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**KWAZULU-NATAL WOMEN'S CAUCUS
Study Mission to Uganda
July 16 - 23, 1997**

Report of the Delegation

**KWAZULU-NATAL WOMEN'S CAUCUS
STUDY MISSION TO UGANDA**

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A REPORT OF THE DELEGATION

The Women's Caucus Study Mission to Uganda was organised by The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) with a grant from the National Endowment for Democracy (NED)

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"If civilisation is to advance at all in the future, it must be through the help of women, women freed of their political shackles, women with full power to work their will in society."

Emmeline Pankhurst

INTRODUCTION

During the week of July 16 through July 23, 1997, the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) sponsored a study mission for a delegation of members of the KwaZulu-Natal Women's Caucus to Kampala, Uganda. The delegation consisted of eight female members of the KwaZulu-Natal Provincial Legislature together with the Chair of the national Women's Empowerment Unit. The main objective of the study mission was to examine the role of the Ugandan Women's Parliamentary Caucus within the structure of that country's National Gender Machinery, so as to inform a similar debate and formalisation process within the province of KwaZulu-Natal.

Within an African context, Uganda is unique in its exemplary efforts and achievements for the development of women's social, political and economic potential. This remarkable progress in improving the status of women has been accomplished through the implementation of a National Machinery for Advancing Gender Equality, which comprises both governmental and non-governmental structures. The members of the KwaZulu-Natal Women's Caucus, in their loose and informal arrangement as the only female members of their Provincial Legislature, accepted NDI's offer to organise the study mission, with the hope that the experiences of Uganda would help them to formalise their group into a fully-functioning parliamentary body.

The eight-member delegation, chosen by the Caucus co-chairs, represented a cross-section of the political parties in the KwaZulu-Natal Legislature. The participants were instructed that upon their return from the study mission, they would be required to report back to the other Caucus members on their findings. The Chair of the Gauteng-based Women's Empowerment Unit, which falls under the jurisdiction of the Speaker's Forum, was also invited to join the delegation, so that lessons learned from the Ugandan experience might feed into the national gender dialogue in South Africa. The names of the delegates appear on the previous page of this report, and short biographies are included as Appendix I.

In Kampala, the delegation was able to examine a broad range of issues including Uganda's gender policy and national machinery, affirmative action, women in civil society, the composition and function of the Constituent Assembly Women's Caucus and the Ugandan Women's Parliamentary Association (UWOPA), as well as the economic and development status of women. These issues are collated as areas of investigation within the Terms of Reference, attached as Appendix II. In order to discuss these issues, the delegation met with a wide array of ministerial and parliamentary leaders, national women's NGOs, local district councillors, and diplomatic representatives. The delegates were also privileged to observe various

grassroots women's development projects. Finally, the delegation was very fortunate to be invited to participate as honorary guests at the Ugandan Women's Parliamentary Caucus evaluation retreat.

This report is presented by the delegation as a record of the observations and findings of these study mission consultations. The itinerary for the study mission is included as Appendix III, while a listing of members of the Uganda Women's Parliamentary Association (UWOPA) is attached as Appendix IV. As an explanatory reading tool, Appendix V contains a Glossary of Terms and Acronyms associated with the Ugandan experience and a Chronology of Key Political Events is included as Appendix VI.

In organising the study mission, NDI collaborated with the Forum for Women in Democracy (FOWODE) in Kampala, who hosted the delegation for the duration of its visit to Uganda. The mission was funded through a grant from the National Endowment for Democracy. The delegation gratefully acknowledges the assistance of all organisations involved in the study mission and expresses its appreciation to all concerned.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Like Uganda, South Africa has a long history of gender oppression. The strong prevalence of patriarchal attitudes in South African society has permeated all organisations, especially at decision-making levels, and the absence of a strong mass women's movement has been a detriment to the democratic transitional process. In the light of developments in the international feminist movement, such as the UN Decade for Women, the 1985 Nairobi conference, and the 1995 Beijing conference, as well as the growth of women's organisations within South Africa, a broader and deeper understanding of gender issues has grown and brought about certain changes in attitude.

The decisive moment in South Africa's transition from apartheid to democracy was the first democratic election in April 1994. The experiences of other countries, particularly within the African context of a "post-colonialist" revolution, has shown the emancipation of women is not merely a by-product of a struggle for democracy, national liberation, or socialism. This ideal can only be brought about through a conscious, systematic commitment to gender enhancement, together with a coherent strategy of not only ensuring female representation at decision-making levels, but also the reconstruction of the country into a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist society.

This message was clearly apparent as South Africa's new democratic dispensation faced the overwhelming challenges of transformation after April 1994. In particular, the task of improving the status of the majority of South African women, who feature at the bottom of the ladder in virtually every set of statistics, is daunting. However, the groundwork had already been laid through advocacy, which ensured the inclusion of non-sexism in the preamble to South Africa's new Constitution, made sure the Constitution addressed gender inequality, and promoted the formation of an independent Commission for Gender Equality.

After thorough investigation into various models, the office of the Deputy President, Thabo Mbeki, established an Office on the Status of Women (OSW) as a permanent governmental structure to oversee gender empowerment and the emancipation of women. The strategy for this structure is to run a thread from the top down to the national and provincial line ministries, which will in turn establish a gender unit/desk in each province in order to act as watchdog bodies to monitor all new legislation for gender sensitivity. Together with the Commission for Gender Equality (CGE), this constitutes the South African national gender machinery.

This national strategy lacked certain local strengths for the newly appointed female members of the KwaZulu-Natal Provincial Legislature (MPLs). The women saw their positions in government as unique in that they had the power as MPLs to scrutinise new legislation for gender sensitivity. Likewise, their collective voice could strengthen the lobby for gender empowerment and the improvement in the status and quality of life for all women in KwaZulu-Natal. It was with this impetus that NDI was approached in 1996 to facilitate in the proposed formalisation and capacity development of a Women's Caucus, comprising all female members of the KwaZulu-Natal Legislature.

Uganda serves as an international model in terms of the great strides it has made towards gender enhancement since the rise to power of Museveni's government in 1986. The present government's gender policy involves many pioneer projects, not only exceptional on the continent, but also globally. This gender mobilisation has included, amongst other steps, the formation of a Ministry of Gender and Community Development, the establishment of an Equal Opportunities Commission, the implementation of affirmative action with the reservation of women-only seats, an active civic-based women's movement, the organisation of a Constituent Assembly Women's Caucus with strong alliances with other disadvantaged groups, as well as the creation of the Ugandan Women's Parliamentary Association (UWOPA). The country also boasts the continent's first female Vice President, and women members constitute 17% of the Cabinet. This national gender strategy incorporates women in the legislature, civil society and government. It was with this rationale in mind that Uganda was selected as a suitable comparative role model in the Sub-Saharan African context to examine the viability of formalising a Parliamentary Women's Caucus in KwaZulu-Natal.

The terms of reference for this study mission involved five main areas for investigation (see Appendix II for details):

- I. Gender Machinery (with its possible overlapping roles and functions)
- II. Quota Systems / Affirmative Action Policies
- III. Structure of the Caucus
- IV. Broad Alliances
- V. Constituency Servicing

The delegation met with a broad range of key participants involved in this process, both within and outside of government, in order to address these issues. While certain areas of investigation were found to be very useful, innovative and easily replicated, others could not be applied at all to the local agenda due to political and social factors which exist within the domestic environment.

An additional aim of the study mission was to expose the delegation to the Ugandan perspective on the economic and developmental aspects of gender. Research has shown that targeting poor women for positive interventions in any community is the surest road to guaranteeing the uplifting of society as a whole. This focus is of particular interest to the KwaZulu-Natal Women's Caucus as a possible vehicle for improving the quality of life for women constituents.

The study mission sowed seeds of inspiration and motivation for the delegation. They came away from the Ugandan experience with a deep appreciation for the great strides that country has taken in order to promote women's empowerment. While the objective for the delegation is not to replicate the Ugandan

model within the KwaZulu-Natal and South African context, the exposure to a Women's Caucus which successfully functions within similar conditions to the local scenario, has served to reveal salient points of consideration when creating a strategy towards developing a collective women's voice. The challenge is now for the delegation to utilise these "lessons learned" in order to move forward in formalising a Provincial Women's Caucus that can operate as an effective conduit for addressing the issues facing women both inside and outside of government.

This ultimate goal of this journey towards ensuring the equality of women in society was perhaps best illustrated for the delegation by the Ugandan Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Honourable Eriya Kategaya. She stated that ideal of the future was to empower women to such a degree that countries would need to create "Ministries of Men Affairs" in order to fend off the power of women.

KEY FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE DELEGATION

The KwaZulu-Natal delegation drew on their individual past experiences in order to relate to the situation in Uganda. Notwithstanding, when probed for “lessons learned” and general observations, the delegation found a good deal of common ground on a broad range of pertinent issues.

- The delegation was impressed with Ugandans’ commitment to rebuilding their society. They remarked that the Ugandans seemed to “accept responsibility and individual political accountability;” in South Africa the tendency is always to “blame the past.” Unlike South Africans, the Ugandans see themselves as victims of mismanagement “by their own,” rather than an imposition from others. This had helped the country and its people to move forward in a positive manner. The delegation did acknowledge, however, that Uganda is further along in this rebuilding process (10+ years vs four years).
- South Africa is at a severe disadvantage in the fight against gender discrimination due to the fragmented nature of its National Gender Machinery and women’s empowerment structures. Uganda has succeeded in creating a unified model of gender structures which has accelerated its achievements in women’s empowerment. Within the South African scenario, the “left hand isn’t aware of what the right hand is doing,” and a general assessment of “what is out there” and “with whom should we work” would need to be conducted as a prerequisite to establishing an effective gender strategy.
- “Women are women’s worst enemy.” The members of the delegation all contributed and added to this statement in some form. They voiced concern about prevalent hostile attitudes amongst women in general, as well as in decision-making positions, which contributes to the lack of a collective voice. If women could set aside their personal jealousies and resentments of each other, the impetus of their lobbying power would be striking. This was seen as an existing obstacle in the path of women’s liberation in South Africa/KwaZulu-Natal, which Ugandan women had already begun to address.
- The delegation was inspired by the achievements of women in Uganda, who, despite their commitments in Parliament, had still retained very close links with their “grassroots” electorate. The members especially noted the extent of the commitment of Ugandan women in relation to their AIDS programs and fish farming (to provide protein-supplemented diets to combat malnutrition). All the delegates felt that South Africans could learn a great deal from the Ugandans in terms of the economic and social contribution their agricultural base provides. Also, they felt it was this strong link with and dedication to their “grassroots” constituents that resulted in the successful marketing of local crafts and products to international markets – also an important lesson for KwaZulu-Natal.
- “There is far more democracy than you see on the surface without political parties.” In contrast to many initial assumptions about a lack of broad-based participation in the political process, the delegation was surprised to find a model that seems to provide for a good deal of participation. Through a variety of meetings and interactions with people both inside and outside of government, the

delegation concluded that, in spite of the ban on political party activity, the Ugandan system allows a range of voices and opinions to be heard. "Multi-partyists" do exist and occupy influential positions in parliament as well as structures such as the Ugandan Women's Caucus.

- The KZN Women's Caucus should seek to address non-controversial issues that transcend party lines, such as violence against women (including rape and abuse), women's health issues, economic development for women (particularly in rural areas), making Parliament more family- and woman-friendly, supporting women candidates for MEC, and improving women's treatment in the press.
- "The more we are together as women, the better we can improve the situation for women throughout the province." The women MPLs should hold retreats on a regular basis; experiences like this one help to break down barriers and build bridges. They can also provide opportunities for leadership training and team-building. In addition, it is important to sit back and examine "where we were, where we are, and where we are going."
- The delegation all agreed that the study mission had succeeded in facilitating a sense of unity amongst themselves. When they all entered Parliament, they brought with themselves unnecessary baggage of racial and party divisions. To always toe the party line is often a problem for these women, who are occasionally tempted to break the pattern. The study mission was effective in breaking down barriers which would otherwise isolate the delegates back home. The multi-party, multi-racial environment had encouraged the women to build trust amongst themselves and dispelled certain reservations the delegates had about forming a Women's Caucus.

BACKGROUND TO THE UGANDAN SITUATION

Uganda: A Brief Political History – Pre-Colonialism to Post-Independence

Colonialism and the Origins of Political Ethnicism

Prior to colonialism, the area that is known as modern Uganda was divided into four distinct kingdoms. These kingdoms—Bunyoro, Buganda, Ankole and Toro—were autonomous states with highly sophisticated political systems, including a *kabaka* (king), *nkiikos* (parliaments) and a hierarchy of chiefs. These kingdoms were home to 13 clans, representing 30 languages. While tribalism was apparent under this system, it increased exponentially under colonialism.

Although the first Britons arrived in Uganda in 1862, on an exploratory mission in search of the source of the Nile, it was a second visitor, Henry Morton Stanley who opened the door to Britain's 70-year colonial rule. Under the persuasion of Stanley, the king of Buganda wrote Queen Victoria requesting her to send missionaries to teach his subjects about Christianity and "western knowledge." Historians have since learned that the king's request was probably motivated by a desire to halt advancing military threats from Egypt and Bunyoro. Nonetheless, British Protestant missionaries arrived in 1877 and were soon followed by French Catholics.

The colonists took advantage of the fact that Uganda consisted of several distinct regions, inhabited by people who were not only ethnically different but also at different stages of development. Under British guidance, Buganda was encouraged to fight other kingdoms, thereby extending Britain's control over other territories. The religious rivalries between the Protestants and Catholics fuelled existing ethnic divisions and resulted in civil war. This conflict spread to other kingdoms and prompted the British to form a Protectorate in 1894 under the name of "Uganda." At the turn of the century, Buganda was conferred authority over the other kingdoms as a federation. Thus, disunity was entrenched in the colonial administration.

Independence and Internal Conflict

As the movement for independence intensified, it too manifested into ethnic and religious groupings. The first political parties—the Uganda National Congress (UNC), founded in 1952, and the Democratic Party (DP), founded in 1954—while both Buganda-dominated, were comprised of Protestants and Catholics respectively. Interestingly, it was an anti-Buganda faction within the UNC which broke ranks and led Uganda to independence in 1962, as the Uganda People's Congress (UPC) under the direction of Milton Obote, a member of the Langi clan. Democratic Party supporters, referring to the UPC's Protestant base, labelled the party, "United Protestants of Canterbury." However, in order to form a government, Prime Minister Obote had to establish a loose alliance with other smaller minority parties in opposition to the Democratic Party. Thus, Uganda gained independence with a tenuous political coalition.

In 1966, Obote drove the Kabaka of Buganda into exile, abolished the monarchy, and consolidated his power under a new republican constitution. Hence,

Obote became Uganda's first Executive President of a unitary government. Political parties were banned, and a one-party state instituted. However, in early 1971 Major-General Idi Amin led a bloody coup d'état, whereby, he increased the size of the army, eliminated his political opponents and began a reign of terror directed at the Buganda, Langi and Acholi clans. Under Amin, more than 100 000 Ugandans were killed or starved to death and sixty thousand Asians were expelled. Amin was finally driven out by Tanzanian forces in 1978.

Obote's 1980 re-election campaign was successful through the use of armed force, intimidation and poll rigging. Nonetheless, the second Obote regime was short-lived as he was toppled by his own military junta in a rebellion led by General Tito Okello in July 1985, which overthrew the constitutional government. Obote then fled the country and settled in Zambia. After six months, General Okello was in turn overthrown by the leader of the National Resistance Movement (NRM), Yoweri Kaguta Museveni, after four days of fighting in Kampala. The National Resistance Army (NRA) had fought a five year guerrilla struggle which ultimately led to peace and security for Uganda.

Post-Civil War and the Introduction of Movement Politics

In an attempt to overcome the years of political ethnicism, Museveni introduced a "no-party system" of governance whereby public party activity was banned. However, political pressure from the traditional opposition groups, such as the UPC and DP, is still prominent.

In 1989, the NRC, acting as an interim parliament, established the Uganda Constitutional Commission (UCC). The Commission was mandated to study and review all the past constitutions with a view to making proposals for the enactment of a new constitution. The government eventually replaced the Commission by providing for a democratically elected Constituent Assembly (CA) to consider and debate the UCC's proposals. Unlike the previous codes of 1962 and 1966, this was to be a popular constitution emanating from the people as a true reflection of their interests and aspirations. Consequently, the CA underwent a massive solicitation campaign to include the broadest range of views. The final Constitution was adopted on 8 October 1995.

The May 1996 presidential elections provided the most recent test for the support of the "no-party system." Museveni was elected by nearly 75% of the electorate, while his opponents, Paul Ssemogere (DP) and Kibirig Mayanda (Independent) received 23,7% and 2.1% of the vote respectively. Museveni's campaign was based on three elements, namely, education, infrastructure development and industrialisation. The May poll was shortly followed by the first democratic parliamentary elections on 27 June. The Interim Electoral Commission (IEC) was satisfied that the administration of both elections was largely free and fair. In four years, citizens will vote on a referendum to determine whether Uganda should return to a pluralist system or whether candidates should continue to run independent of political affiliations. Likewise, in the spirit of political unification, King Mutesa II was subsequently reinstated as the Kabaka of Buganda.

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Report of the Delegation

NRM Administration

The executive branch consists of a president, vice president, prime minister and three deputy prime ministers. The Cabinet includes fifteen different portfolios, each of which is represented by a minister. The Constitution also makes provision for Ministers of State whose portfolios are supplemented by standing committees. Their responsibilities include monitoring and evaluating policy, as well as advising on legislation. Ministers of State can also serve as alternate Cabinet members. The legislature comprises a unicameral Parliament with representation of 276 non-partisan members: 214 single seat constituencies, 39 (one per district) reserved for women and 23 for elected representatives of the army (10), disabled (5), youth (5) and trade unions (3).

To help decentralise power, the National Resistance Council (NRC), created a system of local governance known as Resistance Councils (RC), with five levels of representation including district, parish, county, sub-county and village. Similar to Parliament, each council guaranteed representation of marginalised groups such as women and youth. The first RC elections were held in March 1992. The RC has since been replaced by Local Councils with the same infrastructure.

The highest tribunal of Uganda is the Supreme Court, followed by the Appellate Constitutional Court, the Highest Court and the Chief Magistrate's Court. At the lower end of the judicial system, the village councils have the right to settle civil disputes, including land ownership and payment of debts. However, these courts frequently exceed their authority by hearing rape and murder cases. Unfortunately, the right to a fair trial has been circumscribed for many years by inadequate judicial resources.

Economic Recovery

Since 1986, the NRM government has acted to rehabilitate and stabilise the economy by undertaking currency reform, raising prices on export crops, increasing prices of petroleum products and improving civil service wages. The policy changes are especially aimed at dampening inflation (which was 300% in 1987 and presently 52.4%) and boosting production and export earnings. This decade the economy has had a solid performance, largely due to continued investment in the rehabilitation of infrastructure and improved incentives for production and exports.

Despite a diverse agricultural sector, supported by rich, fertile soil, Uganda's economy has been plagued by many problems. First, although more than 80% of workers engage in farming, most of it is at subsistence level. Moreover, drought conditions over the last few years have drastically reduced yields. Secondly, the economy has been devastated by widespread political instability, mismanagement and civil war. Regional conflict has curtailed Uganda's economic co-operation with its neighbours, such as Kenya and Tanzania. Lastly, Uganda suffers from a large trade deficit, which its principal cash crops—cotton and coffee—cannot recover due to fluctuating world markets. Leading imports from the United States and Europe include transportation equipment, petroleum, primary and fabricated material, machinery, paper products and cotton textiles.

During the Obote and Amin regimes most of the Ugandan economy was nationalised. However, the current government has adopted a policy of privatisation whereby it planned to transfer 85% of existing public enterprises to the private sector by the end of 1997.

Conclusion

In short, after decades of post-colonial civil strife, Uganda is beginning to make significant economic and social gains. According to a recent report released by the World Bank, Uganda is no longer among the world's ten poorest nations, due to the increase in per capita income to \$240. This is notable when compared to Mozambique, which remains the world's poorest country with a per capita income of on \$80. Likewise, the IMF has been encouraging of the positive trends under Museveni's administration. While colonialism may have left an indelible impression of division, it appears that Uganda is now moving towards lasting peace, stability and economic prosperity.

An Overview of Women and Gender in Uganda

Gender Policy and National Machinery

Uganda is one of few countries which has taken great strides to fully develop women's social, political and economic potential. Following the country's participation in the 1985 Nairobi Third World Conference on Women, Uganda ratified the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). That same year, the National Council of Women (NCW) was created as a semi-parastatal organisation to investigate and monitor gender issues. Upon ascending to power in 1986, Museveni took the position of implementing a gender policy aimed at raising the value and productivity of women's labour, providing access to land, credit and education, and the integration of women into the mainstream of all development processes. Consequently, at the urging of women NGOs, the National Council of Women was replaced in 1988 by the Ministry of Women in Development. Eventually, the network formed under the NCW evolved into an independent umbrella of women's NGOs called the National Association of Women's Organisations of Uganda (NAWOU).

Up until 1995, the approach of the Ministry could be characterised as a women in-development (WID) strategy, whereby the focus was on creating women-specific development projects. However, critics charged that this had the effect of further marginalising women. So, the Ministry changed its tactics to address the root causes of women's disempowerment by examining the nature and origin of socio-economic relations between men and women. Similar to South Africa's Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), the newly named Ministry of Gender and Community Development initiated a sectoral approach. Each line ministry has identified a senior official as the Focal Point Officer, to undergo gender training to monitor the implementation of gender policy within their respective sectors. To date, six ministries have redesigned their policies to make them more economically and politically gender-sensitive.

The major constraint facing the gender machinery in the advancement of women is a lack of funding. Since the NRM administration has had to exhibit extreme fiscal discipline under its economic recovery programme, there has been a significant decrease in social service expenditure. As a result, the Ministry of Gender and Community Development has been wholly funded by foreign donor aid (in fact, 51% of all government expenditure in 1996 was comprised of foreign aid). But the NRM government is committed to the establishment of a viable national machinery for women as an institutional framework that co-ordinates and enhances the participation of women from the grassroots to the national level. To further this aim, government plans to establish an Equal Opportunities Commission, which will strengthen the institutional framework that guarantees equal opportunities and rights for both women and men.

Affirmative Action

Recognising the significant role women played during the bush war and peace negotiations during the early 1980s, Museveni sought to correct the prevailing gender imbalance by enacting a comprehensive plan for women's empowerment from the

grassroots to the Executive. Hence, in 1989, the NRC created a decentralised political structure of Resistance Councils (RC), whereby the country was divided into 39 administrative units called districts, with lower representation at the village, parish, sub-county and county levels. Each district was assigned a women-only seat, and one in nine of the other Council slots at every level was reserved for women as well. Thus, RCs gave women full access to the political system for the first time.

Women in Civil Society

In addition to the national gender framework, Uganda has an active civic-based women's movement. During the first decade following independence, most women NGOs were church-affiliated with few political proclivities. However, women's groups became some of the most vigilant opponents of the Amin dictatorship. They were solely responsible for the consciousness of gender issues within the liberation movement.

The range of women's NGOs in Uganda is diverse, spanning self-help projects, relief agencies, community-based organisations (CBOs) and professional women's organisations. Not unlike many developing African countries, these organisations played an important role in bridging the gap in social services during the years of civil war. Unfortunately, women's NGOs are now so under-funded that their complementary function with the National Machinery is limited. This is particularly problematic given that the linkages between the National Machinery and grassroots are weak, thereby further diminishing the impact at local level.

Two groups that have been particularly active in the grassroots mobilisation of women are the National Association of Women's Organisations in Uganda (NAWOU) and Action for Development (ACFODE). NAWOU is an umbrella NGO for women's organisations. Formerly the National Council of Women, it has three categories of membership: (1) national NGOs, (2) professional women's associations and (3) community based organisations (CBOs). By co-ordinating a large organisational network, NAWOU encourages women to share information and avoid duplication of efforts. NAWOU also lobbies policy-makers to help raise public awareness on issues of concern to women.

Similarly, Action for Development (ACFODE) networks with rural and urban women's organisations to share information and create legal awareness about women's rights. While membership is open to men as associate members, ACFODE's services are primarily targeted towards rural women. In particular, the organisation played a critical role in the drafting of the new constitution.

Constituent Assembly Women's Caucus

The constitution-making process officially started in 1988 with the enactment of the Constitutional Commission (CC). The Commission, which included three women, compiled and analysed submissions over a five-year period, finally producing a draft document in 1993. The following year Ugandans went to the polls to elect representatives to a 284-member Constituent Assembly (CA) which would be tasked with finalising the constitution. Through a combination of affirmative action, direct representation and presidential appointments, women secured 51 seats. By building

strong alliances with other disadvantaged groups such as youth and women's organisations, the legislative lobby, which was formally known as the Constituent Assembly Women's Caucus Working with Youth, Workers and People with Disabilities, had a tremendous impact.

Early in the process, ACFODE conducted consultations and made submissions to the CC on behalf of rural women. Once the Constituent Assembly (CA) was established, ACFODE continued to facilitate grassroots input through its Gender Information Centre (GIC). Strategically located near the CA, the GIC acted as a conduit between the Caucus and the electorate. One public education campaign included a weekly radio broadcast whereby Caucus members shared their experiences in the CA and discussed the issues of concern to women. In return, women listeners called in during the radio broadcast to talk directly to the CA delegates. Additionally, the Caucus, in collaboration with the GIC, organised Gender Dialogues in which the Caucus invited men and others to support and lobby for their positions. Brochures were produced and distributed on each official position. Men were then asked to use the brochures as a lobbying tool in securing the support of other male colleagues.

The outcomes of the Caucus' lobbying efforts are apparent as the Ugandan Constitution is known world-wide for its gender sensitivity. Some of the Caucus' more notable achievements include a clause which explicitly prohibits laws, traditions or customs which undermine the dignity or well-being of women, and an increase in the number of women-reserved local council seats from one in nine to one in three. Certainly, without the assistance of ACFODE, the Caucus' impact would not have been as far-reaching.

Ugandan Women's Parliamentary Association (UWOPA)

In the 1996 parliamentary elections there was an unprecedented number of women candidates, with 103 standing for the 39 quota positions and 26 women candidates for general constituency seats. Once again, women earned a total of 51 parliamentary seats (18%), eight of which were direct representation and four due to presidential appointments. In the Executive, Uganda boasts the first female Vice President in Africa, Dr. Speciosa Wandira Kazibwe, and women constitute 17% of the Cabinet.

Approximately half the women elected to the Constituent Assembly returned to the new Parliament. Consequently, the old CA Caucus has been reborn as the Ugandan Women's Parliamentary Association (UWOPA). The new caucus structure is informal, with voluntary membership for women members of parliament, representatives of marginalised groups, and gender-sensitive males.

UWOPA's latest accomplishment was the passage of the Local Government Bill, which codified the constitutional concessions on a one-third quota of women in local government. Although concerns were raised about the potential decrease in capacity with the implementation of the quota, as a result of the combined lobbying efforts of the Caucus and women's NGOs, women are now guaranteed, by statute, one-third of local council seats.

Development Status of Women

Despite these recent political gains, women in Uganda still lie on the bottom rung of the development ladder. The general health of women is poor. Although women account for only slightly half the population, according to 1993 statistics almost 60% of AIDS cases were women. Similarly, women suffer from high maternal and infant mortality rates with an average life expectancy of 51 years.

Life prospects for women are equally limited as most girls are discouraged from attaining education. In Uganda agriculture is the most important economic sector, accounting for 76% of GDP and 97% of export earnings. Women account for over 70% of agricultural labour and over 80% of food production. Consequently, parents give preference to boys for education, while girls are relegated to domestic duties. The average percentage of girls enrolled in primary school between 1986-1990 was only 44.6% ,of which 50% dropped out before age 12. Girls are also encouraged to marry at an early age so the family can receive a bride price (or *labola* as it is known in South Africa). Ironically, in many instances, parents will apply the dowry towards their son's education.

Since over 87% of Ugandans live in rural areas, traditional beliefs and customary laws still have a significant impact on their lives. Many of these customs are repressive of women. Several forms of violence against women are sanctioned by traditional culture, such as spousal abuse, marital rape and genital mutilation (although Uganda is reported to have one of the lowest incidences of female circumcision on the continent). Despite the fact that the recent presidential and parliamentary elections yielded great rewards for women politicians, the turn-out among female voters was much lower than expected. Many women stayed away from the polls for fear of reprisals from their spouses. There were also many cases of intimidation and abuse reported on election day.

Thus, the challenge for women in decision-making positions is to lobby and pursue diligently an agenda which is inclusive of the broadest range of women's issues. In Uganda, co-operation between women in the legislature, civil society and government has proven to be the best way to achieve this objective.

BACKGROUND TO THE SOUTH AFRICA/KWAZULU-NATAL SITUATION

Current Political Context of South Africa

In 1989 saw FW de Klerk succeed PW Botha as President of South Africa. The new president immediately called for the unbanning of the ANC, PAC, Azanian People's Liberation Party (AZAPO) and South African Communist Party (SACP), as well as the release of Nelson Mandela, after 27 years of imprisonment. Subsequently, De Klerk and Mandela began negotiations for a peaceful transition to democracy.

After lengthy debate at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park, involving a broad range of political parties, consensus was eventually reached. South Africa went to the polls on 27 April 1994, and as in Uganda, South Africa held free and fair national elections. The ANC won the election by a margin of 62.6% and Nelson Mandela was inaugurated as South Africa's first black president on 10 May 1994. Immediately afterwards, all remaining international sanctions were lifted, and South Africa reclaimed its seat in the UN General Assembly and rejoined the Commonwealth. The country also became a member of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), where it has begun to take a leadership role.

An important result of the pre-election negotiations was the agreement reached on an interim constitution which served South Africa for the following two years. In terms of the interim constitution, Mandela presided over a Government of National Unity (GNU) and his cabinet then included representation of two major rival parties—the National Party (NP), led by Deputy President FW de Klerk, and the Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), under the leadership of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. The Cabinet consists of the president, two deputies and 31 ministers with whom responsibility for the day-to-day operations of government are vested. In 1996 the NP removed itself from the GNU in order to serve more actively as the official opposition party.

Parallel to Uganda's constitutional process of 1995, the National Assembly and the Senate jointly (as the Constitutional Assembly, or CA) adopted a final constitution for all South Africans by a two-thirds majority in September 1996. The constitution, certified by the Constitutional Court, is based on a commitment to a human rights and democratic governance including provisions for universal adult franchise, a multi-party system, fundamental rights of the individual, an independent judiciary, and equality before the law.

The interim constitution also made provision for a bicameral system including the 400-member National Assembly and 90-member Senate. Under the final constitution the Senate was replaced by the National Council of Provinces (NCOP). This body links the provincial legislatures to national level. In an unprecedented act of gender equalisation, both the Speaker and Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly are women, Dr Frene Ginwala and Baleka Kgotsisili.

There are seven political parties represented in the National Assembly of Parliament:

<i>Party Name</i>	<i>Seats</i>
African National Congress (ANC)	252
National Party (NP)	82
Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)	43
Freedom Front (FF)	9
Democratic Party (DP)	7
Pan African Party (PAC)	5
African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP)	2

South Africa has an independent legal system that combines elements of Roman, Dutch and English law. There are three tiers: Magistrates' Courts, Supreme Courts and the Appellate Court. A newly created body, the Constitutional Court comprises 11 judges, and has the right to veto any legislation that conflicts with the constitution, particularly on individual rights issues. The new Ministry of Justice piloted legislation that made provision for a Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), headed by Archbishop Desmond Tutu. The TRC investigates human rights violations committed during the country's political struggle - it cannot punish, but reveals atrocities of the past. The commission has to remain neutral and makes provision for amnesty.

A Profile of KwaZulu-Natal

The province of KwaZulu-Natal is certainly not the largest in the country (91 481km²), but demographically contains the largest population (almost 10 million) which equals 25% of South Africa's total population. Previously known as the 'last great British outpost' of South Africa because of its strong British settlement during colonialism, the province today is an ethnically and culturally diverse region, dominated by the presence of the Zulu people.

Unlike Uganda with its four regional kingdoms, KwaZulu-Natal is the only province in South Africa with a monarchical history. King Goodwill Zwelithini is a descendent of the great warrior Shaka Zulu and nephew of IFP President Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Although the province is dominated by the Zulus, it is also home to a large Indian population, who were originally brought to the region by the British as sugar plantation workers. Due to the British influence, most of the whites in the province are English-speaking as opposed to Afrikaans. Consequently, English and Zulu are the most commonly spoken languages.

The KwaZulu-Natal Legislature is the second largest, and most politically diverse, in the country, with 85 members representing seven political parties in the legislature:

<i>Party</i>		<i>Seats</i>
Inkatha Freedom Party	IFP	41
African National Congress	ANC	26
National Party	NP	9
Democratic Party	DP	2
Pan-Africanist Party	PAC	1
African Christian Democratic Party	ACDP	1
Minority Front	MF	1

The KwaZulu-Natal Provincial Legislature makes provision for the leading parties of the house to have Whips. The IFP has four Whips, the ANC has three and Democratic Party has one. A member of the majority party (IFP) is the Speaker of the House, G H S Mdlalose. He has executive status and presides over the business of the house. The Deputy Speaker hails from the main opposition party (ANC). The Executive consists of 11 members, who form the Cabinet. These members are the political heads of the government departments and determine provincial government policy. The Premier, Dr Ben Ngubane, is responsible for appointing Cabinet Ministers to the various portfolios and has the power to summon the Provincial Legislature as well as sign bills. Each Minister is responsible for the administration of the portfolio assigned to him.

Each provincial portfolio has a committee. Parliamentary Committees comprise a chairperson and a proportionate number of members from the various political parties. The committees may also assign sub-committees to research public opinion and solicit partnership with civic organisations to table legislation. In

keeping with the recent incorporation of the National Council of Provinces as the country's second parliamentary chamber, the Legislature now select representatives to address national parliament in Cape Town on provincial issues.

The legislative capital is currently divided between Ulundi and Pietermaritzburg (sittings alternate between the two on a monthly basis). The previous government housed the provincial government in Pietermaritzburg, which is in the central region of the province, creating lopsided growth as the northern regions were left undeveloped. Consequently, it is argued that the establishment of the provincial capital in Ulundi will equalise development. However, the present dual arrangement is becoming increasingly inefficient.

The conflict over the seat of government is a reflection of the civil war which has plagued the province for many years. It is characterised as a rivalry between the IFP and the ANC for political control. This war has taken the lives of tens of thousands already, and extends from rural areas into urban townships. A proposed peace package has recently been discussed between the ANC and the IFP, in an effort to curtail the carnage and also provide special amnesty for people involved in the violence for the past two years.

The Status of Gender Machinery in South Africa and KwaZulu-Natal

Gender advancement has deservedly been highlighted within the scope of issues requiring attention by the country's new dispensation. The dramatic increase in the number of women holding elected office at national level (31%) has been accompanied by a need for women to co-operate across party lines. Party schisms and the structure of national Parliament by definition, however, limit this type of co-operation. Yet this co-operation is necessary if women parliamentarians are to take a leading role in governance in the country, as well as tackling the countless gender issues that need addressing.

South Africa committed itself to gender advancement following the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, 1995, signing onto the Beijing Platform for Action. A number of national initiatives have been established to implement this commitment. This includes the establishment of an Office on the Status of Women (OSW), situated in the Office of the Deputy President, Thabo Mbeki. The OSW is responsible for the co-ordination of the integration of gender into all government bodies and programmes at a ministerial and provincial level, and the allocation of resources to government departments based on women's contribution to the economy. Uganda's existing machinery certainly served as a good example to South Africa in establishing this body. Each province is responsible for appointing Provincial Gender Offices or Desks, with the responsibility for 'mainstreaming' gender.

A second body, established for monitoring purposes, is the National Commission for Gender Equality (CGE). This Commission was introduced in the Interim Constitution and approved by Cabinet in late 1996. The CGE is an independent research and advisory body, accountable to parliament and responsible for promoting gender equality for education, research, advocacy, reviewing legislation and investigating violations of equality. This Commission has two male and 10 female members. An important document produced with the assistance of this body was the Women's Budget, which examined the impact on women of key aspects of the South African Budget. It scrutinised, by line item, gender advancement in each sector of the budget and raised flags to areas of the budget still requiring attention to the plight of women.

A third body was created with the purpose of co-ordinating gender initiatives in South Africa, the Women's Empowerment Unit (WEU). Chaired by the Deputy Speaker of the Gauteng Province, Lindiwe Zulu, this initiative, supported by efforts of the Speaker of the National Assembly, Dr Frene Ginwala, is proving very beneficial in areas such as skills training for women MPs.

At national level, a Parliamentary Women's Group (PWG) was established in 1995. This multi-party informal caucus was established to ensure that the principle of gender equality enshrined in the Constitution be upheld by Parliament. This initiative has largely been unsuccessful due to partisanship and lack of infrastructure. A standing portfolio committee on gender was also established specifically to monitor and review legislation for gender sensitivity.

The failure of the national women's caucus has given an incentive to the female members of the KwaZulu-Natal Provincial Legislature. Comprising 20% of the Legislature, women occupy many leadership positions including whip and committee chair posts. The women members of this provincial legislature are all prominent members of their parties and are active within their constituencies. Despite good leadership, to date, the province still has no gender desk as prescribed by the OSW, neither has there been any progress in establishing structures to promote, recommend or implement gender policy, neither has there been any progress in establishing any form of gender structures to promote, recommend or implement gender policy.

Members of the KwaZulu-Natal Provincial Women's Caucus were able to draw comparisons to their own situation through the visit to Uganda. The parallels of the two countries, with regard to political history and development, are many. But most importantly, both the women of Uganda and KwaZulu-Natal are united in their commitment to gender equality.

REPORT OF THE KWAZULU-NATAL STUDY MISSION CONSULTATIONS

The study mission was designed to provide both factual information and more subjective, personal accounts from the women and even some men directly involved in the gender empowerment process and improving the status of women in Uganda. The agenda, however, focused largely on examining the Ugandan Women's Parliamentary Caucus and its established outreach network to the broader civil society. The itinerary was structured so as to expose the delegation to participants in this process from across the Ugandan political spectrum, and highlight certain areas of consideration raised as points of interest in the terms of reference (see attached: Appendix II).

What follows is an attempt to extract the most pertinent lessons learned from the Ugandan experience and examine the comparative issues relevant to the KwaZulu-Natal context.

I. GENDER MACHINERY

The relationship between the women's empowerment structures in Uganda is consolidated in such a way as to encourage a free exchange of information and collaborative efforts. Compared to the Ugandan gender machinery structure, the current status of gender machinery in South Africa is notably fragmented in its attempts to formulate a solid advocacy base. Having witnessed a more efficient system of gender empowerment voiced within a "grassroots-up" structure, as opposed to the South African national "top-down" machinery, South Africa, and KwaZulu-Natal in particular, would need to assess what gender initiatives are underway, and how to coordinate those efforts.

Uganda's national Ministry of Gender and Community Development, whilst successful in its legislative role within the broader machinery (having obtained legislative approval of the National Gender Policy), suffers from a financial shortfall and is the least funded Ministry (most support is from foreign donors). The Caucus intends to lobby vigorously for more government funding of Ministry projects. A local provincial Caucus could similarly be utilised to mobilise funding for gender activities in KwaZulu-Natal, as a lack of financial support is likewise a problem in South Africa.

The controversial Ugandan model of the "no-party system" was defended by Uganda's Speaker of Parliament, James Wapakhabulo, as well as the Deputy Prime Minister, Eriya Kategaya. The lack of partisanship may lend itself to gender advancement in that it seems to lead to greater trust and cohesion amongst the Women's Caucus members. With members not having to toe a party line, decision-making is facilitated as the women can work to gender-sensitise legislation without the obstruction of a party vote first. The breakdown of party barriers is a problem the women of South Africa need to overcome; they must find a mechanism to work together effectively in a pluralist political environment. This process is more complex in a multi-party democracy, and the women need to develop a clear understanding of the functions and responsibilities of a women's caucus as opposed to those of a party caucus.

A parliamentary caucus has a distinct role to play within the broader scope of a country's national gender machinery – the members of a parliamentary women's caucus have a unique place in the strategy towards gender empowerment. Women within legislatures need to take advantage of their access to the law-making process, complementing the function of parliamentary committees. Unlike committees, whose size and make-up is determined in accordance with the standing orders and who are usually dominated by the ruling party, caucus membership is voluntary for all female members. This distinctive composition provides an exclusive forum for women parliamentarians to congregate across party lines, thereby reinforcing the working relationship between women. A caucus would also aid in the development of female legislators through the sharing of information and pooling of talent and expertise. This is very important considering that most South Africans, like Ugandans, are new to the (formal) political arena.

A caucus provides a unique opportunity for women to influence policy collectively. Fortified with multi-party support, women are better able to shape and impact their party's positions on women's issues. Since they are not confined to the role and associations of a legislative body, a caucus can affect government policy not only as a point of access for civil society but by creating formal alliances with a broad range of organisations and interest groups. For example, a women's caucus can go beyond the traditional committee hearing as a means of soliciting public input. In the case of the Ugandan Constituent Assembly Women's Caucus Gender Dialogues, the Caucus invited non-members, including men, to a reception to discuss selected gender-related topics. Resulting positions were then published in brochures to capture wider public support.

The flexible constitution of a caucus enables women to initiate legislation more easily as it is not subject to the procedures and consensus-building process of a committee. New legislation and amendments can be introduced as private members' bills.

Given the valuable and productive role a women's caucus can potentially play within the broader framework of the national gender machinery, it is essential that a women's caucus have institutional support. More specifically, in order to be effective, caucuses must have staff with both administrative and research capacities (or links to an NGO offering those services, eg., FOWODE), a slot on the parliamentary calendar and space within the legislative chamber. Funding for caucus support should come from the parliamentary budget so as to avoid reliance on member dues or party financing. While this may seem financially burdensome, it would represent a most significant contribution to the political empowerment of women both in and outside of government.

II. QUOTA SYSTEM

To ensure a balance between men and women in government, Uganda has instituted a quota system, which provides for a "women's seat" in each parliamentary district, as well as a requirement for one-third of local council members to be women. At the Makerere University Women's Studies Department, the delegation participated in a discussion entitled, "Achievements and constraints of affirmative action in advancing women's political empowerment." Both traditional cultures and colonialism have put women at a disadvantage, and the arguments centered on whether a quota system is an effective mechanism for empowering women..

Winnie Byanyima, Chair of FOWODE, said that when she ran for the CA, she found that approximately seven years of affirmative action in politics had a big impact on the community; there was no question that it was appropriate for her to run, and there was a general acceptance of women as leaders. There was also a constraint, however, as people assumed she was running for the affirmative action (AA) seat, not the municipal seat, and when they found it was actually the latter, they asked her why she wanted to take a man's seat; the mainstream was defined by men because they had created women's seats. Also, because AA is not being applied in other areas (e.g., public service, academia), the public's understanding is distorted; in public service, people say "no, there it is merit," as if politics is not based on merit.

Lindiwe Zulu noted that the delegation had sensed among the Ugandans a feeling that women MPs in AA seats are not as strong as those who fought and "trounced" (a favorite phrase of the Ugandan women) men in general constituency seats. In response to Lindiwe's comment, Winnie Byanyima explained that eight women were directly elected, and within political circles, they are not perceived as having any more right than those elected to AA seats. Six out of 53 ministers are women; four were elected through AA, two were elected directly, and there is not difference between them. Her explanation for the sense the South Africans had gotten was that there is still a novelty about struggling to defeat men, so there is a "sparkle" attached to women who succeed, but there is no qualitative distinction drawn. Winnie questioned the government's commitment to women's empowerment; she is critical of those in leadership positions who are interested in nurturing/maintaining AA, and discouraging women from running against men, so the women will be "grateful" to them for their seats.

Another faculty member stated that in the interest of AA, women are sometimes appointed to positions for which they are not qualified, so they do not perform well and are essentially disempowered. In addition, if incompetent women are appointed, the entire policy is questioned/blamed, creating a backlash. Another Ugandan MP, Mary Kakembo, commented that leaders should consult women's organizations to find the most capable people when making appointments. She also said that AA should not go on indefinitely; there should be a deadline after which women will have to compete in an open environment. One of the participants said that AA had worked to get women into politics, but that older women should step down from AA seats to run in general seats and make way for younger women to come up.

Uganda MP Tezira Jamwa explained the electoral college process for AA seats. The electoral college (EC) normally comprises local councils at the branch and subdistrict levels; the original colleges were therefore 90% male. This set-up was redefined for the CA, so that ECs now include local women's councils; the colleges are now 50-60% female. In the next local council elections, women will be elected by universal suffrage, not an electoral college.

Dr. Sylvia Tamale went on to say that men dominate all local councils, and women who come in through AA owe their allegiance to the men who put them in office, not to their female constituents. Women have misperceptions about the disadvantages of universal suffrage v. the electoral college; for example, women thought the EC was a smaller constituency to reverse than a whole district, but it turned out they still had to deal with the whole district because councillors are scattered throughout. She also said she would advise the women to consider the controversial option of having only women elect women. In her view, the political leadership discourages a feminist agenda; "women do not represent women but the whole district." On the other hand, many government policies are taken for political expediency, international image purposes, etc.; women need to take advantage of these policies.

III. *STRUCTURE OF THE CAUCUS*

Organisational Links

Women MPs in Uganda receive support from a range of women's NGOs, which assist with skills training, advocacy, research and publications. The delegation was very impressed with organisations like FOWODE and ACFODE, which serve to empower women legislators by teaching them such skills as how to use parliamentary procedure to their own advantage, how to write and deliver speeches, how to lobby, how to debate, how to analyse a budget, and how to do research.

In terms of advocacy, FOWODE tries to get policies to reflect gender perspectives and concerns by organising a Dialogue Series, which consists of meetings for MPs and the public, at which experts who reflect different interests speak and then the group attempts to reach a consensus. FOWODE also conducts Policy/Issue Studies, holds workshops to discuss the results, and then lobbies the government to change policy (e.g., they are currently working on government contracting, for which they want to introduce a quota system).

FOWODE also produces a variety of research products and publications, including: a regular newsletter; research-oriented policy studies (see above re: advocacy); issue briefs, which are quick bulletins on burning issues; and responses to requests for specific research from MPs (to facilitate this, they have established linkages with other libraries). The women MPLs expressed a particularly strong desire for establishing a similar capacity—either within the Caucus or through an outside NGO—to be able to produce issue briefs on issues of concern to women and to draft legislation. FOWODE receives funding from USAID, DANIDA, Friedrich Ebert, and UNDP. There is currently a lot of goodwill amongst donors toward issues of gender and governance. FOWODE also collects some funds from its members; donors only pay for FOWODE's activities, so operating costs must be paid by voluntary membership dues.

The delegates observed that organisations like FOWODE also provide important links to the local government level—which can serve as a route to Parliament—where women candidates and councillors need to be trained and empowered.

The benefits of the strong link between the Ugandan Caucus and Makerere University showed the MPLs the need for links between a Provincial Gender Desk and academics in the province. In Uganda, there is an ongoing dialogue between the University and MPs, with the University providing training, organising discussion groups (such as the one the delegation attended on the issue of the quota system) to get women involved in debate on a higher level, and supplying the Caucus with information on various issues.

Dr Joy Kwesiga, Head of the Women's Studies Department at Makerere University, explained that the Women's Studies program was started by women at Makerere University who wanted to focus on academic issues; they began with a two-

year master's degree program, and admitted 25 students per year. They are currently trying to revise the program by shortening it and making it easier for working people. For example, the Department is conducting outreach programs of shorter courses (e.g., four weeks for gender training, then students devise action plans, and then come back after six months to present findings and do two weeks of training trainers), and is looking at offering evening classes. The Department is also trying to establish linkages with other departments to introduce gender into courses on management, research, etc. The Department also works with other NGOs and the Ministry of Gender.

Rules and Procedures

At the Ugandan retreat, there was a great deal of discussion about problems the Caucus has experienced, in terms of solidarity amongst Caucus members, due to a lack of established rules and procedures. Because a quorum is not required, decisions are often made by a few people, but according to Caucus guidelines, once a decision has been taken 'by the Caucus,' members cannot publicly disagree (they can only abstain from voting on issues in parliament). In addition, several members of the Caucus are not active and not ideologically aligned with Caucus goals; they have only joined the Caucus for personal gain/advancement. Finally, there is a gap between veteran MPs and "young Turks" in the Caucus.

The retreat participants proposed several ways to move forward on these issues:

- 1) establish rules and procedures (i.e., by-laws) including disciplinary action, but also need quorum requirements to ensure active participation and that decisions are made by a majority, not just two or three people
- 2) need mechanism to smooth out frictions/differences among caucus members; have pool of people to serve on mediation committee
- 3) all members of caucus who are concerned about a member's behavior relevant to the caucus can bring concerns to committee
- 4) hold a series of seminars/conferences to address issues of concern; helps not to single someone out
- 5) rather than have a disciplinary committee, should seek to learn people's problems; e.g., find out why people don't come to meetings
- 6) to serve on disciplinary committee, need people with sufficient authority (age, experience)
- 7) specify which issues are to be handled by disciplinary committee; should address behaviors that undermine strength of the Caucus because purpose is to make Caucus more effective and improve solidarity

Some of the KZN MPLs expressed concern that if you establish rules and procedures that are too rigid, you are in danger of scaring people off. To address this concern, some proposed that the Women's Caucus should work on a consensus basis.

IV. BROAD ALLIANCES

The Ugandan Constituent Assembly Women's Caucus had a tremendous impact on the constitution-making process, securing several provisions on gender equality. Much of this was achieved through forming broad alliances, which included other marginalised groups (i.e., the disabled, youth and workers) and "gender-sensitive" men. These alliances have carried over into the Parliamentary Caucus

The women MPLs must decide whether Caucus membership should be restricted to women only. Similarly, they must decide whether some other structure, which could accommodate membership of non-MPLs, would be more appropriate than a formal parliamentary caucus.

V. CONSTITUENCY SERVICING

The delegation met with the National Association of Women's Organisations in Uganda (NAWOU) to examine how linkages between women in politics and women at the grassroots level are promoted. NAWOU traces its history to the creation of the Ministry of Women in Development (now the Ministry of Gender and Community Development) in 1988. Within this ministry was an established government body, the National Council of Women (NCW), which was the national machinery responsible for the promotion of issues related to women.

When women's NGOs and CBOs met in a general meeting co-ordinated by NCW, they expressed a desire to be linked and co-ordinated, particularly at the national level. As a result, NCW opened up district networks and offices within the Community Development Departments in various parts of Uganda. These were subsequently taken over by NAWOU, and today form the NAWOU District Networks.

The Chair of NAWOU, Namirembe Bitamazire, attributed constituency outreach problems to geographic dispersal within districts; constituents constantly complain, "We have elected you to Parliament and we never see you!" NAWOU tries to overcome this by bringing women, particularly from rural areas, to Parliament to see what the women MPs do. The South Africans were very positive about the idea of conducting such "field trips" or "open houses" in the provincial legislature.

In order to facilitate networking, co-operation and collaboration among NGOs, NAWOU's Information and Research Department has compiled a comprehensive directory of its affiliates. The delegation expressed a strong desire to find every women's organisation in KZN and compile a similar directory. This directory would improve the accessibility of these NGOs and promote their activities, as well as facilitate communication, information sharing, and exchange of experience among them. It would also be a useful tool for donors, research organisations, and policy makers. An added benefit could be that if the Women's Caucus compiles such a directory, it will be seen to be operating as an effective organisation, and more women's NGOs will come to the Caucus for assistance (i.e., it could generate "business" for the Caucus).

The South African delegation also saw advantages to reaching out to civil society through NGOs. Such links could provide an effective advocacy mechanism, as well as opportunities for educating their constituents on women's issues (e.g., as part of the peace process in KZN). These NGOs could also serve as a mechanism for two-way communication between the women MPLs and women at the grassroots level. Delegates saw the need for increasing pressure from women outside of parliament for action on women's issues. A provincial Women's Caucus could help organise forums, letter-writing campaigns, and visits to parliament, in order to solicit feedback on what the real issues are for women in the province. Women constituents also need to be encouraged to take action outside the legislative process (e.g., working with police to deal with rape and child abuse cases). One delegate proposed taking the list of women's organisations and dividing up the constituencies for servicing; such an

approach, however, would obviously have to be sensitive to the operations of party caucuses.

The delegation also saw that the Women's Caucus could have a big role to play in the delivery of constituency services. At the retreat, the KZN women learned that as MPs, they can legitimately be expected to mobilise the community, articulate/represent constituent issues in parliament, initiate development projects, explain government policies to constituents, legislate, monitor the executive branch, and liaise between the government and constituents. Obstacles to meeting such expectations include unrealistic demands from the electorate, who expect MPs to solve all their personal and community problems (and don't understand the distinction between legislators and the government); a lack of financial resources; the size and geography of various constituencies; poor communication and transportation infrastructure; in-fighting/back-stabbing among MPs; and an uncooperative civil service.

The Ugandan retreat participants saw their way forward as including: educating constituents about the roles of the legislative, judiciary and executive branches; identifying and securing financial resources (e.g., creating a database of donor funds and resources for constituency support); using the media to elevate the profile of MPs; co-operating with other levels of government and institutions; co-ordinating and communicating with other MPs and encouraging teamwork; and tracking and co-ordinating constituency events for all Caucus members.

Finally, the South African delegates were very impressed with the specific constituency projects they saw on their site visits: the AIDS project in Lugazi and the women's fish farm in Njeru. However, while promoting such activities should definitely be a longer-term goal for the Women's Caucus, some delegates felt it was important to build themselves up first, before they could look at raising funds for other worthy projects.

To reach the grassroots level, women MPs in Uganda often network through other levels of government. For example, if an MP wants to hold a meeting in a village, she will write to the Secretary for Women on the village council. In South Africa, such an approach could be replicated through the party structures; for example, the Women's League and Women's Brigade structures at the branch, regional and constituency levels.

APPENDIX I

KwaZulu-Natal Women's Caucus Study Mission to Uganda
16 - 23 July 1997

Delegation Biographies

Ms Happy Blose is a member of the African National Congress (ANC). In the Legislature she serves on the Agriculture, Housing, Gender and Traditional Authority portfolio committees. She is also chairperson of the ANC Women's League, Natal Midlands Branch. Before entering politics, Ms Blose was a United Democratic Front (UDF) organiser.

Ms Mildred Buthelezi is a member of the African National Congress (ANC). In the Legislature she sits on the Social Welfare, Local Government, Housing, Transportation and Public Works portfolio committees. A former unionist, Ms Buthelezi served as chairperson of the Congress of South African Trade Unions' (COSATU) Gender Forum. In 1990, she was appointed a member of the ANC Interim Committee and a convenor for the ANC Women's League.

Ms Jo-Ann Downs is a member of the African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP). As the sole representative of her party in the KZN Legislature, and policy director for the National Executive Committee, Ms Downs serves on many committees, including Local Government, Agriculture, Finance, Public Accounts, Education, Conservation and Safety & Security. Ms Downs is also involved in several civic organisations including the Rape Services Networking Forum, the Democracy Development Programme Gender Committee, the Women's Empowerment Programme and Christians for Life.

Ms Abbie Mchunu is a member of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) where she sits on the Economics and Tourism, Health, and Social Welfare committees. Before joining the Legislature last February, Ms Mchunu served as a national Senator.

Ms Constance Mkhize is a member of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP). In addition to serving on the Health, Local Government, Housing and Finance committees, Ms Mkhize serves her party as a Whip. Ms Mkhize also holds a diploma in Community Health and Nursing.

Dr Lissah Mtalane is a member of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP). In the Legislature, she chairs the Health Committee and serves on the Economics and Tourism, Public Works, Safety and Security, and Education committees. Dr Mtalane has a Masters Degree in Nursing from the University of South Africa and a Social Science PhD from the University of Natal. Prior to joining the provincial Legislature, Dr Mtalane served two years as Deputy Minister of Health for the KwaZulu Government.

Ms Fatima Nahara is a member of the African National Congress(ANC). In addition to her responsibilities as party whip, Ms Nahara serves on the Safety and Security, Social Welfare, and Housing committees. Ms Nahara also represented the province as

a member of the South African delegation to the Beijing Fourth World Conference on Women.

Ms Maria Xulu is a member of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP). In the legislature she serves on the Constitutional Affairs, Housing, Safety and Security and Social Welfare committees. Prior to joining the Legislature, Ms Xulu was the mayor of Umlazi Township. She is also the Women's Brigade national treasurer and South Coast Branch chairperson. In 1993 Ms Xulu received the "Koo - 'Woman of the Year' Award" from the private sector in recognition of her exemplary work in her community.

Ms Lindiwe Zulu is a member of the African National Congress (ANC) and serves as Deputy Speaker of the Gauteng Provincial Legislature. She was elected in 1993 to the ANC National Executive Council (NEC) and headed the Women's League Media Department. In addition to her parliamentary duties, she is chairperson of the Women's Empowerment Unit (WEU) and a campaigner for AIDS education.

APPENDIX II

TERMS OF REFERENCE
KwaZulu-Natal Women's Caucus Study Mission to Uganda
16 - 23 July 1997

The NRM government's commitment to women's empowerment is commendable. Its Ministry of Gender and Community Development's mission to "promote and ensure gender responsiveness in national policies, programmes and legislation," has served as an international model. While this comprehensive approach helps to prioritize and lend credibility to the advancement of women, it also creates bodies which seemingly have complementary, if not overlapping roles and functions.

- What is the relationship between a women's caucus and a party caucus?
- What characteristics distinguish a caucus in relation to other gender machinery and parliamentary bodies? How does a caucus differ in scope, size and composition?
- What specific activities can a caucus perform/sponsor that other political mediums can not? And vice versa? Could some of these objectives be fulfilled by other bodies or agents?
- What replicable models of cooperation exist?
- Are there mechanisms to prevent duplication?
- What resources are shared?

While there is general agreement worldwide that women are politically underrepresented in relation to their population size, there is discord on the strategies which should be implemented to correct the imbalance. Uganda has taken a bold step by entrenching a quota system whereby each parliamentary district retains a woman's seat and one third of all local government councillors must be women. How have these measures aided the political advancement of women? What other institutional factors are prohibitive of women's political participation?

- Does preferential treatment undermine the credibility of women politicians?
- Should women representatives be elected only by women? What problems do electoral colleges present?
- What stigma is attached to women's activism? Does it bolster or prohibit women's leadership?

- What are the advantages/disadvantages of direct and proportional representation in facilitating the election of women?
- Are women who are affiliated with women's activism less likely to be selected for leadership positions such as committee chair or party whip?

Organizational structure and resources are important in determining the efficacy of a caucus. The Ugandan women relied on an informal association between women and other disadvantaged groups during the constitution-making process, however they are considering a more formal arrangement for the future.

- What impact does name selection have? What are the implications of the term "caucus"?
- Is the caucus recognized by the House? What privileges are conferred upon it?
- How often does the caucus meet?
- What resources should the parliament or political parties provide for caucus activities?
- What governing principles are used to direct the caucus?
- What is the leadership structure? What is the decision-making process? How is consensus reached?
- How is membership determined? What are the levels of membership (associate vs. full, voting vs. non-voting)? Should membership be confined to sitting members only?
- How is revenue generated? Do members pay dues?

The Ugandan Constituent Assembly Women's Caucus had a tremendous impact on the constitution-making process, securing several provisions on gender equality. Much of this was achieved through broad alliances which included men.

- How does the caucus exert its influence?
- How does the caucus resist external political pressures?
- What strategies are most effective for securing men's support?
- How effective are cross-party alliances?

In addition to general parliamentary duties women politicians have an extra burden (either perceived or real) as special representatives of women's interests. However, in the transition from activist to politician many women experience alienation from their communities. Support from NGOs can help enrich constituency servicing. The Ugandan caucus' relationship with ACFODE, NAWOU and FOWODE all present different models of cooperation.

- How does the caucus solicit public input?
- How effective is the caucus at representing constituent interests?
- What are the impediments of working at the grassroots level?
- What kind of logistical, administrative and communicative support can NGOs provide?

APPENDIX III

Program Schedule
KwaZulu-Natal Women's Caucus Study Mission to Uganda
16 - 23 July 1997

Wednesday, 16 July

18h30 Arrival at Entebbe International Airport
Met by NDI staff and members of the Parliamentary Women's Caucus

Thursday, 17 July

8h00 Orientation

11h00 Courtesy call on the First Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of
Foreign Affairs Hon. Eriya Kategaya

12h00 Meeting with National Association of Women's Organisations in
Uganda (NAWOU) on promoting linkages between women in politics
and women at the grassroots level

13h30 Call on Speaker of Parliament Hon. James Wapakhabulo

14h30 Attend Parliamentary Session

16h00 Program Debriefing

18h00 Reception hosted by the Mayor of Kampala, Mr. Christopher Iga

Friday, 18 July

8h30 Meeting at the FOWODE Centre to discuss its research and
administrative support to the caucus

10h00 Roundtable with Makerere University Women's Studies Department -
"Achievements and constraints of affirmative action in advancing
women's political empowerment."
Moderator: Dr. Joy Kwesiga - Head of Women's Studies Department,
Makerere University

14h00 Meeting with the South African High Commissioner, His Excellency
Mr. Raymond Mhlaba

15h00 Departure for retreat (Windsor Lake Victoria Hotel, Entebbe)

16h00 Retreat Registration

18h00 Program Debriefing

19h30 Informal Dinner

Saturday, 19 July

7h30 Breakfast

9h00 Introductions

- Caucus Chair to welcome participants and introduce guests
- Introduction of facilitators and Guest of Honour by Ms Solome Mukisa, Finance Secretary, FOWODE
- Keynote Address and official opening of retreat by Hon. Capt. Gertrude Njuba, Patron, FOWODE on “The role of women in the NRM/NRA protracted people’s war, its impact on the democratisation process in Uganda and challenges ahead.”

10h30 Tea Break

11h00 Plenary Session

- Gender Sensitive Budgeting by Ms. Debbie Budlender, Gender Budget Expert from South Africa
- Discussion

13h00 Lunch

14h00 Working Group Sessions:
First Exercise - Analysis of a sectoral policy/budget

Second Exercise -

1. Elections to Parliamentary Standing Committees
2. Local Government Bill
3. Government Appointments

16h30 Tea Break

17h00 Plenary Session – Working Groups report back

20h00 Formal Welcome Dinner

Sunday, 20 July

- 9h00 Plenary Session
Chair: Hon. Capt. Gertrude Njuba
- Short presentations:
- Dr. Sylvia Tamale – “Solidarity amongst Caucus Members and Women MPs in the Public Eye”
 - Ms. Elizabeth Kharono – “Women MPs and the Women’s Movement”
- 9h40 Discussion
- 10h30 Tea Break
- 11h00 Working Group Sessions:
1. The Role of the Women’s Caucus in Parliament
 2. Women MPs and the Women’s Movement
 3. Solidarity amongst Caucus Members and Women MPs in the Public Eye
 4. The Role of the Women’s Caucus in Delivery of Constituency Services
- 14h00 Lunch
- 15h00 Plenary Session – Working Groups report back
- 17h00 Official Closing
- 18h00 Departure for Kampala

Monday, 21 July

- 9h00 Constituency site visits:
- AIDS project in Lugazi
 - women’s fish farm development project in Njeru
- 14h00 Lunch meeting with Jinja District and Municipal Women Councillors at Bujagali Falls and a visit to the source of the Nile
- 17h00 Return to Kampala
- 18h00 Program Debriefing

Tuesday, 22 July

- 9h00 Meeting with Action for Development (ACFODE) on its collaborative role in the constitution-making process
- 11h30 Meeting with the Ministry of Gender and Community Development to discuss Uganda's National Machinery structure
- 12h30 Courtesy call on Her Excellency the Vice President Dr. Speciosa Wandira Kazibwe
- 14h00 Press Conference at the Grand Imperial Hotel
- 15h30 Shopping and visits to cultural sites such as Kasubi and Namugongo
- 16h30 Courtesy call on His Excellency the President Mr. Yoweri Museveni
- 17h30 Program Debriefing
- 20h00 Farewell Dinner

Wednesday, 23 July

- 7h00 Departure from Entebbe International Airport
- 12h15 Arrival at Johannesburg International Airport

APPENDIX IV

**MEMBERS OF UGANDA WOMEN'S PARLIAMENTARY
ASSOCIATION (UWOPA)**

<u>NAME</u>	<u>CONSTITUENCY</u>	<u>DESIGNATION</u>
General Seats		
Byanyima, Winnie	Mbarara district	Member of Parliament
Egunyu, Fiona Lucy	Kumi district	Member of Parliament
Jamwa, Tezira	Tororo district	Member of Parliament
Kafiire, Rainer Juliet	Pallisa district	Member of Parliament
Kazibwe, Specioza Wandira	Kigulu county, Iganga	Vice President and Minister of Agriculture, Animal Industries and Fisheries
Mukwaya, Janet	Mukono South district	Minister of Gender and Community Development
Musumba, Salaam	Kamuli district	Member of Parliament
Ogwal, Cecilia	Lira district	Member of Parliament
Army		
Nkalubo, Annette (2 nd Lt.)		Member of Parliament
Disabled		
Diri, Baba		Member of Parliament
Naiga, Florence		Member of Parliament
Women's Seats		
Abu, Dominica	Moyo district	Member of Parliament, Caucus Chairperson
Akello, Grace	Soroti district	Member of Parliament
Akwero, Jane	Kitgum district	Member of Parliament
Amongin, Hellen	Kumi district	Member of Parliament
Babihuga, Winnie	Rukungiri district	Member of Parliament
Bakoru, Bakoku	Arua district	Member of Parliament
Balemezi, Lydia	Mukono district	Member of Parliament
Bigirwa, Bernadette	Bushenyi district	Member of Parliament
Bitamazire, Geraldine	Mpigi district	Member of Parliament
Bwambale, Loyce	Kasese district	Member of Parliament
Byenkya, Beatrice	Hoima district	Member of Parliament
Hyuha, Dorothy	Tororo district	Member of Parliament
Ida, Bikorwenda	Bundibugyo district	Member of Parliament
Ikote, Alleluya	Pallisa district	Member of Parliament
Kabasharira, Naome	Ntungamo district	Member of Parliament
Kadaga, Rebecca	Kamuli district	Minister of State, Foreign Affairs
Kerwegi, Rosemary	Apac district	Member of Parliament

<u>NAME</u>	<u>CONSTITUENCY</u>	<u>DESIGNATION</u>
Kuka, Jane Frances	Kapchorwa district	Minister of State, Gender and Community Development
Labwori, Kabakumba	Masindi district	Member of Parliament
Lubega, Gertrude	Masaka district	Member of Parliament
Matembe, Miria	Mbarara district	Member of Parliament
Mavenjina, Akumu	Nebbi district	Minister of State, Public Service
Mpanga, Joyce	Mubende district	Member of Parliament
Mukiibi, Benigna	Kibaale district	Member of Parliament
Mwaka, Victoria	Luwero district	Member of Parliament
Mwebesa, Christine	Kabale district	Member of Parliament
Nacha, Rose	Moroto district	Member of Parliament
Nankabirwa, Ruth	Kiboga district	Member of Parliament
Nsangi, Kakembo	Kalangala district	Member of Parliament
Ntabgoba, Jeninah	Kisoro district	Member of Parliament
Okorimoe, Janet	Kotido district	Member of Parliament
Okwir, Betty	Lira district	Deputy Speaker
Owagagge, Ruth	Jinja district	Member of Parliament
Rwabyomere, Joan	Kabarole district	Member of Parliament
Wabudeya, Beatrice	Mbale district	Member of Parliament
Zziwa, Margaret	Kampala district	Member of Parliament

APPENDIX V

GLOSSARY OF TERMS AND ACRONYMS

ACFODE	Action for Development
<i>Buganda</i>	Kingdom of Uganda
CA	Constituent Assembly
CP	Conservative Party
DP	Democratic Party
FIDA	Uganda Association of Women Lawyers
FOWODE	Forum for Women in Democracy
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNP	Gross National Product
IEC	Independent Electoral Commission
<i>Kabaka</i>	King
<i>Luganda</i>	indigenous language of the Baganda tribe
LC	local council
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
NAWOU	National Association of Women's Organisations in Uganda
<i>nkiikos</i>	parliaments
NRA	National Resistance Army
NRC	National Resistance Council
NRM	National Resistance Movement
RC	Resistance Council
UNLA	Uganda National Liberation Army
UNLF	Uganda National Liberation Front
UPC	Uganda People's Congress
UPM	Uganda Patriotic Movement
UWFCT	Uganda Women's Finance and Credit Trust Limited
UWOPA	Uganda Women's Parliamentary Association

APPENDIX VI

CHRONOLOGY OF KEY POLITICAL EVENTS

October, 1962	Independence from British Rule, Milton Obote elected prime minister and the King of Buganda, Sir Edward Mutesa, as president
February, 1966	Suspension of 1962 Constitution
April, 1966	Obote becomes executive president
May, 1966	<i>Bugandan</i> palace is overrun and the <i>Kabaka</i> flees to London
January, 1971	Idi Amin overthrows Obote
August, 1972	Amin expels Asians
April, 1979	Amin is overthrown by a combination of TPDF and UNLF forces. Yusuf Lule becomes president of UNLF coalition
December, 1980	Suspected rigged general election results in Obote returning to power
July, 1985	Obote is overthrown by Brigadier Okello who becomes head of the ruling Military Council
January, 1986	Military Council overthrown by NRA
February, 1989	Elections to the National Resistance Council (parliament)
March, 1992	National elections from village to district Resistance Councils
March, 1994	Elections to the Constituent Assembly are held
October, 1995	New Constitution adopted
May, 1996	Museveni elected as president
June, 1996	National parliamentary elections