive representatives. Their substantiveness should be examined not in relation to women but rather to their constituencies and to identifiable critical actors.

9.2.4 Women Political Career Trends

Women political careers as advanced in the existing literature are interrupted by a number of challenges that are institutional and individual in nature. The barriers which are of cultural, economic and political nature are found to destruct women political recruitment process and

their representation as well. This study particularly established that women's domestic chores were a considerable problem while the lack of control of the chores as well as family resources aggravated the domestic constraints. Considering that a financial factor was found very significant in the recruitment and representation process, the political careers of women who limitedly controlled their own incomes and family resources could be deemed to hang in balance. The women financial problem was further exacerbated by relatively huge constituencies that overstretched their financial capabilities so as to ensure their electoral accountabilities. On contrary to this constraint however, in the earlier findings, the economic motive was established as women councillors' aspiration for political representation suggesting such a barrier may be considered as women's political ambition.

Where as the women's financial constraints and domestic chores kept them far from electoral booths, their own psychological attitudes towards politics and towards each other were equally blamed for hindering their progressive and static ambitions. Their psychological constraints were found to be heightened by women social classes who seemed to have different motives for the representation process. The interest of the ordinary women for instance were said to occasionally be at odds with political aims of the elite women, an argument that correlates with established controversies surrounding women interests. Such a conflict suggests possibilities for some women being biased against politics and thus not nursing progressive or static political ambitions. On the other hand however, women conflicts involuntary retirement of female representatives when the incumbents forecast possibilities of fellow women supporters withdrawing their mandate. In other instances however, we realise the role of multiple actors in the representation process that constrain women political roles. The national actors particularly were found to instigate political divides amongst women politicians thereby derailing them from acting for a common goal which also seemed to be a stumbling block in women's progressive and static political ambitions.

While these problems stood amidst women political careers, this study found that the majority of the female councillors wanted to aspire for higher political offices particularly as MPs while a few others had aspirations for becoming council chairs. Arguments for national level political ambitions were much common in the women holding council leadership positions on the basis of their experiences and abilities to hold such higher political positions. A moderate number also indicated static ambitions of retaining their council seats for additional term of

office. This implies that local self-governance perpetuates women political career ambitions. The established moderate static ambitions imply a horizontal perpetuation of women political careers while the progressive ambitions may be viewed as vertical careers enhanced by local self-governance. For some women whose ambitions were directed to serving in subdivided smaller councils, suggested affordability, accessibility, manageability and increased political opportunities for women in local governments as held by Patricia Hollis. Such arguments are also coherent with the possibility of women to manage family, work and political life as Catherine Bochel and Hugh Bochel, and Ann Phillips maintain (see chapter 2).

The overall view of this analysis however is that much of women political motives are derived from their political barriers.

9.3 Implications of the study

This study that examined women political recruitment process their significance in the local government legislatures revealed a number of issues. The findings unveiled a range of implications on the existing literature and theory but also depicted some emerging issues concerning the gendering of political institutions.

9.3.1 Relevance to Existing Studies

This study, confirms a substantial linkage between political recruitment and representation. In as far as the findings indicate the way recruitment affects representation reveal, the study affirms the previous studies' claims concerning women and political patronage in Uganda. The findings that indicate influence of relatives, local association and national politicians as being significant imply that female political representatives in the local councils need to cater for the interests of these actors if they are to save their political careers.

On the contrary however, this study departs from the conclusions of earlier studies relating to women political ineffectiveness. As seen in Chapter 1, the conclusion about women political ineffectiveness in Uganda is considered to be emanating basically from two factors: the add-on method of political recruitment, relating to women quotas; and the absence of partisan politics which my earlier discussions refuted. The studies however additionally hint on effect of the size of women constituencies. In the first instance, I consider that such a conclusion about women "political ineffectiveness" as presented in Ahikire and Goetz are simplistic because of the method used to analyse women political performance. Their approach – as in

many women and politics studies – tend to be inclined towards representing women interests where as women representatives are found to be accountable for a wide range of interests and could perhaps be excelling on interests of other principal actors. While the studies take note of the women constituencies' effect, their views are limited to the size not the composition of such constituencies. This study affirms the effect of the constituency size but in addition recognizes the multiplicity of the electorates in such geographical constituencies that pose challenges of non-territorial interests.

As noted in the theoretical review, a process of representation in democratic governance signifies the activity that the authorized representatives by the represented execute accountably. The ambiguity that analyses on representation meet, seem to be less is in the definition of the represented than the representatives or in the real act of representation. In this study for instance women were found to represent interests – or to "act for" – those who have power to hold them electorally accountable including their political parties, local associations, relatives, and national politicians. The interests of women happen to be catered under (or submerged by) these actors that are influential in the recruitment process. Assessing women political effectiveness on the basis of representing women interests therefore is an approach that may be considered inappropriate in this context.

The previous empirical studies criticism on the women quotas as largely a "vote bank" and for women political inclusion as a legitimation of the regime is also found to underestimate the significance of such representatives in other respects as established in this study. Legitimization which was affirmed by this study as existing in Uganda local government councils is one underlined value among the arguments for women representation in the existing theories. It is a component of representation as a virtue for democracy. Moreover, women were found to provide a voting pool but also an eligible pool from which councillors are selected. Therefore, referring to them as a vote bank seems to be an underestimation of their political role and individual political ambitions. Although higher women quotas instigated a fear of men's marginalization, according to this study they are of considerable significance and as justice in as far as women numbers in the population and their support for the government are concerned.

These arguments however do not totally dispel claims of women political ineffectiveness. As noted in the preceding discussions, female councillors encounter vast challenges while in office, including limited finances, and bigger constituencies, multiple actors, cultural biases and interference from higher level political leaders. Such political interference may generate women "political divides" and the de-javu tendencies corroborates the possible backlashes of increased women representatives as seen in the critical mass theory. The female councillor contributions to political debates are further curtailed by their knowledge and confidence in English as official language for council business due to their levels of education and daily life environment. The conclusions drawn therefore are that female councillors in Uganda local councils may be ineffective not because of mode of selection that leads to political patronage, but largely because of institutional set-up that limits their political abilities; and due to excessive territorial and extraterritorial interests.

9.3.2 Theoretical Implications of the Study

a) On Political Recruitment
This study depicted a number of implications to the existing theory discussed in Chapter 3. First, it revealed that political leaders may be a combination of several Susanne Keller's leadership selection categories as suggested in Prewitt's view. The study established that Ugandan local government female councillors are a combination of elected and appointed politicians who possess elements of Purchase of Office. It indicated that through the recruitment process, female councillors are *elected* into the council, many of whom obtaining positions through heavy campaign contributions to the voters, or by buying-off political challengers from the campaign process. In yet a further political selection from the elected councillors, the *appointment* mode of selection applies in which much fewer council leaders are obtained. The prevalence of these three forms of leadership selection in the Ugandan case not only signify the impracticality of delineating political leadership categories but also reveals that political recruitment is a function of diverse factors that applies in a concurrent or sequential manner. As such, the more often theorized types of political leaders seem to be only ideal as their characteristic transverses a number of other leadership categories.

This argument becomes relevant in regard to the female political representatives. The findings and subsequent discussions suggest that women are a cross-section of social categories and

are not far different from other representatives. The fact that they possess additional experiences in the social matters thus ought to be a justification for political quotas so as to minimize their marginalization but not to suggest that are "women representatives" in the practical sense of representing women issues. The seeming misunderstanding of the nature of female political representatives suggest the unreliability of such conclusions regarding them as "not acting for women" and therefore "not effective" in their political roles as underlined in the reviewed empirical studies.

Relatedly, the study analyses established close interlinkages in the institutional and individual variables for the legislative recruitment process. They indicate that not only the theorized institutional and individual factors influence the recruitment of councillors but also that they influence each other. From Norris's model, we realize that individual factors are embedded within the institutional factors. We note the overall significance of the legal, electoral and party systems which comprise the political system. Particularly we recognize the way the party system and structures influence individual aspirations, voter choice and gatekeepers' decisions. Similarly in Prewitt's theory, we also note the way the legal system (or the Legal Code) regulates individual ambitions, while at the same time empowering and constraining the roles of the recruitment agencies and criteria. This observation suggests that the legal system takes an upper hand in the political recruitment process since its importance is underlined in both theories. The significance of the legal system is further implied in the argument that it regulates other agencies such as party structures and procedures that are instrumental in the recruitment process. Indeed, the significance of the laws is incontestable according to the findings of this study where it appears to rank highly amongst factors for female councillors recruitment.

The pre-eminence of laws in the recruitment process over other factors however may attract less emphasis if we consider the influence that individuals and selection agencies have on them. Individual attributes and attitudes for political recruitment may work independent of the laws or instead transform the laws that regulate the recruitment process to suit their wishes. We note for instance that in spite of women quotas in Uganda that guarantees many political posts, averagely two candidates contest per available political opportunity. Similarly, in this study we also realized that the wealthy women who easily meet legal financial requirements detest contesting for political positions. These views certainly contradict Prewitt's theory that presumes social status as a prerequisite for political recruitment. Moreover, as already

mentioned, recruitment structures and procedures are defined by individuals that work with and in them implying that the individuals influence the nature of the legal system. Therefore instead of the theorizing a three level recruitment model as suggested in Norris, we could presume separate individual boxes with interlinkages. This thinking could also apply to Prewitt's Chinese Box model where, with the exception of the outermost box of the population, the political leaders (governors) can be selected from any of the theorized boxes independent of others. This study's other contestation of the theorized recruitment models' nomenclature is in realization that not every recruitment process involves candidacy and elections since such variant modes like appointment and purchase of office established.

b) About Political Representation

On the concept of representation, the study revealed that there is no distinction between the theorized categories of representatives. The critical analysis of all the categories indicated that in representative democracy, all representatives are authorized to act accountably; that they reflect the characteristics of the represented; and that they are never tokens but rather evoke emotions of the represented and the non-represented at all times. This means that classifying representatives as descriptive, symbolic and substantive, or considering them to be mere authorized and accountable individuals as found in Pitkin theory is inappropriate. The findings of this study indicating that they female councillors "act for" and "stand for" women is a justifiable reason to support this conclusion.

The study further established that what women represent is a function of their recruitment process and their numerical presence in political arenas. As molded in figure VI, which women get selected and what they represent is found to be highly dependent on the significant factors and actors in the recruitment process and on the numbers recruited. It is established that the more the numbers of women recruited into the legislatures, the higher the likelihood to respond to the interests of those holding them accountable. The model affirms that women representatives' nature and roles may be influenced by their numbers but in other instances they may be directly influenced by their personal factors and the institutions of considerable paramount in their recruitment process.

9.3.3 Emerging Issues and Suggestions for Future Research

This study selected a sample comprising of men and women councillors as well as technical officers from the urban/municipal and rural/district councils. The assumption of such a sample was that men would perhaps hold distinctive opinions about women and that there would be distinguishable aspects in the municipal and district councils. The study findings however revealed no significant aspects differentiating gender or professional responses. Absence of urban-rural council considerable variations also emerged as a critical finding of this research. Such findings suggested a necessity for a meticulous assessment of institutional effect, particularly the legal factor in the process of political recruitment and representation. The significance of legal parameters in this study not only implies its control of the movement of representatives into and out of political office as Prewitt suggests but the regulation it sets on other recruitment agencies and criteria, as well the existing cultural stereotypes.

Although women in Uganda local politics have increased considerably to over 40%, this study confirmed the prevalence of both vertical and horizontal marginalization of women in local legislatures. Traces of hierarchical marginalization were found to persist in all positions of council leadership but most especially in the two key posts of the council Chair and Speaker. Findings of gender distribution across sectors also affirmed existence of horizontal functional marginalization corresponding with theoretical claims of "hard-soft" sector divides except in the areas of Agriculture, education and health. Possible explanations for women being many in Agriculture sectors were found to relate to their traditional roles. The study however left the question of men's domination of education and health "soft" sectors in balance for future research. A gender distribution overlaps of such sectors suggest a redefinition of "soft" and "hard" sector classifications.

The far reaching effect of commercialized politics also revealed new findings that related to rural-urban councils women representation not anticipated in this study. This study accordingly established that wealth is not a prerequisite for political recruitment as theorized in Prewitt's Social Basis of leadership selection. Rather than being means for enabling women to access political positions, wealth is considered as an end in the representation process. The findings indicated that women's political self-selection was partly motivated by the council emoluments which suggests representation of self-interests. This view demonstrated a new perspective in which theorized factors for recruitment may present.

In a final observation, the study provides an understanding of the "politics of presence" at the local level through analyses of legislative recruitment and opinions of what is represented. It diverges from previous studies that adopted legislative behaviour analysis approach predominantly at the national level. While this study may not have exhaustively discussed issues of political recruitment and representation, it provides a ground for similar empirical researches and an alternative approach for related future studies.

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APPENDIX 1

Questions for women councilors and committee chairs/members

1) Are you a member or chairperson of any council committee?
  ☐Yes
  ☐ No
(State the position if a committee member)

2) In your own opinion, how important is it to have women in:

a) the local councils *(State why, in either case)*

☐ Very important ☐ Somewhat important ☐ Important, ☐ Of little importance
☐ Not important,

b) Council committees? *(State why, in either case)*
☐ Very important ☐ Somewhat important ☐ Important, ☐ Of little importance
☐ Not important,

3) a) What were your principal motives of becoming a woman councilor of this council?

  b) Do you have any wish to take on a higher political position? *(say becoming a district chairperson or a parliamentarian? Why)*

4) What kind of issues do you find more of your interest in your council deliberations?
 (those issues you are involved in and those you would like to be involved in)

5) There are many reasons some women who stood for councillorship in the 2006 elections did not succeed. In your own view, what could be the main reasons?

6) How would you rate the overall importance of the following factors concerning the selection of women councilors?

	Very Important	Important	Less important	Not important
Education				
Previous Experience				
Political Party				
Religion				
Regional Balance				
Financial Abilities				
Personality				
Marital Status				
Government Laws				
Knowledge				

b) Could there be any other factors than those mentioned above?

7) How would you rate the overall importance of the following on the selection of women to council committees?

	Very Important	Important	Less important	Not important
Education				
Previous Exprience				
Relevant knowledge				
Political Party				
Religion				
Regional Balance				
Financial Abilities				
Personality				
Marital Status				
Government Laws				

b) Any other factors not mentioned amongst the above that may be influencing selection of women into council committees?

8) Women have always been known to be few in politics. What could be some of the reasons that limit women involvement in political matters?

9 a) As a candidate in your last election, to what extent did you have support of the following persons or groups of people?

	Great extent	Some Extent	Very Small Extent	No at all
Local associations				
Your party				
Your predecessor				
Local Business People				
The church				
National politicians				
Local media				
Close Relatives				

*(Specify the role of each of the above in the selection process***)**

b) Could there be any other source of your support not mentioned among the above?

10) Would you propose that the current women percentage in the local councils be:
(a) Increased (b) Decreased (c) Maintained the way they are

a) *In case of (a) or (b),to how many*
b) *Why, in either case a), or b), or c).*
c) *In case of (a) in which ways can women numbers be increased?*

11) Would you propose that the number of women on the council committees be:

(a) Increased (b) Decreased (c) Maintained the way they are

a) *In case of (a) or (b), how many*
b) *Why, in either case a), or b), or c).*
c) *In case of (a) in which ways can women numbers be increased?*

12) With regard to women election into local councils, would you say that multiparty system is:

☐ **good** ☐ **bad** ☐ **neutral**

(State why, in each case)

13) How are women candidates nominated/selected in your political party?
(Specify the role of ambitions, voters, gatekeepers, resources)

b) In which way is this process *good* or *not good* for women?

14) As a woman councilor, do you think women have more or less chances for being elected in an *urban or rural* council? Why?

15) In homes, there are a lot of responsibilities. Considering families where there are married couples, how are these responsibilities shared among husband and wife?
(Establish the control of family property including land, cattle or any other assets of the family **-** *Give source of authority – law or custom)*

16) What could be key measures that may enhance women competition for political opportunities in local councils?

17) Which of the following are common ways which you normally get public information?
☐**Newspapers**
☐**Radio**
☐**From colleagues**
☐**Books**
☐**Church**
☐**other ways** *(could be specified)*

In conclusion, would you please briefly provide a little more details about your self:

18) Terms of office as a councilor before ………………….

19) Terms of office as a member of committee to-date ………………

20) Qualification
☐PLE
☐ O' level
☐ A' level
☐ Diploma
☐ Degree and above
21) Marital Status
☐Single
☐ Married
☐ Others………… …

22) Previous employment

☐ Councilor

☐ Civil servant

☐ Business

☐ Parastatal or NGO employee

☐ Housewife

23) Average monthly payment/income in the previous employment

☐ Below 150,000=

☐ 150000 - 300,000=

☐ 310,000- 600,000=

☐ 610,000- 900,000=

☐ Above 900,000=

24) Average monthly payment/income by the council/government (Including monthly facilitation/constituency development fund)

☐ Below 150,000=

☐ 150000 - 300,000=

☐310,000- 600,000=

☐ 610,000- 900,000=

☐ Above 900,000=

25) Political affiliation

☐ Movement

☐ Other party member (Specify the party)……………

☐ Independent

26) At the end of the present term of office, what are you planning to do?

☐ To aspire for higher political office

☐ To vie for another term of office in the local council

☐ To retire from politics and go private

☐ To return back to my profession

Local Government…………………………..

APPENDIX 2

Questions for bureaucrats / technical staff

1 a) Women representation in political legislatures is done for a purpose. What do you think are some of the key reasons why we should have women councilors within the local councils?

2) In your own opinion, how important is it to have women in:

a) the local councils *(State why, in either case)*

☐ Very important ☐ Somewhat important ☐ Important, ☐ Of little importance
☐ Not important,

b) Council committees? *(State why, in either case)*
☐ Very important ☐ Somewhat important ☐ Important, ☐ Of little importance
☐ Not important,

3) Would you propose that the current women percentage in the local councils be:

> **a) Increased b) Decreased c) Maintained the way they are**

a) In case of (a) or (b), to how many
b) Why, in either case a), or b), or c).
c) In case of (a) in which ways can women numbers be increased?

4) From your personal experience of local government politics, how would you rate factors influencing selection of women as councilors *(Give reasons for the extreme scales)*

	Very Important	Important	Less important	Not important
Education				
Previous Experience				
Relevant knowledge				
Political Party				
Religion				
Regional Balance				
Financial Abilities				
Personality				
Marital Status				
Government Laws				

b) Any other reasons than those given above?

5) How would you rate factors influencing selection of women to executive council committees or positions *(Reasons for extreme scales)*

	Very Important	Important	Less important	Not important
Education				
Previous Experience				
Relevant Knowledge				
Political Party				
Religion				
Regional Balance				
Financial Abilities				
Personality				
Marital Status				
Government Laws				

b) Any other reasons than the above?

6) To what extent do the following persons or groups of people enable women councilors to win elections?

	Great extent	Some Extent	Very Small Extent	No at all
Local associations				
Your party				
Your predecessor				
Local Business People				
The church				
National politicians				
Local media				
Close Relatives				

b) Any other important source women political support?

7) Women have always been known to be few in politics. What could be some of the reasons that limit women involvement in political matters?

8) Of the Urban or rural local councils, which one do you think is more favorable for women politicians? *(Give reasons for the argument)*

9) With regard to women political selection in the current local council system, would you say that multiparty system is:

⬜ **good** ⬜ **bad** ⬜ **neutral**

(State why, in each case)

Sex ………..

Local Government…………………………….