



## **“Introducing Quotas in Africa: Discourse and Legal Reform in Uganda”**

Sylvia Tamale

A paper presented at the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA)/Electoral Institute of Southern Africa (EISA)/Southern African Development Community (SADC) Parliamentary Forum Conference

### **The Implementation of Quotas: African Experiences**

Pretoria, South Africa, 11–12 November 2003

#### **Background to Quotas in Ugandan Politics**

The Republic of Uganda gained formal independence on 9 October 1962. Its unicameral system of parliament was inherited from the former colonial power, Britain, as was the majoritarian electoral system.<sup>1</sup> The country’s population presently stands at approximately 24 million with more than half of that number being female. Turbulent and volatile politics in the country have subjected its citizens to various modes of governance. Uganda has fluctuated from multi-party democracy to one-party rule to military dictatorship to the current no-party or ‘movement’ system. As is the case elsewhere in Africa, men dominate the ‘public’ space of formal politics, while women are relegated to the domesticated ‘private’ space. For almost 30 years, the participation of women in the formal politics of post-independence Uganda was negligible.

Since the National Resistance Movement (NRM) administration took power in 1986, Uganda has been operating under a political arrangement known as the movement system, which is supposed to accommodate all citizens regardless of political inclination, tribe/ethnicity, religion, sex, social class, etc. The principle of ‘individual merit’ is preferred to ‘party affiliation’ when one runs for any elective political office. Adherence to the ideal of individual merit was generally maintained in the initial years of this arrangement, but it was soon overtaken by the political agendas of subsequent years. Today, the government openly backs ‘movementists’ and campaigns against ‘multi-partyists’ in any election.

Affirmative action was introduced to Uganda through quotas. Reserved seats for women made their debut on the Ugandan political scene in 1986. In what appeared to be a testing of the waters, the NRM first experimented with one mandatory seat for women on the executive councils of local councils (LCs) at all levels of the five-tier system.<sup>2</sup>

Thus, females were guaranteed to fill the post of ‘secretary for women’ on the nine-member executive councils of the LCs.<sup>3</sup> However, most executive councils throughout the nation, inadvertently or deliberately reduced the role of such women in their midst to the traditional functions of nurturing and caring. They were expected to serve tea to other councillors, take care of the social aspects of council work and have little to do with local politics.<sup>4</sup>

The Ugandan women’s movement was dissatisfied with the token representation in both local and national decision-making institutions. The 1985 United Nations (UN) women’s conference, held in neighbouring Nairobi, Kenya, especially inspired Ugandan women to demand their rights. They voiced dissatisfaction about the situation of women to government at every opportunity.<sup>5</sup> Partly because of this pressure, but also as a result of political expediency and calculation, the NRM, in 1989, opened the door further to women’s participation in politics, expanding parliament to include 39 reserved seats for women (one from each district).<sup>6</sup> Each district elected a woman member of parliament (MP) from an all-female list of candidates.

The mode of electing ‘affirmative action legislators’ was different from that associated with mainstream county MPs. While the latter were elected through universal adult suffrage, a limited male-dominated Electoral College appointed the women who filled the quota seats.<sup>7</sup> The revised 1995 constitution institutionalized the quota system by providing for a number of reserved seats in the national parliament equal to the number of districts in the country.<sup>8</sup> It further guaranteed the holding by women of one-third of all local council seats. In addition, women benefit from the limited number of quota seats reserved for persons with disabilities (PWDs), the youth and workers.<sup>9</sup>

### **Enforcement Mechanisms of Quotas at National & Local Levels**

Electoral quotas in Uganda have the strong backing of the law. The Constitution clearly lays out the objective of introducing affirmative action in Article 32(1):

Notwithstanding anything in this Constitution, the State shall take affirmative action in favour of groups marginalised on the basis of gender, age, disability or any other reason created by history, tradition or custom, *for the purpose of redressing imbalances which exist against them.* (Emphasis added by author.)

Article 78(1) specifies the composition of the parliament:

- (a) Members directly elected to represent constituencies (that is, counties).
- (b) One woman representative for every district.
- (c) Such numbers of representatives of the army, the youth, workers, persons with disabilities and other groups as parliament may determine.
- (d) The vice-president and ministers, who, if not already elected members of parliament, shall be ex-officio members of parliament without the right to vote on any issue requiring a vote in parliament.

Thus, through the political mechanism of quotas, the Ugandan government aims to redress the socio-cultural and historical inequalities that exist for four specific social groups: women, workers, the youth and persons with disabilities.

Article 180 (2)(b) provides that: ‘one third of the membership of each local government council shall be reserved for women’. In the decentralized system of local councils, most

authority and resources remain at the sub-county (LC III) and district (LC V) levels.<sup>10</sup> Thus, our analysis of the LCs will be mostly restricted to these.

The specific legislation on parliamentary and local government elections elaborates the respective procedures for filling women’s mandatory seats at both levels. Despite the fact that the mode of election for district female MPs has been a subject of controversy and heated debate, the electoral colleges have been maintained.<sup>11</sup> The mode of electing female councillors, meanwhile, has evolved over the years from the ‘queuing system’ – where voters would line up behind their preferred candidate – to the current mixture of the secret ballot, universal suffrage and electoral colleges, depending on the LC level. In any case, women’s elections at the local level are always held separately from, and subsequent to, mainstream elections. As will be shown in the next section, all of these facets of the process have significant implications for the efficacy of the quota system.

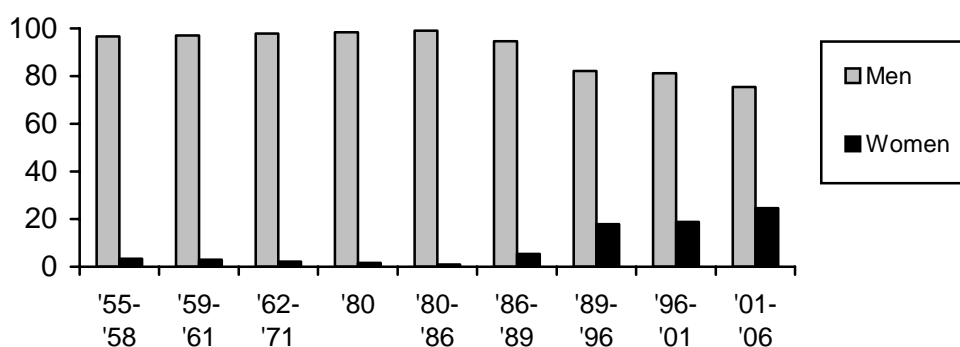
The ultimate objective of affirmative action or positive discrimination, as understood by Ugandan feminists, is not only that women attain the quantitative critical mass needed to influence decision-making, but also to move substantively away from relations established by centuries of oppression and inequality to a future of truly equitable relations.<sup>12</sup> Next is a brief analysis of Uganda’s attempt to assess its degree of efficacy in reaching these goals.

### A Critical Assessment of the Quota Policy Since 1995

The sex quota experiment that was introduced in 1989 represents an important landmark in the political history of Uganda. It indicated the beginning of the end of the historical exclusion of women from the decision-making process at both the local and national levels. The quota system offered greater visibility for women and lent them a voice in traditionally patriarchal institutions. In particular, it has resulted in a shifting of political sites and a relocation of power (albeit slight), spurring a new kind of political self-organization for Ugandan women.<sup>13</sup>

Figure 1 offers a historical overview of the changing male/female profile of successive Ugandan parliaments since 1955. Prior to 1986, women’s representation never exceeded the three percent mark.<sup>14</sup> The drastic increase from 1989 is primarily attributed to the quota system discussed above.

**Figure 1: Male and female representation in Uganda’s parliament (percentage)**



Currently, 75 out of a total of 304 Ugandan parliamentarians (24.6 percent) are women. Women's representation in the seventh parliament is broken down in figure 2, indicating the type of seat that each category occupies.

Uganda ranks sixth in Africa after Rwanda (48.8 percent), Mozambique (30 percent), South Africa (29.8 percent), Seychelles (29.4 percent) and Namibia (25 percent). Globally, Uganda ranks twenty-sixth from the top.<sup>15</sup> Its female representation of 24.6 percent may seem impressive compared to the overall average in Sub-Saharan Africa, which stands at 14.9 percent, or even the global average of 15.2 percent.<sup>16</sup> However, it falls below the target mark (30 percent) set by the UN in 1992.<sup>17</sup> Thirty percent is also the figure that is generally considered to be the critical mass for effective representation. Research has shown that, for women to influence policy outcomes effectively, they must attain critical mass representation in any institution.<sup>18</sup>

**Figure 2: Representation in Uganda's seventh parliament (2001–06)**

Representation	Total number of seats	Number of women	Percentage of women
District (reserved for women)	56	56	100
County (open seats)	216	13	6.0
Youth (reserved)	5	2	40.0
Organized Labour (reserved)	3	1	33.3
Persons with disabilities (reserved)	5	2	40.0
Army (reserved)	10	0	0
Ex-Officio (unelected cabinet ministers)	09	1	11.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>304</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>24.7</b>

Furthermore, women chair only three of the 12 standing committees, and two of parliament's ten sessional committees.<sup>19</sup> Thus, the number of female legislators in Uganda must be increased further to ensure a shift in regard to male dominance of the legislative structures and institutions.

Indeed, a closer analysis of the quota system in Uganda reveals several blotches below the gleaming surface. When the NRM introduced quotas for women in the National Assembly, for example, it only intended to create 'descriptive representatives' who symbolically 'stood for' women. The patriarchal state was not prepared to have female MPs that politically 'acted for' women in the sense of transforming the unequal gender relations prevailing in Uganda. This can clearly be gauged from the subdued tone of Article 78 of the Constitution, which describes an affirmative action female parliamentarian as a 'woman representative *for* every district' (emphasis added). This is in stark contrast to other categories of affirmative action parliamentarians, who are said to represent special interest groups and described as 'representatives *of* the army, youth, workers, persons with disabilities ...' (emphasis added).<sup>20</sup> By emphasizing the descriptive nature of female representatives, the constitution creates 'status-quo' representatives and

not 'emancipationists'. The NRM 'allows' women to participate in decision-making, but not to represent women as an interest group nor to assume special responsibility for them.<sup>21</sup> President Yoweri Museveni himself constantly reminds Ugandans that quotas are nothing more than a 'symbolic gesture' to please women.<sup>22</sup>

When the quota policy was first implemented in Uganda, men immediately became the self-appointed identifiers of 'appropriate' women to fill the newly created seats. This was partly because the space into which women were being pushed (that is, formal politics) was compositionally and institutionally a male one. It was also due to the absence, at the time, of a strong grassroots effort by women to mobilize politically, which would have consolidated their gains in transformative ways.<sup>23</sup> One study revealed that over 90 percent of the women who joined parliament in 1989 had been approached by male 'elders' from their districts and requested to stand for the mandatory seat.<sup>24</sup> However, this trend lost significance in subsequent elections and today, most women do not have to be cajoled into participating in politics.<sup>25</sup>

The new political spaces created by the top-down affirmative action policy introduced by the NRM have, in a way, proved to be nothing more than sites of accommodation and subject to the control of the state. Without advancing women's strategic interests at all, the NRM administration gained the support of female legislators and councillors by offering them access to the political world of male power. The patriarchal structures and institutions within which politicians operate have themselves not altered one bit.<sup>26</sup> So, basically what we have are women in power without power!

I am not denouncing quotas per se. Rather, my criticism is directed at the top-down initiatives – whereby government 'invites' marginalized groups to participate – because they form an insecure foundation for generating radical change. Had the quota system been implemented as a result of intense pressure exerted by the Ugandan women's movement (i.e., bottom-up grassroots movement), perhaps the rules governing participation would have been devised by women themselves and the beneficiaries of the policy would hardly regard it as a favour. Neither would the NRM hold women psychologically at ransom, engendering the kind of complacency and self-satisfaction that is sometimes exhibited by some female parliamentarians and councillors.

Furthermore, the fact that a predominantly male Electoral College appoints the women who fill the mandatory seats significantly impacts on the efficacy of the quota system. Most important, it raises questions regarding allegiance, accountability and representation of the 'affirmative action MPs'. This is exacerbated by state patronage, which bedevils the post-colonial politics of most African states. Like male politicians, a good number of female politicians in Uganda run for office on account of the opportunities offered in terms of personal wealth and access to state power. Indeed, female district MPs form the core of the Movement caucus within parliament whose task it is to lobby for and push government policies through parliament.<sup>27</sup> Sometimes the Movement caucus whips female MPs into compromising on matters concerning the interests of women, let alone feminist goals.<sup>28</sup>

As soon as you become the district MP you realize that you have an MP in every county of your district; yours is a kind of water lily, an umbrella of sorts above everybody else. If you don't pick what to do carefully, you may be treading on other MPs' toes. You have to liaise with them sometimes for activities otherwise you may collide.<sup>29</sup>

Thus, district women leaders tend to organize most of their constituency activities in conjunction with the (male) parliamentarian representing the relevant county where the activity is to occur. This fact, together with the fact that they operate in a much wider area of operation with limited 'facilitation' by government, places real limitations on the kind of work that affirmative action MPs can do.

At the local council level, certain loopholes in the law also seriously limit participation by LC women in decision-making. Whereas the composition of women on the executive committees of the less powerful administrative units (LCs I and II) are defined as one-third, this quota does not extend to the executive committees of the sub-county and districts where real power lies.<sup>30</sup> Indeed, current statistics show that, in the majority of the 56 districts of Uganda, female representation in the executives at the sub-county and district levels fall far short of the one-third prescribed for general council seats. Only one district has a female chair. This is a serious defect in the law because it is these sub-county and district executive committees that initiate and formulate policies.

In Uganda, as elsewhere in the world, the use of quotas has sparked controversy and public debate. Here, the debate centred on two main issues. First, because affirmative action is misconstrued to mean 'reverse' discrimination, the tendency is to rebuff quotas. The policy is often perceived as a permanent occurrence, isolated from the struggle within the wider social movement to emancipate oppressed groups. In fact, the transient nature of Uganda's quota system is endorsed by the constitution, which provides for regular reviews of the policy by parliament, 'for the purposes of retaining, increasing, or abolishing' it.<sup>31</sup>

The second bone of contention relates to the over-bloated parliaments and councils, which are criticized for straining the state coffers of a poor developing nation. Because quota seats in a single-member constituency, under the movement arrangement, create *additional* seats in the institutions where they are implemented, they tend to swell the number of members. In Uganda's case, quota seats assigned according to gender are the first casualties when calls to reduce numbers are made. Indeed, today, sex quotas are facing a real threat of being scrapped. The severe backlash against quotas can be gauged from the rhetoric emanating from the corridors of power, as well as from the various memoranda submitted to the Constitutional Review Commission (CRC), which is currently gathering views from the public on crucial constitutional matters.<sup>32</sup>

### **Key Lessons & New Strategies**

There are several lessons that can be gleaned from the above analysis. These lessons, in turn, forge new strategies that we can utilize to enhance quota systems in Africa.

- Quotas cannot deliver a democratic, non-sexist political economy without the effective dismantlement of the hierarchical institutions that exist in the patriarchal status quo. Placing women in positions of leadership and authority without simultaneously attempting to remove the practical and structural obstacles that hinder their effective involvement in this arena is not very helpful. Simply adding women to existing social and political structures and stirring can do little to eradicate the discrimination and inequities from which they perennially suffer. Indeed, quotas may prove much more of a burden than a blessing to women. While it is wonderful to have women participating in formal politics from the grassroots to the highest level of decision-making, we should not lose sight of the fact that it is yet another

duty that they must perform in the domestic/economic arena (in addition to their other full-time tasks).

- The law establishing quotas must be carefully worded. Interpretation of certain words or phrases may lead to detrimental results for the intended beneficiaries of this law. For instance, when a law is couched in terms of ‘at least one of the offices ... shall be held by a female’ (as Local Governments Act provides in regard to the sub-county and district executive committees), in practice, they are usually interpreted to mean ‘the maximum number’. This inadvertently creates a glass ceiling, making it impossible for women’s representation to rise above the stated quota.
- There is a dangerous trend towards feminizing deputy positions in the expanded political space for women’s leadership. Until recently, the vice-president of Uganda was a woman, the deputy speaker of the parliament is a woman and the deputy chief justice is also a woman. Thirty-two percent of the deputy vice-chairs of the district councils are women (compared to two percent of the chairs) and females also hold 56 percent of the deputy speaker positions on district councils (compared to 17 percent of speakers). Deputizing for male leaders is not very useful for women, as the real power lies with the chairpersons who only relinquish the top seat to their deputies in accordance with their whims.
- The current single-member majoritarian electoral system operating in Uganda promotes division between female politicians. Many women emerge from elections deeply scarred by the largely acrimonious first-past-the-post (FPTP) campaign.<sup>33</sup> Furthermore, one reason why women avoid the open county under the FPTP system is because they cannot match the ‘big money’ that most male candidates invest in their campaigns. Campaigns run under the proportional representation (PR) system have proved to be relatively cheaper, less murky and more issue-based. Indeed, it is no coincidence that all but one (Cuba) of the 14 countries in the world with female representation that exceeds 30 percent has the PR-based electoral system. It is especially effective when boosted by gender quotas.
- Another limitation lies in the constitutional provision that prescribes ‘a minimum formal education of advanced level standard or its equivalent’ as one of the prerequisites to enter parliament.<sup>34</sup> Imposing such a qualification on eligibility to run for a parliamentary seat (that is, credentialism) benefits only the élite. To this end, quotas in the Ugandan parliament have proved to be class-centric, largely benefiting a minority of an educated élite group of Ugandan women. By eliminating almost 80 percent of the female population, the policy perpetuates the characteristic of mainstream post-colonial politics that has excluded the voices of the largest section of the peasant population. The goal should be to attract more grassroots women and this can only be achieved by whittling down the formalism (for instance, credentialism and the Westminster method of legislating) associated with Uganda’s parliamentary system today.
- The mode of electing district female legislators should be revisited. An immediate measure would be to have women who occupy quota seats elected not by electoral colleges but by universal adult suffrage or, better still, by an all-female electorate. Not only will this measure remove the hurdles that arise through dealing with a relatively small, manipulative male-dominated electoral college, but it will also allow Ugandan women, as electors, to have a say in choosing the best possible female representative, who might defend their concerns and interests. Furthermore, a limit (such as two five-year terms) should be set for women standing on the affirmative action ticket, allowing many more women to be exposed to national decision-making.

- Elections for the quota seats on local councils should be held on the same day as mainstream elections. In the past, there has tended to be a low voter turnout for women's elections due to apathy and voter 'burnout'.<sup>55</sup> Moreover, such a practice stigmatises quota seats by fuelling the erroneous notion that they are less important and/or subordinate to mainstream seats.
- We have noted the effects of a top-down quota policy on female participation. In order to avoid a situation where beneficiaries feel beholden to the state or perceive quotas as a favour (and not a right), women need to maintain a critical distance from the state and establish autonomous bodies that challenge the inequalities that exist within the patriarchal state.

In a nutshell, Uganda has come a long way from the days when parliament was the exclusive club for men. However, a tough road lies before Ugandan women in regard to achieving a critical mass in the highest decision-making institution of the land and adding substance and power to their role in politics. We must not shy away from rocking the patriarchal boat.

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> In a majoritarian system several candidates compete for one constituency and the one that emerges with the simple majority of votes represents that constituency. It is comparable to the fastest runner in a race (first-past-the-post), that is, the winner takes it all. Here, even if the loser receives 49.9 percent of the votes, that bloc of voters will not be represented.

<sup>2</sup> The five levels include: village (LC I), parish (LC II), sub-county (LC III), county (LC IV) and district (LC V).

<sup>3</sup> The nine posts are the chair, vice-chair, general-secretary and secretaries for women, youth, information, finance, security, mass mobilization and education.

<sup>4</sup> Ddungu, Expedit. 1989. *Popular Forms and the Question of Democracy: The Case of Resistance Councils in Uganda*. Working Paper No. 4. Kampala: Centre for Basic Research; Okumu-Wengi, Jennifer. 1997. *Weeding the Millet Field: Women's Law and Grassroots Justice in Uganda*. Kampala: Uganda Law Watch.

<sup>5</sup> Tripp, Aili. 2000. *Women and Politics in Uganda*. Oxford: James Currey and Kampala: Fountain Publishers.

<sup>6</sup> Tamale, Sylvia. 1999. *When Hens Begin to Crow: Gender and Parliamentary Politics in Uganda*. Boulder: Westview Press and Kampala: Fountain Publishers.

<sup>7</sup> The Electoral College constitutes local councillors and women's councils at various levels.

<sup>8</sup> The number of districts has increased from 39 when the quota system was first introduced in parliament. Since 1989, due to political gerrymandering, Uganda has witnessed the creation of 17 new districts, carved out of old ones, raising the total to 56.

<sup>9</sup> See Articles 32(1) and 78(1)(c) of the Constitution and Sections 11 and 24 of the Local Governments Act, 1997.

<sup>10</sup> Under the 1997 Local Governments Act, local councils at the village (LC I), parish (LC II) and county (LCIV) levels are merely administrative units with minimum power and resources to make important decisions (see Part II of the Act).

<sup>11</sup> Tamale, Sylvia. 2001. 'Gender and Affirmative Action in Post-1995 Uganda: A New Dispensation or Business as Usual?' In J. Oloka-Onyango. ed. *Constitutionalism in Africa*. Kampala: Fountain Publishers.

<sup>12</sup> Compare with Schreiner, Jenny. 1996. 'Affirmative Action and Reconstruction: A Basis for Changing Race, Class and Gender Inequality'. In Blade Nzimande and Mpumelelo Sidhosana. eds. *Affirmative Action and Transformation*. Durban: Indicator Press.

<sup>13</sup> Tamale, Sylvia. 1999; Tripp, Aili. 2000; Ahikire, Josephine. 2003. 'Gender Equity and Local Democracy in Contemporary Uganda: Addressing the Challenge of Women's Political Effectiveness in Local Government'. In Anne Marie Goetz and Shireen Hassim. eds. *No Shortcuts to Power: African Women in Politics and Policy Making*. London: Zed Books; Goetz, A. Marie. 2003. 'The Problem with Patronage: Constraints on Women's Political Effectiveness in Uganda'. In Anne Marie Goetz and Shireen Hassim. eds. *op. cit.*

<sup>14</sup> For a historical gender analysis of women parliamentarians in Uganda, see Tamale (1999).

<sup>15</sup> See the statistics on 'Women in National Politics' on the Inter-Parliamentary Union website (as of 20 October 2003), <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm>.

---

<sup>16</sup> See the statistics on 'Women in National Parliaments' on the Inter-Parliamentary Union website (as of 20 October 2003), <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/world.htm>.

<sup>17</sup> In 1992, the United Nations Economic and Social Council set the target of 30 percent women in decision-making by 1995. See United Nations Office for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs (Vienna). 1992. *Women in Politics and Decision-Making in the Late Twentieth Century*. Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers. Also see Strategic Objective G of the Beijing Platform for Action, UN Fourth World Conference on Women, 1995.

<sup>18</sup> Bystydzienski, Jill. 1992. 'Influence of Women's Culture on Public Politics in Norway'. In J. Bystydzienski, ed. *Women Transforming Politics: Worldwide Strategies for Empowerment*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press; Dahlerup, Drude. 1988. 'From a Small to a Large Minority: Theory of Critical Mass'. *Scandinavian Political Studies*. Vol. 11(4). pp. 275–298.

<sup>19</sup> The standing committees chaired by women include those concerned with the budget, government assurances and equal opportunities. And the two sessional committees chaired by women are: social services; and public service and local government. Female MPs hold relatively more deputy positions in parliament (such as deputy speaker, five deputies of standing committees and four deputies of the sessional committees).

<sup>20</sup> Indeed, unlike women district representatives, all of these interest groups are elected exclusively by their own kind.

<sup>21</sup> Tamale, Sylvia. 1999.

<sup>22</sup> See, for example, Museveni, K. Yoweri. 1997. *Sowing the Mustard Seed: The Struggle for Freedom and Democracy in Uganda*. London: Macmillan. p. 191.

<sup>23</sup> Although, as I stated earlier, women activists demanded greater political representation, their 'pressure' lacked the intensity and resilience to offer them any bargaining leverage in relation to the implementation of quotas in 1989.

<sup>24</sup> See Tamale, Sylvia. 1999.

<sup>25</sup> There have been three general elections since 1989: the 1994 Constituent Assembly elections; the 1996 parliamentary elections; and the 2001 parliamentary elections. The next elections are due in 2006.

<sup>26</sup> Tamale, Sylvia. 1999. Tamale, Sylvia. 2001. 'Gender and Affirmative Action in Post-1995 Uganda: A New Dispensation or Business as Usual?' In J. Oloka-Onyango, ed. *Constitutionalism in Africa*. Kampala: Fountain Publishers.

<sup>27</sup> The current seventh parliament has attempted to counter NRM patronage by reviving the women's caucus in parliament, the Uganda Women Parliamentarians Association (UWOPA).

<sup>28</sup> Tamale, Sylvia. 1999 & 2001. Goetz, A. Marie. 2003. 'The Problem with Patronage: Constraints on Women's Political Effectiveness in Uganda'. In Anne Marie Goetz and Shireen Hassim, eds. *op. cit.*

<sup>29</sup> Joyce Mpanga, MP, quoted in Tamale, Sylvia. 1999. p. 179.

<sup>30</sup> The one-third quota at the levels of LC III and LC V applies to the entire council but not the executive committee membership of the councils (see 1997 Local Governments Act, Sections 11, 17, 24 and 26).

<sup>31</sup> See Article 78(2) of the Constitution.

<sup>32</sup> The Commission of Inquiry (Constitutional Review) was set up in February 2001. Among its duties is to 'review the composition, powers and privileges of parliament and to recommend an affordable but efficient and strong parliament, bearing in mind the need for the effective representation of the people'. See Term of Reference (e) of the Commission of Inquiry (Constitutional Review) Legal Notice 1 of 2001.

<sup>33</sup> Tamale, Sylvia. 1999.

<sup>34</sup> See Article 80(1).

<sup>35</sup> Ahikire, Josephine. 2003.

## Bibliography

Ahikire, Josephine. 2003. 'Gender Equity and Local Democracy in Contemporary Uganda: Addressing the Challenge of Women's Political Effectiveness in Local Government'. In Anne Marie Goetz and Shireen Hassim, eds. *No Shortcuts to Power: African Women in Politics and Policy Making*. London: Zed Books.

Bystydzienski, Jill. 1992. 'Influence of Women's Culture on Public Politics in Norway'. In J. Bystydzienski, ed. *Women Transforming Politics: Worldwide Strategies for Empowerment*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

- 
- Dahlerup, Drude. 1988. 'From a Small to a Large Minority: Theory of Critical Mass'. *Scandinavian Political Studies*. Vol. 11(4). pp. 275–298.
- Ddungu, Expedit. 1989. *Popular Forms and the Question of Democracy: The Case of Resistance Councils in Uganda*. Working Paper No. 4. Kampala: Centre for Basic Research.
- Goetz, A. Marie. 2003. 'The Problem with Patronage: Constraints on Women's Political Effectiveness in Uganda'. In Anne Marie Goetz & Shireen Hassim. eds. *No Shortcuts to Power: African Women in Politics and Policy Making*. London: Zed Books.
- Museveni, K. Yoweri. 1997. *Sowing the Mustard Seed: The Struggle for Freedom and Democracy in Uganda*. London: Macmillan.
- Okumu-Wengi, Jennifer. 1997. *Weeding the Millet Field: Women's Law and Grassroots Justice in Uganda*. Kampala: Uganda Law Watch.
- Schreiner, Jenny. 1996. 'Affirmative Action and Reconstruction: A Basis for Changing Race, Class and Gender Inequality'. In Blade Nzimande and Mpumelelo Sidhosana. eds. *Affirmative Action and Transformation*. Durban: Indicator Press.
- Tamale, Sylvia. 1999. *When Hens Begin to Crow: Gender and Parliamentary Politics in Uganda*. Boulder: Westview Press and Kampala: Fountain Publishers.
- Tamale, Sylvia. 2001. 'Gender and Affirmative Action in Post-1995 Uganda: A New Dispensation or Business as Usual?' In J. Oloka-Onyango. ed. *Constitutionalism in Africa*. Kampala: Fountain Publishers.
- Tripp, Aili. 2000. *Women and Politics in Uganda*. Oxford: James Currey and Kampala: Fountain Publishers.
- United Nations Office for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs (Vienna). 1992. *Women in Politics and Decision-Making in the Late Twentieth Century*. Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.