



WOMEN IN THE PARLIAMENT OF UGANDA, 2001-
2009: THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL
PROFILES AND THEIR IMPACT ON POLICY
OUTCOME

BY

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ABSTRACT

The purpose and overall objective of this study is to identify and establish the association between the social, economic and political profiles of woman Members of Parliament who served in the 7th and 8th Parliaments of Uganda and their legislative roles performance; explore the pro-woman issues they raised and establish corresponding policy outcome on these issues. Thus, the study combines both the quantitative and qualitative results obtained from secondary and primary sources. The primary sources were mainly Hansards, Members of Parliament Directory, Parliamentary attendance logbook and interviews. Meanwhile, the secondary sources were textbooks, journals, newspapers and other published and unpublished materials related to the study. Two methods of data collection were used i.e. content analysis and interviews. One-on-one separate semi-structured interviews were conducted with a total of 16 woman Members of Parliament, while content analysis was used to treat data obtained from Hansards, Parliamentary Directory and attendance logbook. A total of 377 Hansards were selected out of the 752 using systematic sampling. The data generated from Hansards were particularly on legislative roles performance and policy outcome. Meanwhile, data on social, economic and political profiles were generated from Members of Parliament Directory. These data were analyzed with the help of Statistical Package for Social Sciences, particularly the Chi Square/Fisher's Exact to establish the relationship between social, economic and political profiles and legislative roles performance and, legislative roles performance and policy outcome. The findings reveal that there was a significant association between education and all the constructs of legislative roles performance, while the relationship between other social, economic and political variables and the constructs of legislative roles performance varied. The results also reveal that women in the Parliament of Uganda in their legislative roles performance, succeeded in influencing the Parliament to enact pro-women legislations such as Domestic Violence Act and Female Genital Mutilation Act. The conclusion is that the women's legislative roles performance cannot be explained in isolation from their social, economic and political backgrounds. These variables seem to have a bearing on their legislative roles performance, such as introducing and debating women issues in the parliament among other legislative roles performance. This has helped them to influence legislations, which are important in promoting woman related issues and to protect the status of women in Uganda.

ملخص البحث

بلغ عدد أعضاء البرلمان الأوغندي من النساء اللواتي خدمن دورتي البرلمان السابعة والثامنة مئة وخمس وسبعون عضواً. الغرض والهدف الرئيسي لهذه الدراسة هو تحديد إذا ما كانت هنالك علاقة سببية بين خلفيتهن السياسية والاجتماعية والاقتصادية من جهة، وأدائهن لأدوارهن التشريعية، من جهة ثانية. كما تهدف الدراسة لاستكشاف القضايا المؤيدة للمرأة والتي قمن بإثارتها في البرلمان ونتائج ذلك. تقوم الدراسة بتجميع معلومات كمية ونوعية، تمّ تجميعها من مصادر أولية وأخرى ثانوية. اعتمدت المصادر الأولية أساساً على المضابط البرلمانية، ودليل أعضاء البرلمان، ودقتر حضور النواب، إضافة إلى مقابلات شخصية مع عدد من عضوات البرلمان. في حين تألفت المصادر الثانوية أساساً من بعض الكتب والمجلات وأبحاث منشورة وغير منشورة. وقد قام الباحث باستخدام المسح الميداني وأسلوب تحليل المحتوى في جمع بيانات من هذه المصادر المختلفة. انتقي الباحث 377 مضبطة من مضابط البرلمان من أصل 752 بمساعدة العينة المنتظمة. البيانات التي تحصل عليها الباحث من المضابط البرلمانية دارت حول الأداء التشريعي ونتائج ذلك في شكل قرارات وسياسات برلمانية. من جهة أخرى حصل الباحث على البيانات الخاصة بالخلفية الاقتصادية والاجتماعية والسياسية للعضوات من دليل أعضاء البرلمان. تم تحليل المعلومات الكمية بمساعدة fisher's exact، واستخدام مجموعة الأدوات الإحصائية Pearson Chi Square لإثبات أن هنالك علاقة سببية بين الخلفية الاقتصادية والاجتماعية والسياسية والأداء التشريعي من جهة، وبين الأداء التشريعي والمخرجات السياسية من جهة ثانية. توصلت الدراسة إلى وجود علاقة سببية قوية بين المستوى التعليمي والأداء التشريعي لعضوات البرلمان، بينما تباينت علاقة الأداء التشريعي والمتغيرات الاقتصادية والاجتماعية والسياسية. من النتائج الجوهرية التي توصلت إليها الدراسة أن العضوات نجحن إلى حد ما في التأثير على البرلمان وحضه على سن قوانين تحمي النساء مثل سن قانون يحظر العنف المنزلي وقانون حظر الختان. خلصت الدراسة إلى أن الأداء التشريعي للعضوات لا يمكن فهمه بمعزل عن الخلفية السياسية والاجتماعية والاقتصادية لعضوات البرلمان الأوغندي.

APPROVAL PAGE

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is a result of my personal investigation, except where otherwise stated. I also declare that it has not been previously or concurrently submitted as a whole for any other degree at IIUM or other institutions.

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**WOMEN IN THE PARLIAMENT OF UGANDA, 2001-2009: THE
SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL PROFILES AND THEIR
IMPACT ON POLICY OUTCOME**

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

In 1962, women acquired the right to vote and stand for election in Uganda following transfer of power from colonial rule to independent government. Although Ugandan women gained franchise at this time, their involvement in politics did not change much after obtaining the right to vote and to contest for elections. Career opportunities in electoral politics were culturally closed to them. In the 1960s, there were two women in the legislature of Uganda and in the 1980s there was only one woman member of parliament out of the 143 members in the House. In fact, during the period 1962-1986, there was little growth in the representation of women in this government institution; the parliament was significantly biased against women. The women's participation in electoral politics remained minimal although women exercised the right to vote. However, with many decades of women's absence in the parliament, the National Resistance Movement (NRM), which came to power in 1986 and restored democratic rule in 1996, called for an all inclusive and participatory system of government.¹ This improved women's representation in electoral politics and government.

In light of this, the government set out a legal framework to give opportunity to women who historically, had been kept out of mainstream politics and leadership positions. The framers of the 1995 Constitution of the Republic of Uganda provided a

¹ Asiimwe-Mwesige, Jacqueline. *Plenty Done, Plenty More to Do: Women Involvement in Politics and Decision Making in Uganda.* Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA). No. 1. 2006, 55.

significant framework to enable women to participate in politics in the country. Article 3, Paragraph (vi) of the Constitution stated that “the state shall ensure gender balance and fair representation of marginalized groups on all constitutional and other bodies.” Article 78 (b) allowed a reserved seat for one woman district representative in the Parliament.² In addition, women were free to contest with men in other constituencies and some had been able to defeat men. This was the result of constitutional mandate, which was passed to ensure the participation of women in national politics. And gradually, women’s representation increased from 39 in 1986 to 102 in 2006 (see Table 1.1).

Table 1.1
Women Representation in the Parliament of Uganda (1996-2011)

Year	Parliament	No of Women	Total Members
1986-1994	5 th Parliament	39	277
1996-2001	6 th Parliament	52	281
2001-2006	7 th Parliament	75	302
2006-2011	8 th Parliament	102	327

Source: Nalumaga, (2008); Tumushabe and Zie (2009).

This increase of women legislators is a recent progress towards gender equality and change of attitude towards allowing women to gain leadership positions in a country based on patriarchal setting.³ This development lies in the return to democratic establishment of directly elected legislators and introduction of affirmative action in favour of marginalized groups in the country, particularly women by National Resistance Movement (NRM) government. This was largely in answer to the

² The Constitution of the Republic of Uganda (Kampala: Fountain Publishers, 1995).

³ Nalumaga, E. L. Ruth. *An Exploration of Information Implications and Possibilities for Female Legislators in Ugandan Parliament*. (Hogskolan: Borasstad, 2008), 4.

promise the NRM made about its effort to denounce the past government practices, it considered were authoritarian and paid little attention to the inclusion of women in politics prior to its coming to power. In fact, in the period 1966-1986 the people of Uganda and particularly women were deprived of the right to participate in political decision-making affecting their lives.

But as stated earlier, when NRM assumed power, it ushered in a political system, which sought to redress gender inequality through affirmative action. Special seats were gazetted for women. This has become the policy of inclusion of women in decision-making, which owes much to the NRM effort to promote gender equality and democracy in the country. It is perhaps also important to mention that in order to recognize women's role in the five year National Resistance Army (NRA) liberation war, NRM rewarded women with the opportunity to actively participate in decision-making. This way, women have not only gained numbers in their representation in parliament but they have also secured a platform on which they can introduce and articulate issues affecting their own status as women instead of being kept to domestic concerns alone. Besides gaining numbers in the legislature, women in Uganda today have broken into the traditionally perceived men's jobs; there are now many female engineers, doctors, drivers, mechanics, lawyers and many engage in jobs, which earn them some income, which in turn helps them to run their family.⁴

The increasing number of women accessing high profile job, particularly the legislative job previously reserved for men, is a positive development, which deserves credit and investigation. The steady increasing numbers of women in the Parliament of Uganda is actually interesting because little is known about the careers of these women in parliament. Also, very few researches in Uganda have explored the

⁴ Tumusiime, Deo. "Kitchen-for-Women-Only is A Skewed." *The New Vision*, Friday 16th September, 2011.

relationship between the careers of women in Parliament possess and their legislative roles performance and subsequent policy outcomes, especially on women-related issues in the Parliament. In the light of this, it is important to note that nothing can make us understand these women Members of Parliament; how they act the way they do in parliament unless we come to grips with their background and their real parliamentary speech contribution. Studying and analysing these legislative activities and accomplishments may provide useful insights about the quality of women in the parliament of Uganda and the efforts they press on policy issues, particularly for women. Thus, this gap needs to be bridged.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The purpose and overall objective of this study is to study women parliamentarians' profiles in relation to their legislative roles performance and changes on policy outcome. Within this overall objective lie the following specific objectives:

- (i) To identify and document the social, economic and political profiles of women members of parliament;
- (ii) To analyse and explain the relationship between social, economic and political status of women parliamentarians and their legislative roles performance;
- (iii) To examine the association between legislative roles performance and policy outcome in view of how far these women present women issues in their legislative roles performance; and
- (iv) To examine policy outcome accompanying issues raised by women in the legislature in Uganda.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This study attempts to achieve these said objectives by answering the following research questions:

- (i) What are the social, economic and political profiles of women legislators in Uganda?
- (ii) Do the socio-economic profiles of female legislators have a bearing on their legislative roles performance?
- (iii) To what extent have women members of parliament been able to raise women issues in parliament?
- (iv) What policy outcomes are accompanied by corresponding women issues raised in the course of legislative roles performance?

JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY

Since 1986 democracy has been very popular in Uganda and key political institutions such as the Parliament has been able to recruit women members who have enjoyed marginal role in politics for a long period of time. The level of women representation in parliament in Uganda clocked more than thirty per cent like elsewhere in the world where women constitute thirty per cent or above. In fact, since 1986, Uganda has experienced the fastest increase in women representation in parliament. This has substantially increased women's involvement in various decision-making bodies in the country including the Parliament. Therefore, studying women parliamentarians in Uganda is warranted based on the following reasons.

Firstly, in Uganda, women had been poorly represented in the parliament for a long time because they suffered from marginal status. Women were socially discriminated against, making their participation in politics minimal. The division of

roles between men and women as prescribed by most cultures in the country assign a subordinate position to women. In this context the role of the women in society has been to maintain the household, bear children and raise them. Also, the structures and policies that were established in the country by the British colonialists perceived men as public actors and women were relegated to private life and, if any, were assigned restrictive public roles. This made public institutions such as the legislature in the country predominantly a domain exclusive to men for a long time. Brown points out that many men in Uganda, “educated and uneducated, had vested interest in holding on to power and authority rather than sharing it with women.”⁵ This suggests that generally, policies in the country were made with little input from women.

Also, some men and some women still consider men as better leaders than women.⁶ However, the situation has changed. Women have steadily gained significant number of seats after decades of poor representation in the Parliament. This is a recent development which makes women simply too new to it and calls for an investigation. Therefore, this study attempts to expose information about the kind and quality of women in the Parliament and their legislative roles performance abilities and potential as women representatives. This might help to change the attitude of those who believe and still hold on to the belief that the political space is for men only as well as those who hold the belief that women in politics are unfaithful to their husbands and have loose morals. Therefore they cannot possibly make competent and effective leaders.

Secondly, studying female legislators’ profiles and their legislative roles performance in Uganda constitutes an excellent and interesting area of study. As women’s political careers grow, little is known about these women who have gained

⁵ Brown, Marie. “Barriers to Women Managers’ Advancement in Education in Uganda.” *International Journal of Educational Management Vol. 10, No.6.* (MCB UP Ltd., 1996), 18-23.

⁶ Saito, Fumihiko. “Decentralisation Measures and Gender Equalities: Experiences in Uganda.” *Ryukoku Journal of Economic Studies, Vol.41, No.5,* (2002), p.10.

seats in the highest decision making body in the country. In addition, there is limited research that has explored and analyzed the relationship between social, economic and political profiles and, their legislative roles performance. Women in Uganda experience backward and disadvantaged socio-economic and political position, which they have endured over time as a result of limited education in the country; this has left them with little or no public activities for several decades.⁷ For some time, they were denied basic education in subjects such as English, Civic and Law, which one needs to effectively participate in competitive party-politics and parliamentary democracy.⁸ These were exclusively reserved for men. This implies that the kind of education that was provided for girls did not give them intellectual skills needed to get actively involved in politics. This way, girls were restricted in their education, which was intended only to prepare them to be “good wives, and home-makers.”⁹ That is, it mainly focused on domestic skills, nutrition and home economics.¹⁰

Now that many women have taken up the new task, which traditionally had been a male’s role (legislation); it suggests that their social, economic and political status have changed to match that of men. This makes it an emerging area for investigation which will broaden our understanding of the diverse composition of social, economic and political status among female legislators and what this change is bringing to legislative processes. More so, it is useful to find out the relationship between the socio-economic and political backgrounds and the behavior of women MPs to understand their behavior patterns because persons with different backgrounds may vary significantly in their legislative roles performance. An investigation into the

⁷Tamale, Sylvia. “Point of Order, Mr. Speaker: African Women Claiming their Space in Parliament.” *Gender and Development Vol. 8, No. 3.* (2000), 10.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

backgrounds of these women MPs may help to answer questions relating to what helps women MPs in their attitudes and abilities to realize certain goals. Also, examining women MPs social, economic and political profiles in relation to their legislative roles performance and policy outcome could reveal their political culture.

Within this context, since electorates may have insufficient information to credibly evaluate those seeking to be voted or to renew their seats in parliament, this study attempts to explore and provide necessary information on women in the Parliament, which could be useful for the electorates to make informed decisions on choices of candidates to elect during elections. Electorates too can be equipped with this information to help them determine if their Members of Parliament are worth. For instance, looking at the backgrounds of members of parliament may enable one to comprehend how competent a person may be in articulating issues successfully. In that regard, it is assumed that researchers, women rights organizations, policy makers as well as women of Uganda will benefit from this study.

Thirdly, there is a noticeable increasing violation of women's rights generally in the country. Women remain a vulnerable and marginalized group to all sorts of degradation. According to different mass media reports, domestic violence against women, defilement cases, sexual molestation and raping of women by men are common occurrences in the country; child abuse is rampant; and other related gender inequalities are prevalent. For example, in 2011, a total of 46 cases of defilement were reported to police in January, 44 in February, 29 in March, 23 in April while, 39 cases were registered in May in Kamuli district alone out of 112 districts in the country.¹¹ Another print media reported that according to police reports cases of domestic

¹¹ Mukyala, Esther. "Defilement Cases Up in Kamuli." *The New Vision*, Monday June 26, 2011.

violence increased from 137 in 2008 to 165 in 2009.¹² It is therefore important to investigate how far women representatives in Parliament have succeeded in making these women concerns part of public laws and policies to improve the status of women. Overall, the study, will contribute towards existing literature surrounding women's potentials and abilities in articulating issues in the Parliament with the view of clamouring for legislations with gender perspective. It is also hoped that this study will inspire further interest to investigate more on the topic. To date, no extensive study has been done on legislative activities of women serving in the Parliament of Uganda. This thesis attempts to bridge this gap.

SCOPE OF THE STUDY

Legislators in Uganda have four key legislative functions i.e. legislative, oversight, constituency and political party functions. This study is undertaken to make investigations into three delimitations i.e. it focuses on the investigation into the social, economic and political profiles of women parliamentarians who served in the 7th and 8th parliaments. Secondly, the research focuses on exploration of the association between these profiles and the six dimensions of legislative roles performance particularly attendance of parliamentary sessions, participation in parliamentary debates, holding positions on parliamentary committees, motion-making/support, petitions and Bill sponsorship. It may be interesting to research on other key functions of Members of Parliament. Thirdly, the study also covers investigation into issues related to women concerns which were raised and discussed in Parliament and subsequent policy outcomes that accompanied these issues in the

¹² Oregede, Susan. "New Law on Domestic Violence Good but Attitude Change is Vital." *The Monitor*, 14th April, 2010.

period 2001-2009. It may be useful to focus on common issues that affect their entire society such as corruption.

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF WOMEN REPRESENTATION IN POLITICS IN UGANDA

Uganda is one of the five East African countries. Kampala is the capital city and also the central business district making it a strategic centre in the country. The country has a unitary system of government with a total of 112 districts which are further divided into constituencies and other local government units. It is a multiethnic country comprising of “Baganda 17.3%, Banyakole 9.8%, Basoga 8.6%, Bakiga 7.0%, Iteso 6.6%, Langi 6.2%, Acholi 4.8%, Bagisu 4.7%, Lugbara 4.3%, Bunyoro 2.7%, others 30.7% out of the total population.”¹³ The same 2002 population census, reveals that women constitute more than half (12,512,281) out of the total population of 24,442,084 in the country.¹⁴ Despite the big population of women, their active involvement and representation in politics and parliament in particular does not reflect their population.

The Parliament of Uganda is by standard a male dominated political institution. Women still have marginal position in the parliament though their number is persistently increasing as shown in Table 1.1. The most important point to note is that there is a positive trend in women gaining access to Parliament in Uganda. Therefore, in order to have a better understanding of women’s representation in politics and the success they have made, particularly in legislature in Uganda, one needs to have an insight into an overview of the political history of women involvement and representation in politics in Uganda. This part provides a brief

¹³ Uganda Population and Housing Census Main Report, 2002, 8.

¹⁴ Ibid.

insight into the status of women and their representation and participation in public affairs in Uganda, during pre-colonial era to 1986 when women started registering significant numbers in the legislature.

In the pre-colonial political set up in Uganda, the status of women's participation in the social, economic and political affairs varied according to the set up of a particular community.¹⁵ Important to note is that some communities were governed based on a centralized system. According to Dimock, there existed centralized and decentralized system of governance.¹⁶ In Buganda for instance, which was a centralized society, a woman's status in society depended firstly on that of her father and later on, on that of her husband.¹⁷ This dependency was defined by the dictates of the predominant culture that prevails in the society. Age and sex determined the roles of each individual member in the society. Men held authority and decision-making in the families.

In those communities which were ruled based on decentralization the socio-economic and political arrangements were organized around the family, clan, chief, tribe and village. In this type of society, the position of an individual in that society was determined by his or her contributions to that society. In this regard, women in some communities held influential and significant positions, particularly those which were matrilineal. These societies were not built on subordination but rather on cooperation and coexistence. For example, the Banyankole community recognized women i.e. their sisters and mothers as very important persons.¹⁸ Thus, they were

¹⁵ See, Byanyima, Winnie Karagwa. "Women in Political Struggle in Uganda." in Bystydzienski, Jill M (ed.) *Women Transforming Politics: Worldwide Strategies for Empowerment*. (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1992), 130; Tamale, Sylvia. *When Hens Begin to Crow: Gender and Parliamentary Politics in Uganda*. (Boulder: West-view Press, 1999), 4.

¹⁶ Dimock, Liz. "Women's Leadership Roles in Early Protestant Church in Uganda," 121.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

given opportunity to actively participate in decision making in their society. What is interesting about both set-ups i.e. centralized and decentralized is that there was gender-based division of responsibilities. The role of women was to carry out farming activities on the family land, take care of children and attend to their husbands. Generally, women controlled the economic affairs of the home while, responsibilities such as hunting, clearing land for farming and maintaining family security were dutifully a preserve of men. In addition, men were in charge and control of the family's wealth.

The colonial period (1884-1962) marked the sudden and permanent change in the social, economic and political organizations in Uganda. The British colonialists had, as their goal established an outpost for drawing and extracting natural resources to service their industries in Britain and keep their investment growing as well as strategizing stable market for their products. To secure constant supply of raw natural resources, the British established a political system in which they introduced a cash economy with the policy of paid labour and taxation including land redistribution.¹⁹ This policy required men to work outside the home for a salary. In this set up, Byakuleka argues that women suffered from marginal status in the socio-economic and political affairs in Uganda.²⁰ The observation goes on to illustrate that the colonial establishment in Uganda created gender based public-private structure. When it came to women's participation and representation in government democratic institutions such as being in the legislature in Uganda, the colonial time were not good years. The status of women's involvement in public affairs deteriorated during colonial period as a result of colonialists giving women little or no recognition in public life. Although

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Byakuleka, M. *Political Participation of Women in Uganda: A Review of the Issue since NRM came to Power in 1986*. (Kampala: Makerere University, 1990).

this deterioration was to some degree noticeable in the pre-colonial Ugandan societies, women were seen as subordinates to men as custom dictated and their roles were complementary to that of men.

It is interesting to know that women were left to take full charge of the household as their rightful place and they lost their control over cultivation of family land. After losing out substantial right to cultivate land, women were left with the duty to support the family through subsistence production to supplement the husband's income. This colonial policy consciously or unconsciously together with the traditional customs in some communities aggravated the position of women in the society. More land was put to a much more lucrative controlled cash crop farming for men. This made women more dependent on men, which strengthened domestic patriarchy supported by colonial social institutions. It is perhaps correct to say that this strengthened the superiority of men over women. The colonial government undermined the rights of women in relation to those of men.²¹ The perception of gender relations actually encouraged gender inequality. Women could not play roles that were equal to men. This positioned women more with responsibilities, which were mainly to support and protect the family rather than be involved in public affairs.²² Generally, during the colonial period, women barely had any representation in government, something which prevented them from exercising their full potential in various aspects, relegating them to limited domestic affairs only.

The most turning point to strengthen women marginalization was that while men were favoured in the formal education introduced by colonialists, women were neglected and remained illiterate and could not actively participate in public affair

²¹ Pankhurst, Dona. "Women and Politics in Africa". *Parliamentary Affairs*, 55. (2002), 120 pp.119-128.

²² Dimock, Liz. "Women's Leadership Roles in Early Protestant Church in Uganda". *African Studies Association Australasia and Pacific*, Vol. 25, No. 2. (2004), 8-22.

transactions. Fortunately or unfortunately the formal education introduced by colonialist created an impression among the people to view girl-child education with suspicion. Some interpreted girls moving from their villages to missionary schools as a ploy by the colonialists to spoil the well-cultured village girls and would not make good wives if exposed to colonial schools. This greatly affected women's career into public affairs. For those girls who were allowed to join school were strictly exposed to domestic skills that would help them to take up their roles as submissive wives and good mothers later when they were married. This partially limited women to venture into politics in the colonial days.

As the call for independence started growing around the globe, educated women became active in lobbying for their political rights in the 1940s through their civil societies, with the aim of increasing their presence in public affairs.²³ This marked the turning point of women's appearance in politics. The lucky women who succeeded in going to school due to the privilege of their parents getting involved in mission work and had interaction with Christian missionaries who were the brains behind championing these organizations. These organizations included associations of Mothers' Union, the Catholic Women's Club of Uganda, the Girl-Guides, the National Women League and Young Women Christian Association.²⁴ This demonstrates that the knowledge and activism gained by women through schools provided breeding ground for them to join the mentioned organizations which exposed them to politics. In other words, this sowed the seeds for women's representation in politics to start growing.

Thus, women's involvement in these organizations sowed political seeds for them to start participating in politics including decision-making. Educated women

²³ Tripp, A.M. *Women and Politics in Uganda*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 2000), 34.

²⁴ Ibid.