

Critical Mass Representation in Uganda

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Dedication

For the mothers of Africa, your hard work and dedication to ensuring a better future for your children is appreciated more than words can express.

For the daughters of Africa, a prosperous Africa lays in our hands and its time to take up the mantle.

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I am deeply indebted to the following people and organizations: my mother whose unfailing confidence in my ability and constant support has always made me strive for greatness; my faculty mentors Dr. Jennifer Gandhi and Dr. Sidney Kasfir, who both always made the time to meet with me and advise me during the initial proposal drafting. The *Institute for Developing Nations* and the *Center for International Programs Abroad*, which runs the IDN-CIPA scholars program that allows undergraduate students to pursue independent research; my study abroad advisor, Kenya Casey, who always provides a ready ear when I need it; the staff at SIT-Uganda who helped me establish my primary contacts; my academic advisor, David Mpiima, who guided me through the research process; Ester Namukasa who helped me navigate the Ugandan Parliament; the staff at CEWIGO who took me in and helped me establish important contacts; the staff of UWOPA who connected me with female parliamentarians; and all those who gave me gave me much needed direction when I lost my way.

Abstract

It is generally accepted that most societies of the world are patriarchal and as a result women's participation in politics has historically been minute. To correct this fault, proponents of critical mass representation advocate for explicit quota systems which create special seats for women, reserve spots for women or mandate the inclusion of women on national party lists. Critical mass is advocated with the expectation that female Members of Parliament (MPs) will enhance women's rights due to their shared gender. However, little is known about the actual contribution of female MPs to the enhancement of women's rights in the countries where critical mass has been applied. Recognizing the importance of this missing knowledge to the on-going debate; the following research seeks to examine the effects of critical mass representation in developing countries through an evaluation of the contribution of female MPs to improved land rights for women in Uganda.

Since the 6th parliament (1996 – 2001) women in Uganda have been represented widely in the Ugandan parliament as the direct result of an affirmative action policy for women. In 2006 their percentage in parliament reached 33.2%, which means that women in Uganda now have a critical mass of at least 30% women in their state legislature. Since the implementation of affirmative action in Uganda the political environment for women has improved and the environment is viewed as being conducive to female participation. Popular reasons for women joining politics in Uganda were: the affirmative action policy, a social responsibility/awareness and community pressure. In the past, female parliamentarians have successfully lobbied for women's improved land rights through networking with civil society organizations (CSOs) and networking with each other through the Uganda Women Parliamentary Association (UWOPA); and in the 1998 Land Act the government passed a clause requiring spousal consent for the sell or mortgage of family land. However, despite their success women in Uganda's parliament still face numerous challenges, such as: patriarchal prejudice, inadequate governmental support and the constriction of the political space due to the re-establishment of multi-party democracy.

This research was non-experimental and qualitative. The researcher relied on the following methods to gather data: observation, unstructured interviews with the study population and questionnaires. Through observation the researcher was able to examine the working relationship between women in parliament and civil society organizations. Unstructured interviews were beneficial to this research because they gave the researcher flexibility in all interactions with key informants. Questionnaires were necessary to capture the opinions of those key informants who were not available for interviews.

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1.0 Introduction

In recent years international organizations, such as the Women's Environment and Development Organization (WEDO), have vociferously advocated the implementation of quotas that ensure critical mass representation for women in state legislatures. Critical mass theory dates back to the 1970s and contends that the interests of historically disenfranchised groups in society cannot be effectively promoted until a critical mass of approximately 30% is attained for that group. In political science, critical mass theory is predicated upon the assumption that female legislatures will guard the interest of women and improve women's quality of life because of their shared gender.

The critics of critical mass have been quick to point to the fact that "women" is not an all inclusive grouping, since women can be and are divided along various social cleavages like: rural/urban, wealthy/non-wealthy, ethnicity, religion and educational background. According to critics these social cleavages will preclude the descriptive representation of women in national legislatures from leading to automatic gains for the female citizenry of a state. Consequently, critics of critical mass argue for substantive representation of women in national legislatures rather than the descriptive representation that critical mass theory brings. Supporters of critical mass representation, on the other hand, contend that critical mass representation is the best method of improving the livelihoods of women and ensuring that women are not left behind as their countries develop. Their stance is based upon the fact that research has consistently demonstrated that an increase in one woman's socio-economic capacity has long reaching implications for her family and community, since she is more likely than her male counterpart to use her newly acquired knowledge and wealth for social goods such as education or health. (Amartya Sen 2000: 189 – 203) The critics and supporters of critical mass representation hold differing viewpoints on the best method of ensuring women's rights and increased participation in politics. Despite their difference in methodology both groups agree that governments will only begin to address women's issues when national legislatures become more gender-balanced.

The literature on critical mass is theoretical and so little is known about how critical mass groups attain and utilize political influence. Likewise, the literature is silent on the actual contribution of female MPs to the enhancement of women's rights in the countries where critical mass theory has been applied. Recognizing the importance of this missing knowledge to the on-going debate; the following research seeks to examine the effects of critical mass representation in Uganda by examining the contribution of female MPs to improved land rights for women in Uganda.

The research was conducted for six weeks in the capital city of Kampala, Uganda and the researcher was affiliated with a local women's organization *The Centre for Women in Governance* (CEWIGO). The primary objective of this research was to examine the effects of critical mass representation in developing countries, through an evaluation of the contribution of female MPs to improved land rights for women in Uganda. Secondary objectives were: to investigate women's motivation(s) for joining politics in Uganda; to explore the contribution of female MPs to the land rights debate; and to assess the public's opinion on the contribution of female MPs to the land rights debate

2.0 Background

2.1 Statistics on Critical Mass Representation

As of 2003, the percentage of women in state legislatures¹ stood at an average of 14% worldwide - which constitutes an increase of 1% since 1995. However, the worldwide average obscures the significant difference in regional averages. As of 2003 the regional percentages of women in state legislatures were: 39.7% Nordic countries, 18.4% Americas, 15.5% Europe (excluding the Nordic countries), 15.5% Asia, 14.9% sub-Saharan Africa, 12.1% Pacific and 6.0% Arab states (Drude Dahlerup 2003: 1).

2.2 Reason for Quotas

The motivation for the adoption of quotas for female representation by countries around the world is often attributed to: women mobilizing, the strategic benefits to male elites (e.g. political support), international notions of equity and representation and the diffusion of political norms/ideas (Julie Ballington 2004: 75 - 76). Indeed, at the "1995 World Conference on Women, 189 governments committed to 'ensure women's equal access to and full participation in power structures and decision making'" (www.capwip.org/readingroom/5050sourcekit.pdf). Since 1995, there has been an increase in the number of national legislatures [that] have amended constitutions or electoral codes to mandate ... [an] increase" in women's political representation and participation (Mona Lena Krook 2008: 345). Proponents of critical mass representation cite the following arguments for the implementation quotas for female representation: women represent half the population and have the right to half the seats (*the justice argument*); women have different experiences, biologically or socially constructed, that ought to be represented (*the experience argument*); women and men have partly conflicting interests and thus men cannot represent women (*the interest group argument*) and the importance of women politicians as *role models* that may pave the way for other women (Dahlerup 2002: 4).

¹ State legislatures are national parliaments or the lower house of bi-cameral legislatures.

2.3 Critical Mass in Africa

While proponents of critical mass representation agree that quotas are necessary to increase women's political representation in governments; they leave critical mass representation open to interpretation by state leaders with the result that there are three major methods of implementing critical mass: constitutional, legislative or party quota(s). Due to active campaigning for women's political representation, the agency of women themselves and the adaptable terms of critical mass, quotas for female representation have now been adopted by more than 100 countries around the world.

The rapid increase of women's representation in African state legislatures is the result of widespread implementation of quotas within African states over the past 40 years. The implementation of quotas for female representation in African states is a product of changing international norms regarding women's participation as evident in various United Nations (UN) conventions and in relation to the legislative targets set by key African regional organizations like the African Union (AU), the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). Quotas for female representation are currently being utilized by 21 African countries and others, such as Kenya, Ghana and Nigeria, are in the process of debating the issue or adopting quota systems (Ballington 2004: 72 - 73).

Regionally Rwanda, at 48.8%, has the largest percentage of women in its state legislature. In 2003, when Uganda's parliament had 24.6% female representation in parliament, Uganda ranked sixth within the region for female representation. Uganda was preceded by: Rwanda 48.8%, Mozambique 30%, South Africa 29.8%, Seychelles 29.4% and Namibia 25% (Ballington 2004: 40). However, Uganda's current parliament has 33.2% female representation.

Critical mass representation of women in African parliaments has two distinct characteristics: the first is that "many of the countries with quotas have recently emerged from civil wars or national liberation struggles" and the second is that unlike Latin America, where governments have used legislative quotas, African countries use both legislative and party quotas (Ballington 2004: 126 - 127).

2.4 Women and Land

African countries are heavily reliant upon the agricultural sector for GDP (gross domestic production) earnings. In Uganda, it is estimated that 71% of the population is engaged in subsistence agriculture (MOLHUD 2008: 5). According to a draft paper for the Ugandan National

Land Policy, women in Uganda provide 80% to 90% of labor in subsistence production and over 70% of the labor in cash crop production (MOLHUD 2008: 16). Though women dominate the Ugandan agriculture sector their contribution is in a constant state of insecurity because most Ugandan women only have access to land through their male relatives.

The importance of women to the agricultural sector in Uganda has been duly noted by authorities concerned with eradicating extreme poverty in Uganda and promoting the country's development. However, due to the power dynamics between men and women in Ugandan society, activists for women's land rights - most of who are found in civil society - have encountered numerous obstacles to achieving gains in women's land rights; obstacles include lack of funds, ignorance of parliamentary rules and co-option by male politicians.

3.0 Objective(s)

To examine the effects of critical mass representation in developing countries through an evaluation of the contribution of female MPs to improved land rights for women in Uganda.

Specific Objectives:

1. Investigate women's motivation(s) for joining politics in Uganda
2. Explore the contribution of female MPs to the land rights debate
3. Assess the public's opinion on the contribution of female MPs to the land rights debate

4.0 Justification

Research into the contribution of female MPs to the land debate in Uganda is important because it allows the researcher to assess the impact of a critical mass representation of female MPs on women's rights in a developing country. The information obtained from this research will aid in the on-going debate on critical mass representation by highlighting the impact, if any, of female MPs towards improved land rights for women. Furthermore, this research can demonstrate a direct linkage between the number of women in national parliaments and women's quality of life.

5.0 Scope of the study

The theory of critical mass representation is found within both sociology and political science. However, this research is only concerned with the political aspect of critical mass and for that reason critical mass is defined here as: a legislative process through which state governments adopt and enforce some form of quota to ensure some minimum level of female representation in a state legislature/parliament.

Members of parliament are defined as the women and men who have constituted the Uganda national parliament since the inception of critical mass representation in 1995.

Female MPs are further defined as those women who represent constituencies or those who are the woman's representatives for a given district. Female and male MPs, who represent special interest groups like the army, the disabled, or the youth, have been excluded from this study since their unique position within Ugandan politics requires its own in-depth study.

Public opinion is defined as the viewpoint of civil society groups, such as non-governmental organizations and media organizations, which are taken to be representatives of Uganda's population.

6.0 Literature Review

6.1 Critical mass Theory

Critical mass is a nuclear physics concept that has over the past 30 years moved from its physical science origins into social sciences of sociology and political science. According to scholar Sandra Grey critical mass theory "is based upon the belief that the form of a public body will shape the processes and policies of that organization; and within political science it infers that the election of an adequate number of female politicians will result in governance [that is] more responsive to [the needs of] women" (Grey 2001:4). The first record of critical mass theory in political science literature can be found in the works of Rosabeth Moss Kanter and Drude Dahlerup. In 1976, Rosabeth Kanter conducted research into the distribution and character of power dynamics within Fortune 500 companies. Kanter's findings pointed to the significance of proportions of ethnic and gender to the power dynamics within Fortune 500 companies. The underlying principle of Kanter's work was that only in groups that are balanced or composed of majority/minority will the needs of disenfranchised groups prevail. In 1988, Drude Dahlerup "set out six changes [that should be] expected when women achieve critical mass [representation], such as changes in the social climate of political life, policy change and a change in political discourse(Grey 2001: 3-4).

It is important to note that, while critical mass theory is new to political science literature, there have been other policies designed to address the needs of disenfranchised groups within politics. One such policy is *affirmative action*, which is defined as "attempts to make progress toward substantive, rather than merely formal equality of opportunity for those groups, such as women or racial minorities, who are under-represented in society, by explicitly taking into account the defining

characteristic – sex or race- which has been the basis for discrimination” (Mullen 1998: cited by Sylvia Tamale 1999: 23). Affirmative action has been criticized by feminist scholars like Mary Segers who contends that affirmative action “at best, co-opts talented women and minorities into the ranks of business, professional and political elites without challenging the fundamental structural characteristics of the political economy”. Indeed, affirmative action policies are viewed by feminist scholars as a means of providing women with descriptive representation rather than the necessary substantive representation that can transform women’s political and social power. Critical mass representation is said to differ from affirmative action because while the latter provides, subjugated groups with the tools for competing with the dominant group on a “level playing field,” the former provides for some minimum level of representation – and seeks to transform the playing field. However, it should be noted that critical mass representation relies on affirmative action policies like quotas, to achieve its objective and as a result the distinction between the two is not significant.

As with affirmative action, critics have argued that critical mass’ call for numerical representation will not translate into substantive representation (Tamale 1999: 27) since such numerical representation will not transform the male-dominated structure of national politics. The critics have also been quick to point to the fact that “women” is not an all inclusive grouping, since women can be and are divided along various social cleavages like rural/urban, wealthy/non-wealthy, ethnicity, religion and educational background. The contention of critics is that these social cleavages will preclude the descriptive representation of women in national legislatures from leading to automatic gains for the female citizenry. However, scholars, such as Kanter and Dahlerup, claim that women’s substantive representation in any institution cannot be realized until there is a critical mass of approximately 30 percent (Tamale 1999: 27).

Proponents of critical mass, like Sandra Grey, also argue that such critiques represent a fundamental misunderstanding of “the theoretical base of critical mass literature, which proposes that differential treatment of men and women in society results in different interests for each gender and that such differences require representation in the political arena” (Grey 2001: 5). Lastly, the proponents argue that critical mass representation is the best method of improving the livelihoods of women and ensuring that women are not left behind in development. This is because research has consistently demonstrated that an increase in one woman’s socio-economic capacity has long reaching implications for her family and community, since she is more likely than her male counterpart to use her newly acquired wealth for social goods such as education or health (Sen 2000: 189 – 203). However, while the critics and advocates of critical mass representation hold differing viewpoints on

the best method of ensuring women's rights and increased participation in politics, both groups agree that governments will only begin to address women's issues when national legislatures become more gender-balanced.

6.2 Women's motivation(s) for joining politics in Uganda

Critical mass representation in Uganda is typically referred to as affirmative action. The "affirmative action policy [was] introduced in 1989 by the National Resistance Movement(NRM)", which was headed by Yoweri Museveni, and guarantees 1/3 representation for women in all political institutions. Interestingly, the introduction of quotas for female representation in the Ugandan government was not the result of an extensive campaign by women's groups operating within the country, but rather was "imposed from above for reasons having more to do with political maneuvering [by NRM officials] than a genuine commitment to women's rights" (Tamale 1999: 90 – 91). In fact, when affirmative action was implemented, the women's movement was just being resuscitated from 40 years of inactivity due to civil strife and the centralized control of civil society by the successive dictatorial regimes of Milton Obote and Idi Amin. (Tamale 1999: 90) However, other scholars, such as Josephine Ahikire, take a less pessimistic stance and argue that it was the simplicity of women's demands at a time when the NRM was just finding its feet that provided the critical opening needed to bring women into national politics (Josephine Ahikire 2007: 14). Nevertheless, it is generally agreed that by the promulgation of the 1995 constitution the Ugandan women's movement was powerful enough to ensure that women's interest were adequately taken into consideration by political elites. Women's representation in national politics was enshrined in the 1995 constitution of Uganda. Scholars, such as Aili Mari Tripp, Sylvia Tamale and Ana Marie Goetz, have pointed to the affirmative action policy as the primary motivation for women who join politics in Uganda. To alleviate the challenges women face in government, such as lack of knowledge or support for politically ambitious women (Tamale 1999: 92) the women's movement, characterized by a conglomeration of women's NGOs, continues to lobby women in government and sensitizes public officials - especially women - on the need to be gender-conscious at all times.

6.3 Contribution of female MPs to the land debate

Women in Uganda are responsible for more than 70% of the agricultural production in the country. Despite this fact, women's interests and rights to land have continuously been ignored by each successive government since the inception of colonization. For instance, prior to 1894 land tenure in Uganda was governed under customary land tenure; meaning that there were approximately 140 systems of tenure since customary land tenure varies by ethnic group and clan. Although, in general, women did not inherit or own land under customary tenure, their interests and rights to the land

were nominally protected and guarded by the clan system since “land ownership [was held] by families [and] not by individuals” (LEMU 2008A: 2).

Under British colonial rule (1894 - 1962) four major land tenure systems came into existence in Uganda: mailo, freehold, leasehold and customary tenure. Under mailo (Buganda region) and native freehold (Toro and Ankole region) the British cemented a feudal form of land ownership in Uganda, which is something that had never existed before and remains contentious to this day. Land that was not held under mailo or native freehold was automatically “declared to be crown land and all land users became...tenants of the British crown”. Under colonialism women lost much of their social and political power since the British colonial regime operated under the Victorian model of womanhood which restricted women’s actions to the private sphere. Thus, while women continued to provide most of the labor in the agricultural sector they were unable to take advantage of new tenure systems due to institutional bias. However, it should be noted that some women did benefit from the new forms of land tenure; these were the Buganda Princesses from the central region of Uganda who received mailo land plots.

By independence in 1962, land ownership in Uganda had grown into a highly contentious issue. In 1975, the government of Idi Amin attempted a large-scale land reform, which was called “‘The Land Reform Decree’ and declared all land to be public land and vested the same in the state to be held in trust for the people of Uganda and to be administered by the Uganda Land Commission.” This decree increased land insecurity in Uganda because it abolished mailo and freehold land tenure – automatically converting them to leasehold tenure without providing compensation to those affected. Moreover, the 1975 Land Reform Decree did not address women’s right to land and thereby left intact the institutional bias, which prevented women from owning and controlling land in Uganda.

It was not until the coming of the NRM government of Yoweri Museveni in 1986 that women’s issues - and women’s rights to land - were put on the frontline of Ugandan politics. During the late 1980s and 1990s Uganda underwent a process of renewal and national reorientation under the guidance of the NRM, which provided ample opportunity to women and women’s groups to aid in the formulation of national change. In the 1995 constitution, women are guaranteed the right to own property in article 26, which states “*Every person has a right to own property either individually or in association with others.*” During the 6th parliament, 1995 – 2000, female MPs fought a long and hard battle to secure women’s land rights in the 1998 Land Act. Important provisions won by the women

of this parliament were: article 28 of the land act, which states “*that a decision which denies women or children or persons with disability access to ownership, occupation or use of any land...shall be null and void*”; article 40, which states “*no person shall sell, exchange, transfer, pledge, mortgage or lease any land...from which they derive their sustenance, except with the prior written consent of the spouse*”; article 48 subsection 4, regarding membership of the Uganda land commission, which states “*at least one of the members ...shall be a woman*”; and article 58 subsection 3, in regards to the membership of the Uganda land boards of every district, which states “*at least one third of the members referred to... shall be women.*”

7.0 Research Methodology

The research was non-experimental because the researcher did not introduce any variable(s) to the study population to determine their effect; but rather examined what was present and investigated the cause. The research was qualitative because the influence of female MPs on improved land rights for women was determined through gathering the experiences, opinions and reports of various key informants.

7.1 Research design

This research utilized a cross-sectional research design that involved only one contact with the study population of both female and male MPs, civil society groups and the media.

The research took a retrospective/prospective approach to the influence of female MPs on women’s land rights since it explored the contribution of female MPs in both the past and present.

7.2 Study Population and Sampling

The 8th parliament (2006 – 2011) is composed of 301 parliamentarians representing constituencies, districts (women’s representatives) or special interests groups such as the army or the disabled. There are 100 female MPs in the 8th parliament (33.2%) and 201 male MPs (66.8%). The 6th parliament (1996 – 2001) and the 7th parliament (2001 – 2006) had 51 (17%) and 74 (24.6%) female MPs respectively.

Participants in this research were identified through purposive sampling: Current female MPs selected to participate in this study were those female MPs of the 8th parliament who are actively engaged in the activities of the Uganda Women’s Parliamentary Association (UWOPA) or those actively engaged in activism on women’s rights – and specifically women’s land rights. Current Female MPs selected were drawn from both the ruling political party (National Resistance Movement) and the main opposition party (Forum Democratic Change). Five female MPs who met

this criterion were identified by the coordinator of UWOPA and the clerk for the committee on Physical Infrastructure.

Former female MPs selected to participate in this study were those female MPs of the 6th and 7th parliament who were actively engaged in activism on women's rights - and specifically women's land rights. Two former Female MPs who met this criterion were identified by the staff at the Centre for Women in Governance (CEWIGO).

The two male MPs selected to participate in this study are male MPs of the 8th parliament who are prominent members of the governing NRM party and the main opposition party the FDC.

The three civil society organizations selected to participate in this study were those domestic non-governmental organizations actively engaged in activism for women's rights, land rights and/or capacity-building for women in politics. Information for this research was collected from the leadership of the selected organizations (e.g. executive directors, coordinators) or through attending workshops, conferences or meetings hosted by the organizations.

The two media organizations selected to participate in this study are the main daily publications of Uganda – *The New Vision* and *The Daily Monitor*.

7.3 Research Methods

The research relied on the following methods to gather data: observation, unstructured interviews with the study population and questionnaires. Through observation the researcher was able to examine the working relationship between women in parliament and civil society organizations. Unstructured interviews were beneficial to this research because they allowed the researcher flexibility in all interactions with key informants. Questionnaires were necessary to capture the opinions of those key informants who were not available for interviews. Likewise, questionnaires were beneficial because they allowed the researcher to compare the response (s) of key informants.

7.4 Research Tools

The research used the following tools: key informant interview guides for current female MPs, former female MPs, current male MPs and civil society; an interview schedule for civil society groups and the media; and observation guides for interactions with civil society and/or women in parliament. Interview/observation guides and interview schedules were beneficial to the researcher because their use ensured that all data collected directly correlated with the research objectives.

7.5 Research Obstacles

While conducting research, the researcher faced obstacles, which while not detrimental to the research aims, nevertheless impacted the quantity and diversity of key informants. The major obstacle faced was the reluctance of key informants to fill out the questionnaire. Possible reasons for their reluctance include: the length of the questionnaire, lack of time and lack of knowledge concerning the topic. Another obstacle faced was the relatively short time in which to conduct the research. Due to the busy schedule of most MPs the researcher was unable to meet with many interested MPs as they were often not in Kampala but in their constituency. The last major obstacle faced was the reluctance of male MPs to be interviewed – most likely due to the explicit topic of female MPs and their impact on land. To overcome these obstacles in the future the researcher should provide a shorter questionnaire, allow more time for research or conduct phone interviews and provide a less explicit topic title so that certain populations do not feel excluded or intimidated by the topic.

8.0 Validity and Reliability of the study

The validity of each of the research methods and tools used in this research were assured through connecting all questions and observations to one or more of the research objectives. Several research methods were necessary to cross-check the veracity of all data gathered during the research. Likewise, several methods were needed to foster the manipulation of findings according to study themes.

The reliability of the research findings were assured through the use of similar wording for the questions asked in both interviews and questionnaires. To avoid intimidation, all interviews were conducted in private locations, such as an office, so that respondents felt free to answer all questions at their discretion.

Lastly, interviews and questionnaires were conducted with multiple people of similar background, but of different political parties or organizations, so as to measure the veracity of the responses.

9.0 Ethics Statement

It was imperative that the highest ethical standards be maintained by the researcher while conducting research on critical mass representation in Uganda's national parliament. It was the duty of the researcher to ensure that all those who participated in the research were adequately compensated for their time and that the risks to their involvement in the research were minimized. To carry-out this

ethical obligation the researcher carefully outline all the benefits and risks of the research to every participant, explained that their participation was voluntary and outlined their rights as a participant – namely the right to anonymity and the right to terminate their involvement at any time. Record of the researcher’s adherence to this ethical code was maintained by a *Document of Informed Consent*. The *Document of Informed Consent* was stored in a secure location that was only accessible by the researcher and upon completion of the research was destroyed.

10.0 Findings

10.1 Women and Politics in Uganda

10.1.1 The Political Environment

Although women have been widely represented at all levels of the Ugandan political system since 1995 it would be a fallacy to presume that the political environment for women in Uganda is an easy one. The authority of female politicians in Uganda is constantly challenged by popular perceptions of tradition/culture which are steeped in patriarchy. For example, all the current female MPs interviewed discussed the challenges that female MPs face in trying to balance their role as a wife and/or mother with their political role. The challenge, according to all the current female MPs interviewed, is that in [many] Ugandan culture[s] ... a woman [is expected to] stay at home, look after the children, look after the husband and entertain the guests who may come into the home. Therefore when [women] enter politics [they] are looked at as spoilt women.” (Interview with Hon. Kiiza Winifred 15 April 2009). Given that women are still largely associated with the home in Ugandan society, female MPs are reluctant to compromise their role as wife/mother in order to partake in the totality of political life in Uganda.

“Male politicians find it easier to sit in a bar for as long as they want ... they will argue as long as they wish. But our [female] socialization is different [a] politician during the day [but] after 6 or 7 people will be surprised to see you seated at the counter and arguing with men and women about the political and social issues. And you know much of the politics is done outside of parliament: you have to socialize, take alcohol in bars or [have] meetings in churches, you have to do that. (Interview with Hon. Emma Boona 21 April 2009).

The fact that women are unwilling to commit societal and political suicide by forgoing their culturally mandated role as wife and mother has immediate implications on their ability to exercise political authority; because as Hon. Emma Boona and other current female MPs pointed out, it means that the female MPs cannot discuss the bills with their colleagues and thus lack necessary knowledge on on-going parliamentary affairs (Interviews with Hon. Mavenjina Catherine 17 April 2009; Hon. Rebecca Otengo 17 April 2009; Hon Kiiza Winifred 15 April 2009). Consequently, the contribution of female MPs during plenary session is hindered.

All the current female MPs interviewed, pointed to the fact that female MPs representing women's districts receive the same salary and constituency development fund as their male counterparts, despite the fact that they are responsible for substantially bigger constituencies². For example Hon. Mavenjina Catherine, the women's representative for Nebbi District, is responsible for the three counties of Nebbi district. There are three male representatives in her district, who have between 5 and 7 sub counties; however as the women's representative for the district, Hon. Mavenjina is responsible for a total of 19 sub counties (Interview with Hon. Mavenjina Catherine 17 April 2008). The failure of the government to provide women's representatives with adequate funding can be attributed to erroneous oversight; but one should not forget the role that cultural understanding of gender relations plays in determining the salaries for individuals and groups of individuals – namely the belief that men should earn more than their wives and have a higher social status (Interviews with Hon. Cecilia Ogwal 21 April 2009 and Hon. Rebecca Otengo 17 April 2009).

You'll find that most of the women when they join political activities, political participation [or] political leadership ... Because of the cultures we have some [people] begin thinking that the women has more status than [the husband]. And others also start teasing him and calling him to say your wife is now a wife to many men because she lives in a political environment and that's a public life (Hon. Rebecca Otengo 17 April 2009).

Despite the challenges women face, many respondents stated that the political environment in Uganda is better than in many countries because when women enter politics people will not push them down and say 'Hey look, you are a woman' (Interview with Hon. Sarah Kiyingi Kyama 22 April 2009; Hon. Emma Boona 21 April 2009; Hon. Morris Latigo 20 April 2009); and because the political environment for women is not hostile women are joining politics in ever-increasing numbers as evidenced by the percentage increase of women in each successive parliament.

10.1.2 Women's Motivations

Scholars writing on affirmative action in Uganda, such as Aili Mari Tripp, Sylvia Tamale, Ana Marie Goetz and Josephine Ahikire have undertaken considerable work in documenting the motivating factors for women in politics. Their research cites the affirmative action policy and the favorable political environment during the 1990s as the major motivating force for women joining politics in Uganda. This research reaffirms the conclusions drawn by these scholars but also points to other

² Scholars Sylvia Tamale and Josephine Ahikire have noted that the constituencies of women's representatives is ambiguous, since women's representatives do not know if they only represent women or both men and women. If women's representatives only represent women, then they face the challenge of representing constituents who are already being represented – double representation.

factors such as social conditions. In general, the motivation for female MPs joining politics were ascribed to: the affirmative action policy/political environment, social responsibility and pressure from the community.

The Affirmative Action Policy

The adoption of an affirmative action policy for women in Uganda's government was pin-pointed as the main motivating factor for women joining politics in Uganda (Interviews with Rita Lakor (22 April 2009; Hon. Dr. Nsaba Buturo 23 April 2009; and Hon. Mavunjina Catherine 17 April 2009). The affirmative action policy is viewed as having opened-up the political space for women and providing a conducive³ environment for women to exercise their natural instinct for public service (Interview with Hon. Dr. Nsaba Buturo 23 April 2009).

The NRM, to which I belong, has a very good policy of making sure that women do come up and participate in politics. And for the past 20 years Uganda has really come out as a promoter of equal opportunities. As a matter of fact, we have supported the policy of [affirmative action and] we have special seats for women and that is really a major innovation that means more women have come into politics as result (Interview with Hon. Dr. Nsaba Buturo 23 April 2009)

While the positive ramifications of the affirmative action policy cannot be denied; it should be noted that in the view of critical mass proponents or women's rights activists it is not the best because as Hon. Miria Matembe states: If women go there "just to get a job, to be employed in parliament, to also become honorable [then] when it comes to real tough issues and standing your ground they [will just] give way!" (Interview Hon. Miria Matembe 24 April 2009). Consequently, the affirmative action policy should not be the only motivating force for women in politics because it means that women's interests could still fail to be adequately represented by women in government.

Social Responsibility

Critical mass literature suggests that "women's issues' will receive greater attention in the political arena when women reach adequate levels within parliament" (Grey 2001: 10). This argument, however, presumes that the women who join politics are motivated to join because of a desire to represent women's interest at a national level. Indeed, the fact that women have a social responsibility to represent the rights of their fellow women was mentioned; but interestingly this fact was only mentioned by men (Sam Tumugankie, Uganda Land Alliance; Interviews with Hon. Dr. Nsaba Buturo 23 April 2009 and Hon. Morris Latigo 20 April 2009) and not the women themselves.

³ Women are not seen as being in direct competition with men since they have special reserved seats at the district level.

Nevertheless, female MPs did cite their social responsibility to represent those who are vulnerable such as the poor and the oppressed.

I thought I could make a contribution and be a voice to some of these people. In my area, we had problems of land allocation and our councilors had a habit of wishing to allocate land to themselves. So it would mean if you are not a councilor nobody could hear your voice. So I thought by joining active politics so that when they apply even if [they] are not a councilor their voices could be heard (Interview with Hon. Emma Boona 21 April 2009).

The women, who are aware of their social rights and social responsibility think that they must occupy [the] political space to further their agenda. And they cannot operate from the periphery and be left at the whims of men. We think they have arrived.
(Interview with Hon. Morris Latigo 20 April 2009).

The fact that female MPs highlight a concern for vulnerable groups in society is worthy of praise – and certainly is a motivation that should be held by both male and female politicians. However, the fact that female MPs do not declare a precise interest in promoting women’s rights suggests that not all women in the Ugandan parliament are there to improve the rights of women in the country, which has direct implications on the willingness of female MPs to unite and vociferously advocate for pro-women legislation.

Community Pressure

Scholar Sylvia Tamale has noted that when the affirmative action policy was first implemented some women were pressured into contesting since not all women in the country were eager to join politics; possibly because politics at that time was unknown to the majority of women and because the political environment at that time was not as friendly to women as it is today (Sylvia Tamale 1999; Interview with Hon. Sarah Kiyingi Kyama 22 April 2009). Although politics is no longer unknown to women and the environment is viewed as favorable; women are still being pushed into joining politics by community pressure. For example, Northern Uganda is just now emerging from a conflict and so it people are attempting to identify appropriate leaders – both male and female – who will best represent the needs of the people and lead them into reconstruction. Another source of pressure comes from the international community, which advocates the need for women in government, as a necessary measure that will lead to development.

For me I said I can never join politics; I've lost many of us [northern Ugandans] by the sword [and] we have not buried many of our parents because we don't know if they've died in Tanzania or whether they are alive [...] but there came a time that we were pressured that we must join and speak for the voiceless. It was a very bad time when I joined politics everybody was in the camp. We didn't have homes, we were not productive, our people were living on relief and we felt we needed a voice of a critical mass brought together so

that we are able to speak on their behalf. I found myself in politics (Interview with Hon. Rebecca Otengo 17 April 2009).

The other strong motivation arises from the strong international trend of women participation in politics. And as women of Uganda [they] feel motivated to also fight for their rights and so when they go into international forum[s] with their colleagues from elsewhere they can also assert that we in Uganda are doing well (Interview with Hon. Morris Latigo 20 April 2009).

The benefit of having female MPs selected by communities is that these women are generally chosen on the basis of their past contribution to development within their communities, and as such are more likely to be committed to grassroots development and the needs of the women and other vulnerable populations. Similarly, the fact that they received their nomination and support directly from the people they are representing means that they generally feel an obligation to deliver services to the people who supported them. However, as a motivating factor pressure can be both beneficial and detrimental to the aims of critical mass representation. This is because when politicians are selected by individuals or groups of individuals their autonomy is compromised and they may be held at ransom by those who selected them. In the case of Uganda, though women are called district women's representatives, they are voted for by both male and female constituents. This means that female MPs who are too heavily reliant upon the goodwill of their supporters are vulnerable to being captured by non-progressive elements and lose their ability to promote what is truly in the best interests of women (Tamale 1999; Ahikire 2007).

10.2 Female MPs and Women's Land Rights

10.2.1 Definition of Land Rights

The term "land rights" refers to the inalienable ability of individuals and groups of individuals to obtain, possess and utilize land at their discretion, so long as their activities, on the land, do not violate the inalienable human rights of others as outlined in numerous international human rights agreements, such as: *the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR)*, *the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)* and *the African Charter on Human and People's Rights*.

Access to land refers to the ability of a person to utilize land for economic purposes (e.g. farming). When a person only has access to land (s)he lives in a constant state of insecurity, since at any moment (s)he can be kicked off the land, and his/her economic efficiency is negatively impacted. Control, on the other hand, refers to the ability of a person to have ownership over land. When a person has ownership of land (s)he is able to exercise authority over the land (e.g. choosing the

crops, selling/renting the land) without unwarranted fear. The reality for women in African countries is that they generally only have access to and not control of land.

The term “land rights” is conceptualized as a gender neutral term and as such, assumes that all persons in society, regardless of their gender, have the same ability to secure their land rights. However, in reality this is not the case and women in Africa are routinely denied their inalienable right to land. The reason for this discrepancy lays in the difference between access and control. Consequently, land laws cannot be silent on the issue of gender since this can lead to the promulgation of land laws that are gender blind. Similarly, such land laws can result in stagnation in the advancement of women’s land rights.

10.2.2 Women’s Land Rights in Uganda: The Legal Framework

Uganda, under the NRM government, has been heralded as having one of the most gender-friendly governments in Africa (Sarah Forti 2005: 10). Indeed, it has been argued that “Ugandan Land Law is one of the best in Africa at protecting people’s rights. [Since] the law recognizes private ownership, whether by individuals, families or communities, and the State cannot take away any land, without paying full compensation (LEMU 2008G: 1). The following summarizes the relevant legal documents that discuss women’s land rights in Uganda.

The 1995 Constitution: In 1989, the government of Uganda established the Constitutional Commission (1989 – 1994), and mandated that the commission produce a “document [that] should be viewed as a Human Rights instrument conveying the rights and obligations to the ordinary Ugandan citizens” (Forti 2005:12). To carry out this mission the commission established the Constituent Assembly (CA), which was responsible for canvassing the country and recording the views of the greater Ugandan population towards the new constitution’s contents. Women played a central role in the drafting of the constitution; indeed 18% of the elected representatives to the CA were women (Tripp 2005: 5). Important provisions safeguarding women’s land rights are:

Chapter 4, Article 26:

- (1) Every person has a right to own property either individually or in association with others.

Chapter 4, Article 31:

- (1) Men and women of the age of eighteen year and above, have the right to marry and to found a family and are entitled to equal rights in marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.

- (2) Parliament shall make appropriate laws for the protection of the rights of widows and widowers to inherit the property of their deceased spouses and to enjoy parental rights over their children.

Chapter 4, Article 33

- (6) Laws, cultures, customs or traditions which are against the dignity, welfare or interest of women or which undermine their status, are prohibited by this constitution.

The successful inclusion of provisions safeguarding women's rights – and women's land rights – in the constitution can be attributed to a number of factors: active lobbying on behalf of women's organizations, the percentage of women in the CA and the general openness of the political space to social transformation. However, according to Hon. Miria Matembe, a female member of the CA, the true rationale for the success lays in the fact that female members of the CA had a common agenda – a common agenda to make a gender sensitive and responsive constitution (Interview with Hon. Miria Matembe 24 April 2009).

The 1998 Land Act: According to the provisions of the 1995 constitution, parliament was obligated to provide a comprehensive land law regulating land ownership in the country (Constitution of Uganda Chapter 15, article 237, section 9). As with the 1995 constitution, the 1998 Land Act is commonly viewed as a highly gender-sensitive document. It was during the 6th parliament (1996 – 2001), when there were 51 women in parliament (17%) that the 1998 Land Bill was tabled and subsequently passed. Important provisions safeguarding women's land rights in this act are:

Article 28

- (1) Any decision taken in respect of land held under customary tenure, whether in respect of land held individually or communally shall be in accordance with the custom, traditions and practices of the community, concerned; except that a decision which denies women or children or persons with disability access to ownership, occupation or use of any land or imposes conditions which violate articles 33,34 and 35 of the Constitution on any ownership, occupation or use of any land shall be null and void.

Article 40

- (1) No person shall – (a) sell, exchange, transfer, pledge or lease any land... (i) in the case of land on which the person ordinarily resides with his or her spouse, and from which they derive their sustenance, except with the prior written consent of the spouse...
- (7) The spouse or children of majority age, not being the owners of the land to which subsection (1) applies, may lodge a caveat on the certificate of title or certificate of customary ownership...

Article 48

- (1) The Commission shall consist of a Chairperson and not less than four other members appointed by the President with the approval of parliament.

- (4) At least one of the members referred to in subsection (1) of this section shall be a woman.

The successful inclusion of clauses providing for the protection of women’s land rights can be attributed to the extensive lobbying of MPs – specifically female MPs – by civil society groups dedicated to the improvement of women’s land rights. Indeed, under the guidance of the Uganda Land Alliance, a nation-wide research on women’s land ownership in Uganda and recommendations for the Land Act were undertaken by a coalition of women’s organizations and female MPs. (Interview with Hon. Miria Matembe: 24 April 2009; Forti 2005: 13; Miria Matembe 2002: 238). Likewise, women as a minority group in parliament united to push for the common issue of women’s land rights. As with any group there were dissenting views but the general opinion of former female MPs, the media and civil society groups is that female MPs of the 6th parliament were largely united on the issue of women’s land rights and very vocal about women’s land rights; and for that reason they were able to pass pro-women legislations.

In the past women did not compromise (e.g. Domestic Violence, property, etc.). During the 6th and 7th parliament women were very vocal, very determined [and they] had a close relationship with the public (e.g. seminars and workshops). Even the President looked at women as a force (Interview with Barbara Among, Senior Reporter, New Vision 4 May 2009).

The presence a strong coalition of female MPs committed to women’s land rights greatly contributed to the inclusion of provisions safeguarding women’s rights, despite pressure from the executive (Interviews with Hon. Sarah Kiyangi Kyama 22 April 2009; Barbara Among 4 May 2009; Rita Lakor 22 April 2009; Hon. Morris Latigo 20 April 2009). According to Barbara Among, the fact that there were “key advocates” in the 6th parliament dedicated to the issue of women’s land rights, like Hon. Miria Matembe, meant that the women in parliament were able to sustain the debate on women’s land rights by rallying behind each other. Also, because the women were seen as united on the issue their demands were not vulnerable to manipulation and the men in parliament had to pay attention (Interview with Barbara Among, Senior Reporter, New Vision 4 May 2009).

Hon. Mrs. Matembe (Women’s representative, Mbarara) on the provisions in the bill: “they fall short of specifically providing for rights of women over land”; “women form more than 50 percent of the population of Uganda and they are responsible for 85.79% of the agricultural production yet, where are their right over land?”; and I am using this general debate to lobby you hon. Members, so that when this provision comes in, please embrace it for your sisters, your daughters, for your mothers (1998 Hansard, volume 18: 4097)

Mrs. Prof. Mwaka (Woman Representative, Luwero) on the composition of land boards: "As hon. Matembe said, women make up 50 percent of the population. I say this as a reminder, the 30 percent representation of women should be respected in the Districts. On the Land Boards, on the land committee and on the Land Tribunals 20 percent of the members should be women" (1998 Hansard, volume 18: 4099);

Miss Winnie Babihuga (Woman Representative, Rukungiri) on the provisions in the bill: "...our key role should be to speak for the silent majority who have been oppressed throughout generations. I would like to say that to a bigger degree women's rights to own land have really been marginalized by virtue of our customs and cultural practices. I would therefore like the House to gently support us on this matter and bring a new Clause. A clause which will make it crystal clear and provides categorically that women have equal right to ownership of land jointly held with their spouses (*Applause*) (1998 Hansard, volume 18: 4114)

When it comes to policies that specifically target women's rights, female MP Sarah Kiyingi Kyama stated that "there [were] quite a good number of men who were very forthcoming as far as issues to do with women were concerned. And so we [female parliamentarians] had to specifically target those kinds of men (Interview with Hon. Sarah Kiyingi Kyama: 22 April 2009). Female MPs, of the 6th parliament, interviewed also stated that their success in gaining pro-women provisions, like the consent clause would not have been without the support of their male colleagues since the men are still the majority in parliament (Interview with Hon. Miria Matembe 24 April 2009; Hon. Sarah Kiyingi Kyama 22 April 2009; Hon. Mavunjina Catherine 17 April 2009).

Mr. Mutyaba on co-ownership: "the concerns which are raised by the women are legitimate. We believe, however, that the Bill and even the amended provisions as they are put, address their concerns in relation to land. They should also make sure that when a law which is meant to address their rights in the family, the Domestic Rights Bill, comes into place; it addresses all their concerns in detail" (1998 Hansard, volume 18: 4126).

One of the most contentious issues during the 1998 land debate was the spousal co-ownership clause, which was championed by Hon. Miria Matembe. The co-ownership clause provided for the protection of women's land rights on customary land in both monogamous and polygamous marriages. However, despite the active campaigning in support of the clause by female MPs and civil society groups, the clause failed to be published in the final act. In *Gender, Politics, and Constitution Making in Uganda*, Hon. Miria Matembe details the events that led to the clause being lost to the amendment.

"Now when the debate on the Bill came to the final day, there were many small details to resolve. People were noticeably tired as we went through all those provisions...that needed attention. When we finally came to my amendment, the Speaker called my name. I

stood up to read those four clauses in the amendment, one by one, but as soon as I stood up, the members of the House said, 'Ah, that one was passed.' When they said that, the Speaker said, 'So we have finished.' I did not read the clauses and the Speaker declared the Bill passed."(Matembe 2002: 249).

When the Act was published supporters of the clause were shocked to discover that, despite its being passed by parliament, the clause was not present in the published act. Officials justified the omission by citing procedural irregularities, specifically the failure of Hon. Matembe to read the clauses into the microphone which is the only way for the clauses to be recorded in the Hansard; and thus put into the bill by the draftsman (Forti 2005: 13; Matembe 2002: 249). However, supporters of the clause contend that if the amendment had been for a matter not related to women's land rights it would have, nevertheless, found its way into the final act (Matembe 2002: 250 - 251). Eventually, President Yoweri Museveni admitted that he had personally intervened to delete the amendment, justifying that the clause would more appropriately belong under the pending Domestic Relations Bill (DRB) (Forti 2005: 13; Interview with Hon. Sarah Kiyingi Kyama 22 April 2009).

The 2004 Land Amendment: In 2003, the parliament of Uganda tabled an amendment to the 1998 Land Act, which was meant to reduce the land management institutions, namely, the Land Tribunals and the Land Committees, so that the Land Act is implementable within the financial resources of Government (2003 Hansard, online version). Female MPs of the now 7th parliament (2001 – 2006) once again took up the mantle of the co-ownership clause. An amendment that affects women's land rights is⁴:

Article 19 - 38A "Security of occupancy"

- (1) Every spouse shall enjoy security of occupancy on family land
- (2) The security of occupancy prescribed under subsection (1) means a right to have access to and live on family land
- (3) [...] the spouse shall in every case have a right to [...] give or withhold his or her consent to any transactions

As with the women of the 6th parliament, women in the 7th parliament are generally remembered as having been very passionate about women's rights. Hon. Morris Latigo said the following about the

⁴ Also important to note is that the provision requiring the consent of minority children and dependent children of majority age was repelled. It was repelled because MPs felt that it gave dependent children of a majority age, unwarranted excuse for idleness. It is possible that its repeal strengthened women's rights since dependent children of majority age could no longer influence land transactions and so widows no longer had to contend with the claims of their deceased husbands' children on the land.

unity of female MPs “we (parliamentarians) had the land amendment act in the 7th parliament where there was need to provide for family land rights and to look at the rights of the women and the children over the rights of the land that has always been based in tradition. And I remember the debate became really hot. [...] To the extent the speaker of parliament actually deferred the debate, and appointed a select committee to review the rights of the women and the children and the family in respect to land rights” (Interview with Hon. Morris Latigo 20 April 2009). During the 7th parliament female MPs and civil society groups once again united to lobby for the passage of the co-ownership clause. However, despite their advocacy the clause failed to pass in the 2004 amendment. Today, the clause is commonly referred to as the *Lost Clause* or the *Matembe Amendment*; it is called the former because it is indeed lost due to the interference of the executive and the latter because it is viewed as the pet project of Hon. Miria Matembe.

Mrs. Masiko: The Minister knows very well that the Domestic Relations Bill, the draft that used to be, has even failed to come through to Cabinet because there was lack of national consensus on several issues including land, the polygamous people and others (2003 Hansard: 14 April 2003).

Mr. Ruhindi: I am not one of those who would actually say that we should wait for the Domestic Relations Bill. We need to resolve this matter as quickly as possible. There is no other time, and I believe that when this provision is finalised, the DRB will be here tomorrow. I believe this is the one that is holding up that particular Bill. Why this procrastination? (2003 Hansard: 14 April 2003).

Dr. Johnson Nkuuhe (Isingiro County South, Mbarara): I want to focus members' attention, as we discuss this report, on economics. Forget the social cultural aspects and all this, look at the economics. Is it right for somebody who is using this land for 30 years all of a sudden to be told to get off the land because the clan decided that she has no rights? (2003 Hansard: 17 June 2003).

In reviewing the 2003 Hansard, it was noticed that, as compared to the 1998 Hansard land debate, male MPs played a more active role in supporting women's rights to land. A possible rationale for this shift is that women MPs of the 7th parliament benefited from the experience of women MPs in the 6th parliament and, as such, had more knowledge on how to effectively lobby their male colleagues for support. The heightened visibility of male MPs advocating on behalf of women's land rights, as evidenced through the Hansard, demonstrates that male and female MPs were working together on improving women's land rights. For example, the proposed amendment for registering families on land under corporate given by Hon. Mr. Ndawula Kaweesi on 10 April 2003 is later recalled by Hon. Mrs. Bwambale, on 14 April 2003. Likewise, when it was suggested that the clause on co-ownership be shifted to the DRB both female and male MPs stood up to protest the shift.

10.2.3 Female MPs and the current Land Debate

Despite the opening of the political space in Uganda during the 1990s and the active lobbying by female MPs on behalf of women's land rights, women in Uganda continue to suffer enduring land rights challenges, namely: the lack of inheritance, being kicked off family land (during marriage or when widowed), land grabbing and unsecure land tenure. The enduring nature of women's land rights violations in Uganda demonstrates that the hard-won consent clause of the 1998 Land Act does not effectively at protect women's land rights in Uganda (Interview with Judy Adoko LEMU 5 May 2009).

Most of us in the women's movement think that [the consent] clause is very ineffective. It can be abused. Because [of] the issue of duress; how do I give consent when I am in the confines of my house, my bedroom. (Interview with Rita Lakor, UWONET 22 April 2009).

That law [the consent clause] has been in place for quite a long time but its effectiveness has been very limited (Interview with Emma Boona 21 April 2009).

Having recognized that the consent clause has proven ineffective at safeguarding the rights of women, female MPs in the current parliament have once again focused on the passage of the co-ownership clause. There are currently three land documents being debated in the country: The National Land Policy, the 2007 Land Act Amendment Bill and the 2008 Domestic Relations Bill.

The Proposed National Land Policy⁵: In order for any country to have effective and comprehensive land laws there is a necessity for there to be a land policy (Participant at LEMU Workshop 5 May 2009). Since the 7th parliament, politicians in Uganda have been calling for a National Land Policy (NLP), which would guide land administration and the drafting all future land laws.

Ms. Jennifer Namuyangu (Woman Representative, Pallisa): Mr. Speaker, honourable members, I will begin with the issue of a policy on land use. I really want to agree with the committee that Government needs to come up with a policy on land use because in some parts of this country, the way land is being handled is not the best. (2003 Hansard: 9 April 2003)

Since September 10, 2005 the Ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development (MOLHUD) has undertaken the task of drafting a comprehensive land policy using a participatory consultative

⁵ Although the land policy is not spearheaded by the parliament, the researcher has chosen to include it here because its creation was actively called for by female MPs during the 7th parliament and its importance to future land laws.

process, which allows the ministry to obtain the stakeholder consensus on the final policy (Drafting the National Land Policy, Draft 3: vi). The NLP is currently in its third draft form and currently has the following important provisions that relate to women's land rights:

- 75. To ensure that all tenure regimes recognized under the laws confer social, economic and political security to land owners, occupiers and users, legislative and other measures will be put in place to -
 - ii) guarantee that access to land by way of transfer or transmission is not denied to any one on the basis of gender, ethnicity, or social and economic status;
- 85. In order to ensure that the de facto rights of urban and rural poor and marginalized communities are protected and that they are able to live a dignified life, legislative and other measures will be put in place to
 - vii) provide special protection to widows and orphans against deprivation of land resources through distress sales and discriminatory transmissions
- 87. To ensure that constitutional and international provisions relating to non-discrimination against women and children are strictly observed, legislative and other measures will be put in place to –
 - iv) review and liberalise customary rules and procedures relating to succession so as to ensure that the transmission of land to women is not impeded;
 - v) ensure that women are fully integrated into all decision making structures and processes relating to access and use of land; and
 - vi) design and implement a regime of matrimonial property aimed at the protection of spouses both within and outside marriages

The 2007 Land Amendment Bill: The 2007 land amendment bill is intended to enhance the security of occupancy of lawful and bona fide occupants on registered land in accordance with article 237 of the constitution and for related matters (The Land Amendment Bill, 2007). Unfortunately, the researcher was unable to access the Hansards for current debates in the house and as such cannot comment on the contribution of female MPs to this land debate. However, it appears that female MPs are restricting their campaign for women's land rights to the highly anticipated Domestic Relations Bill, which is sponsored by the Uganda Women Parliamentary Association (UWOPA), since 4 of the 5 current female MPs interviewed cited the DRB rather than the 2007 amendment bill as an example of their current activism for women's land rights (Interview with Hon. Emma Boona 21 April 2009; Hon. Kiiza Winifred 15 April 2009; Hon. Mavunjina 17 April 2009 and Hon. Cecilia Ogwal 21 April 2009).

Another thing is for the women to understand the land bill. [...] I don't think we have had that time, as women of parliament, to critically look at the land bill clause by clause; to look at where we can come in. (Interview with Hon. Rebecca Otengo 17 April 2009).

It is possible that female parliamentarians are restricting their activism for women's land rights to the DRB due to the history of the co-ownership clause in the 1998 Land Act and the 2004 Land Amendment Act. Likewise, it should be recalled that former female parliamentarians were constantly told during past land debates to put the co-ownership clause in the DRB by male MPs and the President (Rugadya 2003: 19 - 23). Consequently, current female MPs may be restricting their campaign for the co-ownership clause to the DRB because they do not wish to alienate their male colleagues whose support is necessary if they want to pass controversial legislation such as the co-ownership clause. Future research into women's land rights in Uganda should carefully look at the contribution of female MPs to the 2007 Land Amendment Bill on behalf of women's interests.

The 2008 Domestic Relations Bill: The Domestic Relations Bill has the objective of bringing family law in Uganda into conformity with the provisions for gender equality in the Ugandan constitution (Forti 2005:14). Unfortunately, the DRB has been in the draft-stage of a bill since 1964 (44 years) and to-date has not been tabled in parliament; however there is great expectation that the 2008 draft of the DRB is soon to be tabled (Interview with Hon. Kiiza Winifred 15 April 2009; Hon. Mavenjina Catherine 17 April 2009; and Hon. Emma Boona 21 April 2009) The reason the DRB has delayed for so long can be attributed the interference of the executive and the dissenting views of female parliamentarians.

The President took personal responsibility for delaying the enactment of the family law when he caused the Ministry of Gender Affairs to withdraw the DRB under his administration 1996 – 2001. In essence the President argues that the Bill is "rather shallow and cannot address the issues of Ugandan society" (Forti 2005: 14).

[A] snag it hit was there was a proviso in the bill which talked about cohabitation and marital status of women – and that one hit a snag between the Muslims and the Christians. So we are trying to see how we can unpack it so that we have a law that is talking about the sharia and one that is talking about the law that will cater for the Christians. (Interview with Hon. Emma Boona 21 April 2009).

Due to the enduring challenge of religious difference the DRB was recently split into two bills that cater for the interests of the Christians and the Muslims (Interviews with Hon. Emma Boona 21 April 2009; Hon. Mavenjina Catherine 17 April 2009; Hon. Kiiza Winifred 15 April 2009 and Barbara Among, Senior Reporter, New Vision 4 May 2009). The bill was split into two by the Uganda Law Reform Commission in 2008: The Administration of Muslim Personal Law and the new DRB 2008, the first caters for the interests of Muslims in Uganda and the second for the interests of Christians, Hindus and the Bahai community. According to Professor Joseph Kakooza,

the chairman of the Uganda Law Reform Commission, the bill was split because “when the bill went to Parliament in 2005, the Muslims were not happy. They demonstrated in town, went to the Speaker and said we don’t accept it (New Domestic Relations Bill is acceptable to Most Ugandans, New Vision, 13 July 2008).

We [female MPs] have a law that is talking about the sharia and one that is talking about the law that will cater for the Christians. So that we don't step on each others toes ... but the law would be a very ideal one for us the women because it is empowering us to get rights on land, property and the divinity of women (Interview with Hon. Kiiza Winifred 15 April 2009).

There is a lack of harmonization of their position. They allowed it to break (e.g. 3 different bills) and now how can they sell it to their male colleagues? Women MPs don't fight together. They allow themselves to be fractionalized (Interview with Barbara Among, Senior Reporter, New Vision 4 May 2009).

The recent splitting of the DRB bill has brought fears that the DRB will eventually be split into four bills – one for every religion – and that it displays a lack of unity between female MPs. However, according to Professor Joseph Kakooza “the Bahai community in Uganda gave [the Uganda Law reform Commission] a memorandum and they were in agreement with the Christian principles both on marriage and divorce. They do not accept polygamy. The Hindu also do not accept polygamy. In that bill [the DRB 2008], there are sections which say the Bahai and Hindu shall enter into marriage according to their particular religious principles” (New Domestic Relations Bill is acceptable to Most Ugandans, New Vision, 13 July 2008). However, considering the long history of the DRB, the collective decision by female MPs to split the bill was most likely for the best since it ends a stalemate that might have caused the Bill to drag on for another 44 years. Provisions regarding women’s land rights in the bill are:

55. Types of Matrimonial Property

Matrimonial property shall include –

- (a) The matrimonial home or homes where both spouses have personal property interest;
- (b) Household property in the matrimonial home or homes
- (c) Any other property either immovable or movable acquired before or during the subsistence of a marriage, deemed to be matrimonial property by express agreement or implied by conduct

56. Matrimonial Property to be owned in common

Any matrimonial property, as defined under section 55, shall be owned in common

59. Contribution to property acquired before and during the marriage

- (1) Where a spouse acquires property prior to or during the marriage and the property does not fall within matrimonial property as defined under section 55, but where his or her spouse makes

a contribution towards the improvement of that property, be it monetary or in kind, the spouse without the interest shall acquire a beneficial interest equivalent to the contribution she or he made

60. *Matrimonial property in polygamous marriage*

(1) Ownership of property between the husband and each particular wife shall be in common according to the contribution of each wife

(2) The subsequent wives shall take interest only in the husband's share

61. *Capacity to acquire separate property*

A spouse in any form of marriage recognised under this Act shall have the capacity to acquire his or her own separate property during the subsistence of the marriage

10.2.4 Challenges to Improving Women's Land Rights

Tradition/Culture

It is often stated that women in Uganda are largely landless since they only own 7% of the land in Uganda. However, this statistic is uninformative since over 80% of land in Uganda is held customarily and not titled. The fact that customary land is not titled means that there is no 'true documentation' of who owns the majority of the land in Uganda. Nevertheless, it is safe to presume that the majority of the land in Uganda is controlled by men since customary land is held in trust by male members of families and clans (Presentation, LEMU workshop 5 May 2009; Interview with Hon. Sarah Kiyingi Kyama 22 April 2009).

Generally, everybody can own land. I think the sticking point has been [for] the majority of women, their cultures restrict their land ownership. [...] many people who own land culturally that land is passed on through the male. With the assumption that women will marry and go away so they don't need this land (Interview with Hon. Sarah Kiyingi Kyama 22 April 2009).

The issue is that under customary land tenure, women are discriminated against because the control over land is exchanged through males. Therefore in general: girls don't inherit land from their parents, widows are denied their role as steward over the land when their husbands die, divorced women are denied land in their natal home, single women are not given land because it is assumed they will marry and wives are arbitrarily kicked off the land at the discretion of the husband.

You know the challenge that we face is that we don't want the law to work faster than society (Interview with Hon. Morris Latigo 20 April 2009).

When it comes to gender equity and power relations there is a struggle between what change agents want and what a society can reasonably allow. However, it is also true that change will only come

when people challenge the norms. To be sure, change has been attempted by female MPs, in the past, with the support of their male colleagues and supporters in civil society; and considerable strides have been made with the adoption of the consent clause. However, more needs to be done to address the concerns of women who are not married. One suggestion, given by President Yoweri Museveni, is that fathers should bequeath land to their daughters so they have a place to go if they are in the future divorced or kicked off their husbands land. This suggestion has been taken up by activists in both parliament and civil society; but these same activists still contend that this is not enough because for the majority of Uganda's citizens who are poor and living in rural communities, where communal land tenure is the law and land is becoming a scarce commodity. (Interviews with Hon. Sarah Kiyingi Kyama 22 April 2009; Hon. Emma Boona 21 April 2009; and Hon. Mavunjina Catherine 17 April 2009).

Lack of Unity and Multi-party Democracy

For historically disenfranchised groups to prevail in breaking away from norms that oppress them it is imperative that they work in union so that they are not vulnerable to divisions and co-option by external agents. Opinions on the unity of the female MPs of the 8th parliament are widely divergent; however of the seven current MPs interviewed: one male stated that the women were united, one stated that the women were not united, one female MPs stated that the women were not united and four female Mps stated that female MPs were united when it came to issues that affect women equally and as such cross party-lines.

They are not really. And maybe this is part of what slows down their campaign, because if there was unity it would be very hard to oppose women (Interview with Hon. Dr. Nsaba Buturo 23 April 2009).

When we meet as UWOPA we come together all of us from different political backgrounds and we identify critical issues that affect us as women and so we have discovered that this land issue is a problem to all of us. So we are very united about it. (Interview with Hon. Mavunjina 17 April 2009).

I won't say women are united. They could be united as women but the political differences do come in. There are issues which are for women but where the party takes the decision. And it's very unfortunate that if the decision is not for the women it becomes a bit tricky because if it is against the party the best the woman can do is keep quite. When somebody keeps quite the person has not helped you (Interview with Hon. Rebecca Otengo 17 April 2009).

The return to multi-party democracy in 2006 presents a new challenge to female MPs fighting for improved rights for women in Uganda, because the introduction of multi-party democracy has served to constrict

rather than open the space for women in politics" (Interviews with Hon. Miria Matembe 24 April 2009, Hon. Morris Latigo 20 April 2009, and Barbara Among, Senior Reporter, New Vision 4 May 2009). For 20 years the government of Uganda operated under the movement system and it was this movement system that opened up the political space for women. However, with multi-party democracy the NRM as a movement has now been transformed into a political party. The majority of women, in Uganda, are still loyal to the NRM and reluctant to change political parties because when women change parties some view them as ungrateful to the NRM or as indecisive (participant, CEWIGO Workshop in Lira 7 April 2009).

As for now, women tend to cling to the NRM - the ruling party - because they feel it provides them the best security not the best opportunity. So we want to see in subsequent political activities – parliamentary elections, local elections – women more or less coming out freely as men to announce: 'I'd like to go with this candidate and this party because they offer this opportunity'; not just for us as women but for this country (Interview with Hon. Morris Latigo 20 April 2009).

Lack of a Common Agenda

In politics it is imperative to have an objective or goal that can provide motivation for continued work and which can demonstrate success. Indeed, the success of the female MPs in the 6th parliament at improving women's land rights is often attributed to the fact that female MPs and those in civil society had a common agenda or vision for women's land rights (Interviews with Hon. Miria Matembe 24 April 2009; Hon. Sarah Kiyngi Kyama 22 April 2009; Barbara Among, Senior Reporter, New Vision 4 May 2009; and Rita Lakor, UWONET 22 April 2009).

I do believe one of the reasons why the women are not getting their laws and policies through is [that] they are not united as a group. They are not coherent in their struggle [or] in their understanding of what they want. I wouldn't think that they have a common agenda (Interview with Hon. Miria Matembe 24 April 2009).

I feel that the female members of parliament and those [in civil society] are working in parallel lines but doing the same thing (Interview with Hon. Rebecca Otengo 17 April 2009).

All the current female MPs interviewed cited the importance of working with civil society organizations to effectively advocate for women's rights in Uganda. With the exception of Hon. Rebecca Otengo, none of the current female MPs interviewed cited the need to generate a common consensus on what women's land rights should entail, but rather focused on the benefits of having a working relationship between the two groups – namely the value of research that comes from civil society groups. However, if female MPs expect to generate positive legislation on women's land rights it is important that there be a general consensus between female MPs and civil society as to what rights women in Uganda need.

10.3 Public Opinion on the Contribution of Female MPs

10.3.1 Effectiveness of Female MPs

The effectiveness of any politician is determined by how responsive (s)he is to the demands of the constituents and how vocal (s)he is in demanding for specific policies, laws or regulations (Goetz 2003). In general, the women of the 6th and 7th parliament are viewed as having been united and vocal in their demands for women's land rights; and their success in securing important provisions that safeguard women's land rights are often cited (Interviews with Barbara Among, Senior Reporter, New Vision 4 May 2009; Rita Lakor (UWONET 22 April 2009). In comparison the women of the 8th parliament are viewed as lacking unity, not vocal and not concerned with women's land rights.

I don't think they are united about land rights. All they are fighting for is gender balance in general. (Tumwebale Sarah, The Daily Monitor, Questionnaire)

To the great majority yes, but a lot has got to be done on the cultural understanding and beliefs. Their vocals will mainly affect the educated and those who have money but not the village women. (Rachel Kabajja, The Daily Monitor, Questionnaire)

However, though female MPs are seen as not being united and/or vocal on women's land rights respondents still responded that female MPs were active in the fight for women's rights. This is possibly due to the fact that women in parliament, under UWOPA, have united to fight for the DRB, which covers a multitude of issues of concern to women, such as bride price, underage marriage and marital rape. One rationale for the view taken by the public towards the women in the 8th parliament is the fact that there are no key women fighting on behalf of women's land rights as there were in past parliaments –Hon. Miria Matembe and Hon. Nabiba Naggayi were two names listed by respondents. It should also be recalled that the women of past parliaments are praised for successfully passing key bills that relate to women's rights; the fact that the women of the 8th parliament have yet to pass such key legislation can be affecting the way in which the public views their effectiveness.

Women who are qualified get better jobs elsewhere [with] international organizations and now they are outside the country. So the women of today are very inexperienced; there are no key advocates - no bold women to speak fiercely on women's issues (Interview with Barbara Among, Senior Reporter, New Vision 4 May 2004).

We have moved away from individual merit to a party system. So now you have to have party blessing. 70% of women MPs are district women's representatives and so they have

to get party blessings to get to power. The good women are being sieved out of by party politics (Interview with Barbara Among, Senior Reporter, New Vision 4 May 2004).

As with female MPs the public has pointed to the negative effects of multi-party democracy on the ability of female MPs to lobby for women's land rights. However, according to Barbara Among, of the New Vision, this challenge could be surmounted if there were more experienced women in parliament who were also passionate about women's rights.

10.3.2 Consent and Co-ownership

Since the 6th parliament the fight for women's land rights in Uganda has largely centered on the issues of consent and co-ownership. The provision for consent was passed in the 1998 Land Act, but female MPs and activist in civil society question the effectiveness of the provision since consent from women can be obtained under duress. Likewise, the provision does not give women control over land nor protect them from other abuses like being kicked off the land, land grabbing or being denied their right to the land. The provision for co-ownership, on the other hand, has been shuttled from bill to bill; starting out in the 1998 Land Act, attempted in the 2004 Land amendment and currently being tried in the DRB. However, it is possible that the appropriateness of these provisions, in their current form, have not been adequately interrogated by those in civil society and female MPs who champion the cause in parliament.

I think the two of them are appropriate for different tenure systems. Co-ownership is not very useful if you do not have a title or a certificate with your names on it, because having your names on a title is what gives you the legal rights. So for us to argue that you need the consent of a spouse who is excluded from the title [is] useless. That has been proven through implementation, because if I am buying land from a man, there is now way for me to know unless he discloses it.

Consent is not useful for registered tenure systems like leasehold, freehold or mailo. But consent is a version of customary tenure rights, which says you cannot sell land without the consent of the family members. [The] consent clause is very useful but it is very restricted – unfortunately it is only restricted to spouses, when the customary tenure means it for all family members (Interview with Judy Adoko, LEMU coordinator 5 May 2009).

11.0 Conclusion

Critical mass theory assumes that the election of an adequate number of female politicians – approximately 30% - will result in governance [that is] more responsive to [the needs of] women (Grey 2001: 4). To ensure that a critical mass of women are brought into state legislatures governments worldwide have increasingly relied on affirmative action policies (e.g. quotas) to

achieve critical mass representation for women. This research supports the claims made by scholars Sylvia Tamale, Josephine Ahikire and Ana Marie Goetz, who argue that critical mass theory can only achieve its objective of improved rights for women if the women who join politics do so out of a commitment to improving women's rights. Therefore, critical mass theory requires the presence of a substantive group of women that are committed to women's rights and cannot succeed if the women who join politics are only there to represent women by virtue of their share gender and not their needs.

The application of the affirmative action policy in Uganda has resulted in descriptive rather than substantive representation of women in the national parliament, because female MPs are not primarily motivated to join politics to improve women's rights. Irregardless of their motivation to join politics, female MPs are expected by the public and civil society to represent and protect the interests of women in government (Tamale 1999). Consequently, female MPs are compelled by society to advocate the interests of women in parliament. However, it has been noted that such women are vulnerable to co-option and silencing since it is unlikely that women who are not motivated to improve women's rights will champion women's causes that are unpopular with the government.

Female MPs in Uganda are said to have contributed to improved land rights for women in Uganda. This statement is especially true for the women of the 6th and 7th parliament who are credited with championing important clauses that secure women's land rights – the 1998 consent clause and the unsuccessful clause on co-ownership. The women in the 8th parliament have not yet made an indelible impact upon women's land rights in Uganda; but they are actively working on passing the DRB which contains important provisions relating to women's land rights. However, their activism is negatively affected by the political environment in Uganda, issues with unity, the lack of a common agenda and the loss of key women in the fight for women's rights to international organizations.

12.0 Recommendations

Substantive Women in Parliament

Critical mass representation of women in state legislators can only benefit women if the women who join politics are motivated by a desire to advocate for women's human rights. Currently, the women of Uganda's parliament are motivated by a variety of factors which hinders their ability to unite and advocate for women's rights in Uganda.

In the past, women's rights activists and civil society organizations have demonstrated an appreciation of the need to train and equip female MPs and other women in politics; with a particular emphasis on gender consciousness, gender budgeting and general capacity building. Currently one organization, CEWIGO, is drafting a training manual which women's organizations country-wide can utilize to train potential and current women in politics on these topical issues. It is recommended that civil society organizations work in close partnership with one another to develop a universal training manual. Likewise, civil society organizations should work in partnership to target and train potential female politicians on issues that affect women so that these women will vociferously advocate for women's rights when they join politics in Uganda.

Tradition/culture

It is generally claimed by activists that women in Uganda do not own land. This view has recently been challenged by LEMU, which contends that the rights of women under customary land tenure are largely unknown and subject to misinterpretation. It is recommended that women in parliament and civil society groups should undertake joint research into the rights of women under the different customary land tenures in the country and document their findings.

The issues of girls being denied an inheritance because it is believed they will eventually marry and of women being denied their customary right to trusteeship over land by relatives and clan members, were also raised as important issues of women's land rights. It is recommended that women in parliament advocate that it become compulsory for all ethnic groups/clans to create a living-copy (written) of their customary tenure, this would allow everyone to know what rights people have under customary law, allow people to challenge provisions that they feel discriminate against women and most of all add to the legitimacy of customary law in the eyes of the law. This is especially important because 80% of land in Uganda is held customarily.

Lack of unity

The negative impact of multi-party democracy on the unity between women in parliament was raised. It is recommended that female parliamentarians continue to network across party lines through the Uganda Women's Parliamentary Association on issues that affect women's rights in the country.

No common agenda

The fact that female parliamentarians lack a common agenda concerning women's rights was cited. It is recommended that female parliamentarians through the Uganda Women's Parliamentary Association clarify their vision concerning women's rights in the country – especially in regards to land rights. Female MPs should also utilize the media to educate the public on their stance.

Female MPs and civil society organizations working on issues of women's human rights were cited as having no common agenda. It is recommended that female parliamentarians and civil society groups formulate a common vision for women's land rights, and rights in general, which will guide future activism by both groups.

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Glossary of Terms

AU - African Union

CEDAW – Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women

CEWIGO – The Centre for Women in Governance

CSOs - Civil Society Organizations

DRB – Domestic Relations Bill

ECOWAS – Economic Community of West African States

FDC – Forum for Democratic Change

GDP – Gross Domestic Product

LEMU – Land Equity Movement in Uganda

MOLHUD – Ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development

MP – Member of Parliament

NLP – National Land Policy

NRM – National Resistance Movement

SADC – Southern Africa Development Community

UDHR – Universal Declaration of Human Rights

UN – United Nations

UWONET – Uganda Women’s Network

UWOPA – Uganda Women’s Parliamentary Association

WEDO – Women’s Environment and Development Organization

Appendix 1

Challenges to Women's Land Rights in Uganda

/	Definition	Challenges
Inheritance	The passage of family land to junior family members usually actualized on events: marriage, death or divorce. Inherited land is always family land and never individually owned.	Rapidly growing population/Land pressure Lack of knowledge on rules of customary tenure (e.g. women don't own land, but some contend that this is a fallacy)
Being Kicked off the Land	The loss of one's home and/or economic support when one's spouse or relatives deny one's right to land	Divorce: Spouse/In-laws revoke one's right to the land; one's natal family - father/brother(s) - may refuse to allocate land to the woman Widowhood: In-laws revoke one's right to the land; one's natal family - father/brother(s) - may refuse to allocate land to the woman Single women: Families have assumption that woman will eventually marry and leave; and so do not allocate land to the woman
Land Grabbing	Illegally depriving another person of their land rights.	Women are de-legitimized as owners of the land by perpetrators using the following: claims of "bad behavior" or not belonging to the clan. Often the land grabber is a male relative (In-law) who the woman looks to for protection.
No security of land tenure	The general lack of control over the land in which one lives and/or works; the constant fear that one's right to the land, upon which one lives and/or works, can be revoked	How to secure women's land tenure under all systems of land tenure : Consent and/or Co-ownership

Appendix 2

Sample Interview Guide – Current Female MPs

- ***Investigate the motivating force for women joining politics in Uganda***
 - Biographical Data
 1. What is your name?
 2. What is your constituency/District?
 - Education/Work History
 1. What is your educational background?
 2. What is your work background?
 - Political History
 1. For how long have you been involved in politics in Uganda?
 2. How long have you held a position in government and in what capacities?
 3. How did you become interested in politics in Uganda?
 4. How would you describe the political environment in Uganda for women?
 - Political Challenges women face
 1. What challenges, if any, do you feel female MPs face that Male MPs do not face in exercising political authority?
 2. A major criticism for female MPs during the late 90s was that they lacked knowledge on parliamentary procedure. Do you feel that female MPs still face this challenge?
- ***Explore the contribution of female MPs to the land rights debate***
 - Political contribution of women (Individual)
 1. Before swearing in as an MP where you actively involved in activism for women's land rights?
 - If yes: In what capacity where you involved and how does this previous experience inform your current role as a female MP?
 - If no: How where you introduced to the issue of women's land rights?
 2. What activities do you engage in that address women's land rights in your constituency/district?
 3. What challenges do you face in implementing land rights policies for women in your constituency/district?
 - Political Contribution of Women (General)
 1. Do you feel that the female MPs of the current parliament are united on the issue of women's land rights?
 2. Since 1995, have female MPs in each successive parliament been united on issues of women's land rights?
 3. What role do you envision female MPs playing in improving women's land rights in Uganda? (e.g. lobbying, networking)
 - Political Issues for Women's Land Rights
 1. What is the Matembe amendment for co-ownership?
 - What role are current female MPs playing in keeping the Matembe amendment active?
 2. Do you feel that the actions of female MPs adequately engage the issue of women's land rights
 - What role do male MPs play in supporting or hindering the work of female MPs on women's land rights?