Women as Nation Builders

Strategically invested aid in Uganda for nation-building processes

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Abstract

Former colonized countries, especially in Africa, have suffered a tough political climate, often under the leadership of a dictator. The process of implementing democracy has, in many states, often been violent and terrifying.

Under these circumstances, it has been hard to build institutions where people feel united as one nation. Poverty, corruption, old cultural and religious boarders and expressions among other circumstances are factors that you have to consider when developing a strong economic and democratic nation.

Women often have a marginalized role within these states. In order to achieve the right to get education, or to be a part of the political arena, they have had to struggle both against men and other women.

Most of Uganda’s income comes from the agriculture. Within this sector there are mostly women working under poor circumstances. To develop female self-employment some of the Swedish aid is given within micro-financial and cooperation projects to improve the economy for the nation and the women’s status within society.

This study could be of importance to see if or how strategically invested aid actually improves the role of women as good recourses for building the nation Uganda. The answers and the conclusions given could also give clues, important for nation building processes in general and for women as nation builders in particular, in the continuing work in building the nation Uganda.

The purpose for this dissertation is to interview women that are participating in two different projects that are supported by Swedish NGOs, in order to see if their own experiences of being part of the projects correspond to the project plans aims.

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It is hard to select and pick just a few of all people that willingly and with great enthusiasm helped me throughout this thesis all parts. But among many people I want to thank Lennart Karlsson, CIS and Magnus Ramstrand, KIC that led me into the IPC-project that gave me the idea and subject for this dissertation and the contact link into the project, Mr Wafula Oguttu. Mr Oguttu gave me, among other important contacts, my contact at the Makerere University, Mr Juma Okuku, Political Science Senior Lecturer, who tutored me in Uganda and I therefore send them both a special acknowledgement. Further I want to thank Anette Gärdeklint, Gerald Mutinda and Carina Andersson at the SCC, for support in creating the contacts with women at the Manyakabi ACE, Bernard Tayebwa at the UCA, who arranged with meetings and transport to Mbarare.

I also want to give my sincere and warm gratitude to Robert Asiimwe, Clare Kabakyenga, Cletie Lukusa and Patrick, who accompanied me in “the basket” when I interviewed the women at Manyakabi ACE.

A special thanks goes to Mama Mabira, Beatrice Atim, who kindly took me to Kitgum on her travel to the area and presented me to women at the Local Council.

Last but not least I want to send my warmest gratitude to all the women that I have had the honour to interview. It has been my pleasure to meet you all and I thank you for sharing parts of your life experience with me.

Mwebare munonga abahwobuyambi obunwampaire obunabaire ninkora elyokucwondoza abahwemibomo yange. Nkashemererwa munonga. (Ruyankole)

Awoyo konya I kare me yenyo dio ti I kom gin ma akwano. Awoyo matek. (Asibili)

Webale nnyo olu'obuyambi bwo bwonna mumisomo jange (Luganda)

Thank you for all your help with my field studies. I am so grateful. (English)

Tack för all hjälp med mina fältstudier. Jag är så tacksam. (Swedish)

I also want to thank my tutor, Erik Tängerstad, without whom this thesis would not have become what it is.
**Abbreviations**

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACE</td>
<td>Area Cooperation Enterprise</td>
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<tr>
<td>CIS</td>
<td>Centerpartiets Internationella Stiftelse</td>
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<tr>
<td>CPIF</td>
<td>The Centre Party International Foundation</td>
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<tr>
<td>DP</td>
<td>Democratic Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>DRB</td>
<td>Domestic Relation Bill</td>
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<td>EFTAF</td>
<td>Empowering Farmers Through Agribusiness and Financial Service</td>
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<td>GDP</td>
<td>Gross Domestic Product</td>
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<tr>
<td>IDEA</td>
<td>Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance</td>
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<td>IPC</td>
<td>The Inter-Party Cooperation</td>
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<tr>
<td>KIC</td>
<td>The Christian Democratic International Centre</td>
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<tr>
<td>LC</td>
<td>Local Council</td>
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<td>NDI</td>
<td>National Democratic Institute</td>
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<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non Governmental Organisations</td>
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<td>NRA</td>
<td>National Resistance Army</td>
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<td>NRM</td>
<td>The National Resistance Movement</td>
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<td>PACE</td>
<td>Promotion of Area Cooperative Enterprises</td>
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<td>PGU</td>
<td>Politics for Global Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>SACCO</td>
<td>Savings and Credit Cooperative Organisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>SCC</td>
<td>Swedish Cooperative Center</td>
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<td>SIDA</td>
<td>The Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency</td>
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<tr>
<td>SILC</td>
<td>Swedish International Liberal Centre</td>
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<tr>
<td>UCA</td>
<td>Uganda Cooperative Alliance</td>
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<td>UPC</td>
<td>Uganda Peoples’ Congress</td>
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<td>UWOPA</td>
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Introduction
1.1 Question

Swedish aid organisations¹ have made strategic investments in Uganda for the development of democratic institutions and economic stability. Through interviews with women who participated in two different projects supported by Swedish aid organisations, this paper examines whether donor expected objectives correspond with the actual outcomes. The women's own perception of their situation has been examined, on the basis of being part of the projects, and analysed to see whether they correspond with the objectives of the projects.

How does strategically invested aid for nation-building processes in Uganda affect women's ability to create democratic institutions?

1.2 Delimitations

The target group for the selection of respondents were women who participated in two different Swedish aid projects² with the question at issue of how the projects have had an impact on these women in the Ugandan national construction process. The expected results of the projects have been examined and compared with the women's own experiences and perceptions of what they considered that they had achieved or not.

Two different types of projects, with different time periods for implementation, have been examined. On the one hand, the Inter Party Cooperation, IPC-project started in 2006 to assist the different political parties in Uganda in developing strategies for sustainable democracy. It will continue at least until the parliamentary elections in 2011. This paper has focused on the project plan for the years 2007-2008. On the other hand Manyakabi ACE, a cooperative which started in 2004 and partially funded by the Swedish Cooperative Center, SCC. The paper is based on a combination of the general programme and objectives formulation for SCC’s work in East Africa and Uganda Cooperative Alliance’s, UCA, project description for EFTAF³ projects that includes the period 2007-2010 and the oral information given at the time of the visit at Manyakabi ACE on their objectives for the cooperative.

¹ The word aid is an obsolete term as it is said in chapter 5. But as the word is easily recognised it will be used in this thesis meaning "international development cooperation".
² One of the target groups for the investigated project was women. There will be found other target groups for the projects under chapter 6.2, 7.3 and 7.5 where it is said that the project’s direct target group is Uganda’s political parties or small farmers. But the focus for this thesis is to look at women as nation builders; therefore the delimitation will be to the goals for the projects that are specifically aimed at the women participating in the projects.
³ Empowering Farmers Through Agribusiness and Financial Service, EFTAF
The women in the IPC-project who were interviewed for this thesis were selected out of different social sectors and with different backgrounds and from different parts of the country in order to provide a selection as representative as possible. The number of women that were interviewed was limited due to the time frame of the field study.

For the same reason it is only women from one microfinance and cooperative project that were selected for interviews, Manyakabi ACE, which means that the interviewed women had similar backgrounds from the rural area around Mbarara.

The interviewed women who participated in the field work for this paper represent two of many aid projects for nation building processes in Uganda. They cannot be seen as representing all the women of Uganda but the answers they provided can give indications showing women's opportunities as nation builders in Uganda and if/how the Swedish aid affects this possibility.

1.3 Disposition
The essay begins with an introductory background followed by a discussion on the concept of democracy and democratic institutions and how they can be defined as these concepts are vital for Swedish aid in general and aid directed to Uganda in particular. The chapter on nation-building in general and Uganda in particular is the basis for the next chapter on Ugandan history focusing on ethnicity and power structures. These structures seem to have been of great importance for the Ugandan development, as is shown in the discussions and interaction with various people within the various sectors of society and are also seen as important factors in regards to how the nation has been built. Based on this context, the following chapter will focus on women's history and the women's movement in Uganda and try to create an understanding of how women as a group have had and have the opportunity in the construction of the nation of Uganda. This provides a backdrop for the women interviewed in the investigating part of the paper. Approximately 50% of the population in Uganda are women (year 2005) which have had a great importance for the Uganda growth but, they have belonged to an invisible sector of society, where they have not had real power in the form of influence in decision-making positions, but their responsibility has been bound to household and the daily family life.

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4 The authors own reflections during visits in Uganda in 2006, 2007 and during the field study visit for this thesis in 2009.
A short chapter on Swedish development policy in general and for Uganda specifically will then be given as a background to the two aid projects which are presented in the paper. On that follows the actual field study where 17 women were interviewed. The results from these interviews were analysed on the basis of the project objectives and the historical context as well as on the basis of Charles Tilly’s theory.

1.4 Theory

The theoretical background of the paper is based on Professor Charles Tilly’s book, *Durable Inequality*. Tilly describes in his book how the differences between different groups of people are created and how they are retained. He argues that inequality is created and is maintained according to the hierarchy and social power structures, where among others various social codes, "scripts", created from previous social structures, are used, which in turn creates inclusion and/or exclusion. These hierarchies and structures can then be copied, in Tilly’s theory called emulation, and placed into new contexts and contexts which in turn create new inequalities. Also, the subordinated groups tend to adopt these inequalities, in Tilly’s book called adaptation, which further strengthens and protects the durable inequalities. As long as the dominant power group, the exploiter, is served by the maintenance of the unequal structures, as long as it does not cost more than the taste of it, and the subordinated layers adapt the structure of the pattern, the inequality will be maintained. Some inequalities are, according to Tilly, volatile, while others are permanent and lasting from a social interaction to the next and cutting across career paths, life spans and organisational histories. It is these inequalities Tilly is working from in his theory.

What then is inequality? According to Tilly, as defined within the social sciences, it is the availability of different *goods*. Here, he gives examples such as wealth and income but also control of land, respect for other people, possession of tools, etc. He divides them into autonomous (observable without reference to outside units) such as wealth, income and health, and relative (observable only in relation to other units) where prestige, power, and clientele exemplify the later. The relative benefits are often used in order to maintain the inequalities that preserve the autonomous benefits sought.
According to Tilly, durable inequalities are based on something he calls categorical pairs: categorically based opposite pairs - male/female, black/white, citizens/non-citizens, Muslim/Jewish – as bearers of organisational power structures and that provides breeding grounds for exclusion and subordination depending on the interaction between the different categories. Categorical differences are retained for the maintaining of power structures where certain categories are excluded from resources controlled by others who are in power positions and this in turn, creates systems for social exclusion and control. The subordinates adapt the structures to ease the day-to-day interaction with the dominant category. This contradiction does not disappear by itself but must be changed through conscious actions. But, as Tilly says:

Categorical inequality is not necessarily bad; it can provide benefits by simplifying social life and facilitating the production of collective benefits. It is pernicious, however, to the extent that it causes harm to the excluded, deprives them of access to what could be collective benefits, and produces a net underuse of potentially life-enhancing talent.

With his theory, Tilly wants to show that emergence, survival and the change of categorical inequality may appear to be inequality between individuals but is actually a result of categorically organised differences where there are four central causal mechanisms which maintain the persistent inequality; exploitation, opportunity hoarding, emulation and adaptation.

*Exploitation* is, according to Tilly, a powerful group of people, exploiters, who has resources that they can maintain due to the efforts of less powerful groups working efforts, which are excluded from the benefits of the resource they contribute to. Categorically organised exploitation plays a role in almost all the processes that create lasting inequalities.

*Opportunity hoarding* is the non-elite's hoarding of opportunities. When members of a categorical network are gaining access to a resource that is valuable, renewable and possible to monopolise, it underpins the activities of the network. Something that differs opportunity hoarding from exploitation is that the beneficiaries do not enlist the efforts of outsiders, such as less powerful groups' working efforts.

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10 Tilly shows this in two different figures, partly from 5 basic social configurations; chain, hierarchy, triad, organisation and categorical pair.  
Partly from combined configurations in an imaginary social structure were he shows different interaction from the 5 basic configurations. Tilly (1999) s 48 and 50  
11 Tilly (1999) s 8  
12 Tilly (1999) s 84-85
These two mechanisms are usually parallel to each other where both sides will gain by working together to keep others excluded. They maintain persistent inequality and by that activate, in the longer term, the third mechanism, emulation.

*Emulation* takes place when the established organisational patterns and/or social relations are copied to a different environment. This means significantly less costs for an organisation to take over the already existing and established patterns which, in turn, means that patterns will persist. When parts of organisational patterns are copied, Tilly defines it as loans. Through emulation more than the categorical boundaries and relationships are duplicated across these boundaries. By copying the organisational patterns, including unequal categorical relationships, the effects of a cumulative adjustment to the new environment is also transmitted.

*Adaptation* is the fourth mechanism. It maintains the different systems of categorical inequality, but does not in itself create categorical inequality. Adaptation takes place when the daily routines are developed from the categorical unequal structures. Even those who are exploited generally assist in maintaining order in this way. The reason for this is that, in the short term, it may result in advantages and security for them.13

However, the durable inequality is not static, but evolves on the basis of new contexts. Tilly writes:

Because of its grounding in exploitation, opportunity hoarding, emulation, and adaptation, categorical inequality has a duel relation in change. On one side, in the absence of disturbance it tends to reproduce itself like ivy on a brick wall, conforming to local surfaces and drawing sustenance from its many connections to the surroundings. Yet a shift in the organisation, resource base, or social ties of at least one or two major participants can change it rapidly. Witness the alteration of many immigrant niches, the resumption of nonlethal politics after some civil wars, the entry of black worker's into American public-sector employment, the tipping of jobs from male to female, the rapid transition of nationalists from “terrorists” to recognized leaders of states, \[---\]Struggles by members of subordinate categories, furthermore, can obviously promote shifts in their unequal fortunes.14

From the perspective of this paper, women’s opportunities as nation builders in Uganda and how it is affected by the Swedish aid activities, Tilly’s theory can be interesting and may give different explanations for the processes that will be presented in the paper.

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14 Tilly (1999) s 99
1.5 Previous research

Uganda seems to be an interesting country for research and field studies as many different student essays, often with a focus on poverty, hiv/aids and medical research have been produced.

This paper focuses on women and their possibilities as nation's builders in Uganda, an area in which there seems to be less research. However, there is some research that touches upon the topic which has been used as references for this essay.

In his publication *Ethnicity, State Power and the Democratisation Process in Uganda*, Mr. Juma Okuku discusses the problems arising in the construction of a democratic nation, and the underlying causes of ethnic conflicts;

The tragedy of Uganda is that there has emerged a anti-militarist, autocratic, ethnically organised state, which relies on ethnic chauvinism and resists the democratisation of state power since the regime's survival hinges on ethnic hegemony over state resources.  

Literature that highlights women's history in Uganda, especially from the colonial period, and specifically in the public sphere, seems to be scarce. According to Sylvia Tamale, the absence of women in literature is strange as approximately half of Uganda's population are women and even though they have played an important role in the pre-colonial political realm, it seems as if history that has been written is written as if women did not exist.

Some literature has however been found, for example *The women's Movement in Uganda; History, Challenges and Prospects* and Sylvia Tamale's publication *When Hens Begin to Crow*, which is often cited by other researchers. In addition, International IDEA published *Women in Parliament* and Alfred Lakwo wrote in 2006 on the topic of *Microfinance, rural livelihoods, and women's empowerment in Uganda*. This was something that Margeret Snyder in 2002 inquired to and said that too little research had been done on agriculture, rural development and women in Uganda, a sector which has been vital for Uganda's economy and survival of families and Mrs Snyder added that women's dimension from an economic perspective attracted relatively little research interest.

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15 This thesis is focusing on women as nation builders on the basis of two Swedish International Development Cooperations.
17 Tamale (1999) s 2
18 Tripp & Kвесiga (2002) s 181
1.6 Method

For this paper the method chosen was to carry out a qualitative study in the form of a field study with in-depth interviews to gain an understanding of the interconnections and get a personal insight into the context of importance for analysis and conclusion. To conduct a field study is also of importance to be able to make observations that are otherwise difficult to capture through literature, such as body language, expressions, feelings and the context under which the interview is conducted. It also provided an opportunity to gain an insight into and experiences of the present-day Ugandan society, thus obtaining a reference framework to the Ugandan history presented in the paper.

The interviews were conducted as semi-structured individual interviews. An interview guide was used, but the questions were also memorised in advance so that an open conversation was created where the respondent could feel comfortable. The questions were not raised in a specific order, but the direction of the conversation was made to lead how the questions were raised. Certain flexibility has been obtained during the conversation so that additional questions could be added according to the respondent’s answers. The interviews were conducted as a discussion/conversation and, if the respondents did agree, the interviews were also recorded.

Interview responses were analysed to see how they corresponded with the objectives for the projects. These responses in combination with Charles Tilly’s theory and the historical context of the thesis have been the basis for the discussion and the conclusions.

Parts of the literature providing the historical background were selected out of Ugandan researchers and authors to get an understanding of the Ugandan history from a Ugandan perspective.

1.7 Field study work

In Uganda all contacts made were Ugandans and these contacts had to be established in Uganda in order to be able to begin the field study. The first period of time in Uganda was spent organising various meetings and establishing contacts with the "right" people, among others, with the supervisor at Makerere University in Kampala. Makerere University is East

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Africa's oldest university, founded in 1922, and with about 30,000 students. Contact was also established with a political officer at the Swedish Embassy as well as with the staff and the head of the National Democratic Institute, NDI, who to some extent collaborate with the Christian Democratic International Center, KIC, on democracy development issues. The head of the Swedish Cooperative Centre, SCC, in Nairobi, suggested contact to be established with the cooperative in Mbarara and at a meeting with the leadership of Uganda Cooperative Alliance, UCA, the trip to Manyakabi ACE was arranged.

During the course of the field study there were three groups of women that emerged for the interviews; female parliamentarians, local female politicians and women farmers in a cooperative. The female parliamentarians and the local female politicians were selected on the basis of a list of women who, in some ways had been involved in activities partly implemented via the IPC project. A list of names and phone numbers was the base for contacting the women for the interviews. The farmer cooperative was selected through consultations with the SCC-office in Nairobi to best fit the criteria for the interviews.

Four or five main division’s emerged during the field study;

- Initial meetings with key persons to reach the women for the interviews.
- Interviews with the female parliamentarians at the Parliament in Kampala.
- The journey to South-Western Uganda, where there was the possibility to go home to the women in Manyakabi ACE, cooking and eating with them in their home, far out in the countryside.
- The trip to northern Uganda and meetings with the female politicians at the local level. Women that most of their life’s have lived in internal refugee camps due to conflicts with the rebel army Lord’s Resistance Army, the LRA.
- A final part where transcripts of the recorded interviews was taking up most of the time.

More or less all of the interviews that were conducted required more time than expected. The idea was that each interview should take about 45 to 60 minutes, but usually it took up to two hours. All women agreed to the tape recording but unfortunately the tape recorder broke down twice so 7 of the interviews were conducted without a tape recorder. Most of these interviews were, however, in English, only two were conducted with an interpreter.

A total of 17 interviews were made; 6 with female parliamentarians, 3 with female politicians from the local council, 7 with female farmers and 1 with their leader and chief mobiliser. 10 of the interviews were conducted in English and 7 were made through an
interpreter who interpreted from the local language Ruyankole to English. To get an idea of how correct the interpretation was an independent person not involved in the project was consulted to listen to the recordings and verified that the interpretation was correct. Although he claimed that he would have used another language, but the spirit was correct.

16 of the interviews were transcribed during the stay in Uganda. However one interview that, when transcribed required 10 written A4 pages, took plenty of time to properly transcribe. All interviews provided more information than what was needed for the analysis of the consistency to the project objectives, but it provided important information to gain further insight into the history of the thesis, both in terms of the nation of Uganda as for the history of the Ugandan women. In addition notes were made in direct connection after an interview was completed. It was notes about the environment in which the interview was conducted, a personal view of the meeting with the woman and the circumstances under which the interview had been carried out (before/during/after).

Six female parliamentarians were interviewed. Four of the interviews took place at their work place at the Bauman House, close to the Ugandan Parliament. The rooms were strict and relatively barren, usually with one or two desks (if they had a secretary) a chair and a bookcase with reports, letters, etc. One woman had however decorated the entire office with posters, pictures of her children and a variety of books, most from her own competence area, but also other literature.

On the list of female politicians, there were proposals of women in the North of Uganda, Kitgum and Pader. At a retreat meeting with all the opposition parties of the IPC the opportunity was given to meet several parliamentarians from different districts, including the female member of Parliament for Kitgum district who introduced the three female politicians at the local level which came to be interviewed in her hometown, Kitgum. In Kitgum, unfortunately, it was impossible to conduct individual interviews; all three women were present in the room, a kind of multi-purpose room to the hotel.

Acholi was the local language in the area, but all three women spoke excellent English, which facilitated the interviews. The women were very tense during the interview and were initially somewhat uneasy in order not to sit out of position of the tape recorder, but after the interview progressed they started to relax and started to engage more with the
questions and answers. A remark to make is to have awareness of that most Ugandans are very skilled speakers. It might depend on the fact that in many schools they have debate as a topic where they have to stand in front of an audience arguing and debating on the basis of a specific topic.  

In advance, it was decided that the women who were interviewed at Manyakabi ACE would not receive any advance information of my arrival, all in order to not raise expectations that would not be met. I am after all a mzungo and a white person in poor areas is often considered as rich which is quite understandable. The group of women who were selected for the interviews were, at the time of our arrival, sowing beans at the municipality area, Masha. At Masha they got information about the field study and those who wanted to be part of the interviews for the thesis had to raise their hand to show if they were interested in taking part of the interviews. The idea was that the interviews with the women would take place in their home, where we should cook food together to get closer to each other, but still, the reality is that I am a mzungo and a guest and as a guest I should not be preparing the food, but to be served it.

1.8 Validity

As previously mentioned only women were interviewed for this thesis, which may influence the paper’s approach and conclusions. Hereby it is not said that this is the case, but awareness has to be made about the relationship.

Awareness has also to be made about that the interviewer, as a person might have an impact on the thesis writing process based on the cultural background and understanding. It is the writer who chose procedure, the approach for the paper, methodology and theoretical frameworks and it is the writer who has chosen the background materials used for the thesis. The choices I make are probably based on my social and cultural background and on own experiences. Another researcher with the same issue may come to different answers and conclusions.

21 Out of own experience from a twinning cooperation between Red Cross, Gotland region Sweden and the Red Cross, Entebbe Branch, Uganda. The cooperation has also included a School to School project where pupils from Roma School, Gotland have visit Entebbe Parent School, Entebbe several times and vice versa.

22Mzungo is a Ugandan expression for white person.
17 out of Uganda’s approximately 17 million women were interviewed for this paper, but the answers they give can provide indications of the importance for women’s possibilities as nation-builders in Uganda.

Although the answers given in the thesis can be useful in other research or in other projects, it is important to bear in mind that nation building processes differ from country to country and there are many variables to take into account that can affect the process, such as culture, traditional jurisdiction, tradition, religion and inequalities, which also varies from country to country. There may be similarities but one have to always compare answers on the basis of the new context and its requirements.

2. Definition of the concepts of democracy and democratic institutions

The following chapter discusses the concepts of democracy and democratic institutions, two concepts that frequently occur in the Swedish aid strategy. The concepts are also central to provide a background to the women's opportunities as nation builders in Uganda which also affect the women interviewed for the paper.

2.1 Democracy

The word democracy comes from the Greek word demokratia, rule by the people, composed out of the words demos, people and kratia, governance. This raises some question marks where Robert A Dahl questions "who ought to comprise “the people” and what does it mean for them “to rule”?"\textsuperscript{23} Who comprise as the people when it comes to democratic governance has often been the source for debate. Dahl is turning and twisting the concept and asks why there are political boundaries between Sweden and Norway? Or turned the other way around; do people in different regions within a National State have the right to local self-governance?

It has to be seen that democracy as a concept and democracy in reality differ. Reality often consists of compromises of human shortcomings and cannot fulfil the idea world's pure and transparent democracy.\textsuperscript{24}

\begin{footnotes}
\item Hylén, Jan: Demokrati som begrepp och ideal – en diskussionsinledning (democracy as a concept and ideal – an introduction to a discussion), www.palmecenter.org/upload/filer/kunskapsbank/demokrati.doc, download/2009-07-19
\end{footnotes}
In today’s democracy concept, not least in the development world, human rights are included as a central aspect of democracy. Some consider democracy and human rights to be dependent on each other – you cannot achieve one without the other. So even if a citizen has the opportunity to participate in elections, a State may expose their citizens to, for example, political violence and cannot therefore be seen as a democracy. In the preface to *Women in Parliament*, Frene Ginwala writes: “The seed of democracy lies in the principle that the legitimacy of the power to make decisions about people’s lives, their society and their country should derive from a choice by those who will be affected.”

Just as in most countries, this should also in Uganda apply to; both men and women, poor and rich, Acholi as well as Bagandan and to Christians as well as Muslims etc.

Jan Hylén’s definitions of democratic values are based on three pillars; Equality, Freedom, Solidarity and social justice

The pillars are based on democratic governance based on: Governance by people, Autonomy, Political equality, The majority rules

But even if democracy in this writing has been given a definition, one must be aware of that the concept of democracy is tensile depending on the purpose that is aimed to be achieved. International IDEAs GS, Vidar Helgesen, writes in the preface to International IDEAs annual report 2008:

If we try to draw lessons from a longer time frame, we are bound to conclude that democracy is imperfect, vulnerable and ultimately reversible everywhere. In some countries of the North where democracy is well established, it has not yet been able to significantly reduce gender inequality, or to eradicate racism, xenophobia and similar undemocratic social behaviours. And in both the North and the global South, a major discrepancy persists between the high value attributed to the idea of democracy and popular distrust in democratic institutions such as political parties and parliaments, which all too often are seen as alienated from the people – lacking inclusiveness and representativeness, most conspicuously with regard to gender – ineffective and unresponsive.

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25 Hylén, downloaded 2009-06-19
26 Frene Ginwala, former Speaker of the National Assembly of South Africa during the years 1994 - 2004.
27 Ballington (2005)
28 What Mr Hylén introduce use to be defined as representative democracy within an academic context. Contrary definitions of the concept democracy are direct democracy and democratic one-party model. Hylén, downloaded 2009-06-19
The same also contains the following quote, which also should be taken into account in the construction of democracy and democratic institutions: “Democracy cannot be imported or exported, but it can be supported.”

2.2 Democratic institutions

Democracy and democratic institutions live in symbiosis. In short, it could be expressed as without democracy, there can be no democratic institutions operating freely and fully, and without democratic institutions there will be no democracy. At the Swedish Government’s website the following can be found:

A living democracy is characterised by strong and well functioning democratic institutions, that the power of governance is exercised with respect for human rights, that all people have a good chance for transparent information, participation and accountability, as well as an independent and diverse society.30

The work of International IDEA aims to strengthen democratic institutions and processes, and according to Sida's homepage, one of the four focal areas for Swedish democracy assistance is the "Building of democratic institutions and the protection of the State governed by law.”

But how may the term democratic institutions be defined? The term is often used in the text, but its actual meaning is often not clear.

According to Hylén, there is a strong consensus among political scientists on how the democratic institutions are defined. He points out that institution are needed to maintain democracy and they are therefore fundamental for democracy to prevail. He defines the institutions in five points;

- a civil society: groups separated from the State
- a political arena: with elections, political debates, perhaps parties...
- a State governed by the rule of law: all equality for all before the law
- an impartial, non-bribeable bureaucracy that adheres to its Government
- an economic arena with a kind of pluralism, perhaps in the form of a market. 31

As shown by Hylén, the image of the democratic language requires formal norms, a Constitution, and operating norms, that is, a political culture in order to establish

31 Hylén, downloaded 2009-07-19
democratic institutions. According to Sida there are reasons for concern in the case of Uganda's political development with regards to the respect for human rights and democratic principles. Sida sees an increase in the concentration of power to the Executive branch of Government in which the NRM by and at large are in increasing control of both the political and economic progress within Uganda despite a multiparty system that was established in 2005. On several occasions, the Government has not respected the independence of the Judiciary, however, according to Sida, some parts of the judicial system has been able to managed and maintain a certain independence.32

According to Tilly, the idea of a State is:

[...] democratic, according to the extent that it institutionalises a broad and relatively equal citizenship, protects its citizens from arbitrary action by state agents, and gives citizens significant collective control over state personnel and policy. Widespread categorical inequality threatens democratic institutions twice; by giving members of powerful groups incentives and means to exclude others from full benefits, and by providing visible markers for inclusion and exclusion.33

What Robert A Dahl demonstrates; that the pace of democratisation has historically been slow, and stretched out over hundreds of years, also has to be considered when looking at women’s possibilities in the building of democratic institutions in Uganda. It has to be taken into account which pre-democratic institutions existed before a non-democracy state has transgressed into democracy. He exemplifies it by: literacy, education, human rights, the independence of the judiciary, autonomous organisations and pluralism, distribution of income and wealth etc.34

3. Nation of Uganda

3.1 To build a nation

In order to, as far as possible, get an understanding of how and why Uganda as a nation is what it is today, a historical retrospect is necessary. As in all nation-building, which is often created connections or exclusions, there are many factors to take into account in how the nation looks today, how different ethnical and cultural factors have been used and are used both to strengthen the connections as well as to exploit them in order to diversify different tribes or tribal affiliations. As Thomas Hylland Eriksen writes:

33 Tilly (1999) s 245
34 Dahl (1989) s 316
The stories are selective and ideological, regardless of whether they actually display events of the past or not. What counts is how stories about the past – regardless of whether they are called "objective historical research" or "myths" - are perceived and used, how they become entwined in people's understanding of themselves and the world.\footnote{Hylland Eriksen, Thomas: Historia, myt och identitet (History, myth and identity), Stockholm: Bonnier Alba, 1996, ISBN 91-34-51867-3, s 20}

When looking at nation-building one has to be aware of that these belongings are created by human beings. It is not anything that is genetically determined but based with regards to time, place, and social environment. Human have, from the first breath, taken impression from the surroundings and have been shaped out of it. Out of the different cultural/ethnic dimensions, processes and behaviour systems each and every individual have embraced what attracts them on the basis of one's own background/history and have become unique, at the same time as he/she is formed out of a common cultural/ethnic sphere. This sphere has been created from previous generations' understandings/constructions of their cultural room, while every individual is a part of and creates new spheres because this is a process that is continuous.\footnote{Tilly (1999) s 95-96}

What this argumentation wants to highlight is that ethnic/cultural manifestations are constantly changing. What today is considered as "my" possession may tomorrow be changed due to different circumstances. Take for example what Tamas Hofer describes in his Construction of the people's cultural heritage in Hungary were Hungary, according to Hofer, over the last century, tried to establish a Hungarian identity but when the country, mainly during the first world war, changed both political and geographical boundaries, have had to review "its" identity and cultural affinities. Hofer also addresses the relationship between the national culture and national identity, which again shows how culture and identity are created imaginary worlds, which may change, depending on what it is we want to highlight.\footnote{Hofer Tamas, Construction of the Folk cultural heritage in Hungary, år 1991} These are factors, such as for example in the case of Uganda, that have influenced and been used throughout history to build power structures like the feudal society's "divide and conquer". But, as Juma Okuku expresses it:

> The intricate ethnic configuration and militarism in Uganda’s politics lie in their historical construction and continued reproduction since independence 1962. Ethnicity is neither primordial (archaic) nor static. All societies are plural because human organisation is based on cognition of different levels of identity – family, clan, village, tribe, religion, language, region or nationality. Pluralism in itself is not problematic except when certain groups perceive that they are being excluded from what they consider to be their rights, whether
political, religious, administrative, economic or linguistic. The central problem posed by exclusion is domination. Since ethnicity is made or constructed it can be reconstructed.\textsuperscript{38}

In this context it is interesting to regard Okumu’s statement in relation to Tilly’s theory of persistent inequality where Tilly expresses that the categorical inequality persists, but, if a dislocation occurs within the organisational structures, the resource base, or in the social relations, it changes \textit{how} the persistent inequalities are expressed.\textsuperscript{39} The question will then be whether there will always be groups in society that create exclusions and inclusions and preserves the categorical inequality or if it is actually possible to create a more equal society? Tilly expresses that democracy and its institutions are threatened by categorical inequality when certain powerful groups are given the access to incentives and resources so as to exclude others (see Chapter 2.2). Is democracy the answer for a more equal society?

The intention of this paper is in no way meant to justify the events that happened historically in Uganda, but it will only give \textit{one part} for the background to how the situation looks today. The differences that existed between the different ethnic groups already before the colonial time operate and have probably been strengthened during the continued nation building process.

3.2 Nation building in Uganda
3.2.1 Pre colonial history

Uganda as a nation was formed at the Western drawing board through the use of a ruler at the Congo Conference in Berlin in 1884. It is composed out of about 40 different ethnic groups in which the Baganda 17%, Banyankole, 10%, Basoga 8%, Bakiga 7%, Iteso 6 %, Langi 6% and Acholi 5% are the main groups and tend to be divided into four main groups according to language; Westniolitic people, who live mainly in the north of the country, people who are mainly Eastniolitic and residing in the east of the country, communities in the northwest who speak Sudanese languages as Lugbara and Madi, and the largest ethnic group which constitutes two-thirds of the population, the Bantu people. The Bantu people live mainly in southern and south-western Uganda and about one-sixth of the Bantu people traditionally reside in Buganda in the south. Within the Bantu group is also the Banyoro, Banyankole, Basoga and Bakiga.

\textsuperscript{38} Okuku (2002) s 40
\textsuperscript{39} Tilly (1999) s 99
Uganda's history is permeated by tension between ethnic groups in the south, mainly the Bantu people, and ethnic groups in the north, a tension which later came to be used and strengthened under the British Empire, which has continued to shape the future of Uganda's political life.

In the south the area was built as kingdoms, whereas the communities in the north had a completely different structure in which they lived in groups led by a Chief or elder man. Clans within a group of people could sometimes have a Council of elders, but it cannot be said to have been a formation of a state.

3.2.2 During British rule

The first Briton that came to, what was to become the nation of Uganda, was the explorer John Speke who arrived in the region in 1862, in search of the source of the Nile. Awaiting permission to travel to the lake, which he believed to be the source of the Nile, he gives his views on, among other things, the role of women and the judiciary in the Bugandan Kingdom in his travel story *The Journal of the Discovery of the Source of Niles*. According to Speke, there is nothing called marriage, it was the King who handed out the women on the basis of merit or rank and if someone had a beautiful daughter, she was given away as an appropriate gift, despite the fact that the woman was not considered as property. Some men could have up to one hundred women that they either had as wives or servants, everything at will.40

At the same time, according to Aili Mari Tripp 41, women have, probably since the 13th century, ruled both as Kings in the Bugandan Empire or had key positions as sisters and mothers of the Kings within the four different kingdoms and they had authority of power which the King did not interfere with.

The period from 1884-1892 was a chaotic period where various new ethnic groups wanted to access the fertile areas around the Lake Victoria. Along with them they brought different religious ideas such as Arab Islamists, French Catholic, English Protestant, etc, and many Bugandan’s converted and conflicts between the religious fractions succeeded each other.

41 Tripp & Kwesiga (2002) s 24
The start of the British colonisation can be said to have begin with the British East-African Company that started trading activities in the area and in 1888, they received authorisation from Great Britain to administer the area of Uganda. Something to consider in this context is the name of the nation of Uganda. Uganda is a Swahili term for the Buganda area. Swahili is not as widespread in Uganda as in the rest of East Africa, only about one-third of the population understands Swahili and Swahili has been linked with the military's language and has thus had a negative connotation.

In general one can say that the political system, during the British Government, came to include a layered Uganda. The Buganda people were to administer the colony Uganda and here training efforts were more focused than in the rest of Uganda. People in the northern part of Uganda were considered to be workers for the farms in the south and from the Acholi’s and Lango’s were recruited police officers and soldiers for the army. In principle, there was a regime that can be expressed as the classic ruling tactic "divide and conquer" which has characterised the continued construction of the nation of Uganda.

Towards the end of the colonial era resistance to the colonial power rises and the issue of independence is permeating the political debate increasingly. But it is an issue which is divided into two fractions. On the one hand, between the "great nationalists" who want to see a continued development of the great nation of Uganda. On the other hand the “minimal nationalists” that desired self-government for the small kingdoms. In the 1950s the first political parties where formed with a major national intention but with no direct national manifesto apart from the slogan” Self Government Now”. Two out of the nationalist parties formed one common party, the Ugandan People's Congress, UPC, in 1960 under the guidance of Milton Obote. This party obtained its support mainly from northern Uganda and the Lango-people that Milton Obote belonged to. Yet another party was formed, Democratic Party, DP, which is seen as a Catholic party with major support from the south of Buganda, where the Baganda people strived hard for their Kingdoms independences.

It was a divided Uganda that arrived in independence. Juma Okuku writes;

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42 The Swedish Institute of International Affair’s Country database, Landguide, updated 2007-09-11, downloaded 2009-01-09
43 Okuku (2002) s 13; The Swedish Institute of International Affair’s Country database, downloaded 2009-01-09
By the end of colonialism, civil society – that domain mediating between the state and society and one of the building blocks of a democratic society – was basically underdeveloped. Colonial state practices had obstructed the emergence of autonomous organisations and leadership determined to put, and capable of putting, the national interest above their individual and geo-ethnic group. It was only on this basis that the democratisation process could be advanced meaningfully. The combination of the above colonial practices led to the institutionalisation of ethnicity the initial, even the later: resistance to colonialism was fragmented along ethnic lines. The organisation that emerged were ethnically oriented as well. Even their demands were not for democratisation.\textsuperscript{44}

### 3.2.3 Independence

In April 1962, parliamentary elections were held and in October Uganda was proclaimed as independent. The country now gets a federal Constitution under which a political coalition composed by UPC and The King Only\textsuperscript{45} were to lead the country. This coalition could have been a good combination to enhance and develop both the ethnic and regional aspirations as well as the desire for a unified Uganda. But, unfortunately, the opposite happened and the differences between the north and the south grew and 1966 Prime Minister Obote lead a palace coup where troops led by the Deputy Head of the army, Idi Amin Dada, stormed the King's Palace. The King, the Kabaka, Edward Mutesa II, fled to London where he three years later died. Now a one party state was establishes where the President Obote, gained sovereign authority.\textsuperscript{46}

According to Mr Okuku, Mr Obote saw ethnicity as negative and restrictive for a successful nation-building. Quoting a statement from Mr Obote in 1963 "The tribe has served our people as a basic political unit very well in the past. But now the problem of people putting the tribe above national consciousness is a problem that we must face, and an issue we must destroy."\textsuperscript{47} But during his continued governance this was just what he developed even more. The treatment of Buganda during 1966-71 gives little credibility to his intentions to reduce ethnic factors in the nation-building of Uganda.

Suppressing the Kingdom of Buganda and the imprisonment of Southern politicians without trial simply politicised ethnicity in the country’s body politic. Obote’s partisan authoritarianism played a key part in keeping ethnic consciousness alive in the country waiting for an opportunity to re-assert itself.\textsuperscript{48}

\textsuperscript{44} Okuku (2002) s 14
\textsuperscript{45} The party "The King Only" or "Kabaka Yekka", KY, was a supporting party for keeping the statues of the Bugandan kingdom. The Swedish Institute of International Affair’s Country database, downloaded 2009-01-09
\textsuperscript{46} The Swedish Institute of International Affair’s Country database, downloaded 2009-01-09
\textsuperscript{47} Okuku (2002) s 15
\textsuperscript{48} Okuku (2002) s 16
With the new Constitution in 1967 all opposition parties were prohibited since they were “dangerous societies” that would have a negative impact on the creation of law and order in Uganda. All opposition to the Government was struck down brutally by the security forces and paramilitary forces. And 1971, it became a fact that Deputy Chief Idi Amin Dada carried out a coup when Obote was abroad. Idi Amin justified the coup by Obote’s suppression of development of a multi-party system and forced the country into a one-party State during his dictatorship.

Initially Amin is hailed by both his fellow countrymen and in the Western countries where he was seen as a hero who freed the country from Obote’s harsh regime. Instead, what happened was like coming out of the frying pan into the fire, when Amin introduced a reign of terror, and it is estimated that during a few months after the coup about 100 000 people were killed. It was mostly people from the Acholi and Lango people that dominated the army. Mr Amin himself belonged to the Kakwa people from the north-western part of Uganda. During Amin’s ruling period up until 1979 it has been estimated that about 100 000 – 500 000 people lost their lives. Instead of developing a multi-party system there was once again an expression of absolute power. In an extract of the Human Right Watch in 1999 one can read;

Within three month after he took power […] Amin suspended all democratic rights, gave the army dictatorial powers of arrest and punishment and set up a military tribunal to try political offenders. A period of terror administrated by the army (now dominated by Sudanese mercenaries, the Anyanya, Kakwa and Nubien ethnic groups from Amin’s West Nile region) and security forces followed.

Ethnicity and religion had once again been used in the creation of new national power structures and the promise of democratic elections, which was made at the coup, was shattered when Idi Amin declared himself president for life and all talk about a multi-party system was banned. He extradited all people of Asian origin and again Uganda had to live through a regime that ruled with the reign of terror and repression which led to the collapse of both the justice system and a misruled economy. In order to turn the attention from of his own failures within the country, in 1978 he invaded Tanzania. The invasion

49 A numerous part of the Western countries considered Mr Obote as too much left radical. The Swedish Institute of International Affair’s Country database, downloaded 2009-01-09
51 The Asian people abided by traid and business. Mr Amin gave out property belonging to the Asian people to his own supporters with no knowledge about business and because of that, the Ugandan economy broke down The Swedish Institute of International Affair’s Country database, downloaded 2009-01-09
was struck back and in January 1979 the Tanzanian troops marched into Kampala\textsuperscript{52} to overthrow Idi Amin.

Again a hope for peace and stability was revived within the country. But again the hopes were dashed. A loosely composed transitional Government ruled for 68 days and during the period the old ethnic tensions appeared and in May 1980 loyal supporters of Mr Obote carried out another coup. Free elections were going to take place, but once again were the Ugandan people deceived. The election campaign was seen as a farce;

The disputed elections of 1980 broke all the principles and practices of multi-partyism. The nomination of party candidates was a farce. During the elections there was more talk about which party had which military commanders and “meeting violence, intimidation with intimidation” than which party programmes were likely to pull Uganda out of the post-Amin quagmire.\textsuperscript{53}

When the results from the free elections were declared, the Democratic Party, DP, received more votes than Obote’s UPC. Despite those facts it was declared that the UPC had won the elections and Obote was once again installed as the president. A few days after the elections the Defence Minister, Yoweri Museveni, went into the bush to start a guerrilla war against Obote. He started the resistance Movement, the National Resistant NRM, and an era of increasing civil war began.

The world seems to be most aware of Idi Amin's reign of terror and authoritarianism, but several observers estimated that the same amount of people were killed in conflicts, massacres and torture during Obote’s regime as during the Amin time.\textsuperscript{54} Obote was trying to implement law and order in the country, but the reality was the opposite. The soldiers of the army were not paid and instead supported themselves through looting and robbery. The rebel army, the NRA was, on the other hand, a disciplined army and treated people well and gained support, mainly in the southern region.

This paved the way for Yoweri Museveni and his NRA and in January 1986 Museveni was sworn in as Uganda's new president, which he has remained as until the present date. Many were the people who now, at last, saw an opportunity for a new era in the history of

\textsuperscript{52} Kampala, the Capital of Uganda.
\textsuperscript{53} Mugaju, Justus: No-Party Democracy in Uganda: Myths and Realities, Kampala: Fountain Publishers, 2000
\textsuperscript{54} The Swedish Institute of International Affair's Country database, downloaded 2009-01-09
Uganda. At last there would become law and order and many people were now tired of the chaos that had prevailed in the country since independence. Much has been improved and has continued to be developed, but the open society founded on freedom of expression, where all citizens are equally valued as the definitions of Jan Hylander provide for democracy to exist, however, cannot be claimed for the nation of Uganda. At a rally held in 2001 Mr Museveni was claimed to have said:

“I’m not ready to hand over power to people or groups of people who have no ability to manage a nation… Why should I sentence Ugandans to suicide by handing over power to people we fought and defeated? It’s dangerous despite the fact that the constitution allows them to run against me [...] At times the constitution may not be the best tool to direct us politically for it allows wrong and doubtful people to contest for power”

It seems that history repeats itself.

This has been a part of the background for today’s Uganda and the challenges that have been and still exist in the creation of the nation of Uganda. Accordingly, the following chapters will focus on the Ugandan women’s history in order to further provide background to the women interviewed for this thesis question.

4. To be a Woman in Uganda
4.1 Initial reflection

To read, discuss and analyse the women’s movement in Uganda, as part of the building of democratic institutions and nation-building, offers several different reflections. If one read the Ugandan history and research on women's movement there is one fact remaining that may be of relevance to why women’s movement in general has not developed as much as it would appear to have. Namely people’s attitudes on issues of gender and the difficulties in implementing national, constitutional standpoints with regards to gender perspectives throughout the social chain out to the smallest village where, usually, a traditional approach and views on women still dominates. Attitudes are vital in order to implement a social system in which the individual human equal values, are important building blocks in the building of democratic institutions in the nation of Uganda. This is a statement that is often found in the literature, but nobody seems to take it as an important pillar for the development of the ability of women to further build democratic institutions or to see this as an important aspect of building democratic institutions in general.

55 The President, Mr Museveni, when speaking at a rally in Western Uganda, quoted by the paper, The East African, 12 February 2001, Okukur (2002) s 24
The gender issue must, however, be placed in a context where a number of other factors important for the construction of the nation of Uganda such as poverty, corruption, cultural and religious borders and differences, have forced issues related to women to stand back. If you make a comparison to the Swedish women’s movement, there are similarities in the development process, but the crucial difference is that the women's movement in Sweden has reached so much further. This is not mentioned to belittle the progress made in Uganda, but to provide a reflection on to it. The development for all citizens’ equal rights within a nation takes time. For example, to give female suffrage in Sweden, the association “Landsförening för Kvinnans Politiska Rösträtt” (The Society for Women’s Political Suffrage) was formed in 1903. In 1913 there was a petition which gathered 360,000 signatures in favour of the creation of women's suffrage. In 1919 the decision was made on the municipal elections for women's suffrage and the year 1921 amendments were made to the Constitution so as women could vote in political elections.

4.2 Woman in society

One aspect of women's ability to build the nation of Uganda is the ability to own land. The agricultural sector is of great importance for Uganda’s economy and, just as in the vast majority of African countries; women play an important role in the agricultural sector. Approximately 80% of the Ugandans are active within the agricultural sector and 77% of the female labour force is sustaining themselves through agriculture. But, according to statistics, only 7% of the land is owned by women in Uganda.

Already in 1998 the Ugandan Parliament adopted a legislative proposal where a woman's ability to own land was strengthened. Above all it was a clause within the Land Act which gave spouses the right to shared ownership of the family's property. But when the text was put in writing the clause on joint ownership was missing. Despite fierce lobbying the clause is still not enrolled within the legislation.

How can it be that difficult to force a change into the Bill or change norms that give women greater possibilities to be a good asset in the construction of the nation of Uganda? Presented in this paper are a few of the factors that may be reasons for it.

57 Waliggo writes “Traditional African cultures ought to be critically screened in order to be modernized in favour of gender equality. Cultural and structural injustices are not easily eradicated because they have existed for a long time and have influenced the way people think and act. In order to eradicate them gradually, societal leaders need to give guidance and support.” Waliggo, John Mary: Struggle for Equality, Women and Empowerment in Uganda, Eldoret, Kenya: AMECEA Gaba Publications, 2002, ISBN 9966-836-27-6, s 5
59 Tripp & Kwesiga (2002) s 121
Traditionally, it is the man who is in possession and in large parts of Uganda it is still so, including ownership of the woman. As one of the women interviewed for this thesis said:

You know, when we are in council as women, when we bring issues on gender based violence, the men normally say...they have...now, when you marry, in our culture, you become a property of the man. But we say: No! Our rights has to be...respected! We are the same! Our rights have to be protected. [...] But the men always says: No, no, the Government of Uganda has brought a very bad system of saying: We should have equal rights with men. But...all along we are just pushing it, but the men...are not...supporting us at all. We are their properties! When we marry from the parents you become a property of the man.60

What the woman says contains several different expressions of cultural tradition.61 The marriage in itself is regarded as a woman's objective in life and the ownership of land does not correspond to a happy marriage. In traditional practices the bride is purchased via the bride price to the girl's parents where the woman becomes a man's property, limiting women's ability to assert ownership of land. Everything she possibly brings to the home automatically becomes the man’s property. The children they get together belong automatically to the husband, and if he dies, the child belongs to the husband’s family. This is mostly widespread in rural areas where illiteracy is high for both men and women. One of the women farmers in Manyakabi ACE said;

I have lived in the House for 16 years, and we live next to my in-laws. When I was in the 5th month my husband died. He is buried outside. Then my in-laws saw that my children began to grow up so they wanted me to go away from the House and leave the children behind but I could not leave my children that easily so I had to be strong and stubborn. My father-in-law went to the Chairman of the Local Council and accused me of being "stubheaded" and have stolen household accessories belonging to the property and that I should be removed from the property. For 6 years, I had to fight to get the right to stay and have the right to my children. It has cost me a lot of money but now I have a document which proves that I may live here.62

If we look at Tilly’s theory were he defines the persistent inequality as the possibility of access of goods where the ownership of land can be seen as an autonomous benefit, it is seen in the above writing how, through tradition, women are excluded from access to autonomous public goods, which in itself created a persistent inequality. Exploitation through relative goods has maintained the inequality which has preserved the autonomous benefits among the exploiters.

60 Interview no 2, Kitgum 2009-04-10
61 Waliggo writes “In the Ganda culture, women are in most cases not allowed to become heirs to their fathers or paternal uncles, even when they are the only child of the father or the best qualified in wisdom and leadership in the family.” Waliggo (2002) s 4
62 Interview no 1, Manyakabi 2009-03-24. The quotation is an interpretation of the interview because the interview was conducted with an interpreter that translated from the local language Ruyankole to English. That means that it is not the woman's own words, this is a quotation from the interpreter. The interview question was about something else but the woman talked about this for 40 minutes so it is understood that this was of great importance for her.
But it is not only a question of male/female roles. We also have to look into how the social life in general is made up of the collective as a normative, in which the individual is not autonomous, were she does not access rights in addition to someone else in their society. The individual role or status is defined based on a holistic view of society which in turn is based more on obligations than rights, more on mutual obligations than the individual's potential for development, which further hampers the ability of women's development. 63 64

Men's attitude towards women also plays a role. Sylvia Tamale reflects on it when she discusses women's opportunity in the world of politics;

If the inclusion of women in national assembly's is meant (as it should be) to foster change by incorporating a feminist policy agenda, then we need to go beyond numbers and address other important structural factors such as patterns of gender interaction that have significant nearing on the behaviour and the profile of any given institution.65

Uganda is a patriarchal society in many ways in which, among others, Sylvia Tamale explains these expressions as follows:

The term “patriarchy” as used in this study refers to male dominance within the specific cultural and historical arrangements of Ugandan gender relations. [...] , patriarchy in the Ugandan context is grounded in the institution of polygyny – the practice of a man taking on multiple wives. Under this system, men are the dominant sex, having control over women and the management of gender relations. Although men are theoretically obligated to support and maintain their wives and families, in reality Ugandan women carry a considerable burden of productive and reproductive labour (albeit unwaged). This form of patriarchy offers women relative autonomy; indeed, inherent in the struggle by Ugandan women for emancipation is their attempt to maximise this relative autonomy.66

Polygamy is relatively widespread in Uganda, and one of the female parliamentarians interviewed for this thesis saw this as one of the reasons why the clause in the Land Act has not yet been entered into the text of the Bill.

[---] But, for a number of years now we have failed to get the blessing of men support. Because they keep reasoning…our society is a polygamous society. Some are monogamous and some are polygamous. They keep reasoning now; I have my three, four wives and I have one piece of land. Then, for make this contract; say with the first wife, what happened with the other women? So we failed to get their blessing. [...] But, also, we are talking about the stereotype attitude. Now, if these women are empowered, if these women get money enough, I won’t be able to manage her. This kind of reasoning… it’s simply that…and it is a challenge and a real one. 67

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63 Tripp & Kwesiga (2002) s 135
64 According to tradition, when marrying, the woman becomes a part of the man’s clan, something that is common within the Bantu people in Southern and Southeast Uganda. Tripp & Kwesiga (2002) s 123
65 Tamale (1999) s 27
66 Tamale (1999) s 35 not 13
67 Interview no 2, Parliament, 2009-03-20
Also here you can see patterns coinciding with Tilly’s theory. If you look at the categorical pair, man/woman, where man is the exploiter who wants to maintain his relative benefits, the power, and the woman is of the subordinate group that through adaptation, reconcile with its position in the social configuration and the social structure, then is the persistent inequalities maintained.68

Another aspect of women's different opportunities in Uganda is sprung out of the colonial era. Women in northern Uganda have had less opportunity to education than women from the Buganda area where most prestigious girls' schools were placed. Women, particularly in rural areas, are often illiterate or have not had the opportunity to continue their studies and have had to stop at a low level of education. Statistics indicate that approximately 58% of Ugandan women's are able to write and read but many terminate their studies prematurely and only every six child goes on to studies at a secondary school level.69

The picture painted here may seem bleak, but is a fact for a woman's ability to be a good asset in the construction of the nation of Uganda. Women have had and have great significance for the Uganda growth but, as written before, they have belonged to a sector of society which has not been seen and their areas of responsibility has been limited to the household and the family's daily subsistence70.

4.3 Woman in the corridors of power

The British colonization of Uganda is seen by Sylvia Tamale as a cause for that women received late access to the political sphere. Where Christian missionaries and British administrators transplanted a Victorian, male dominated, form of Government where the woman's role was subordinate the man. Where a clear distinction existed between the private and public realm where the man was the public operator and the woman the private. Such division had, according to Tamales, not clear demarcation in the past within the Ugandan society.71

68 Tilly (1999) s 48 och 50
69 The statistics aim at all children (in the beginning of 2000); The Swedish Institute of International Affair's Country database, downloaded 2009-01-09
70 Tamale (1999) s 9; Tripp & Kwaresa (2002) s 90
71 Tamale (1999) s 9
The female missionaries and colonisers in Uganda mainly wanted to educate the Ugandan woman to become better wives to their Westernised African men.\textsuperscript{72} Several researchers have been critical to this reproduction of Western standards and believe that this has limited the Ugandan women's opportunities for development instead of the opposite.\textsuperscript{73} If looking into Tilly's theory, this could be an expression of emulation, where you simply copy the social structures of the British model, in order to easily transfer a model that was convenient for the colonists including any unequal categorical relationships where the effects of the cumulative adjustment seemed natural in the new environment.\textsuperscript{74}

Another cause would be women's access to education. Possibilities to education were mainly given to boys. During the colonial period girls were mainly educated to become good wives to educated men. Miss Allen, missionary and Rector of Gayaza High School, later Buloba College, is supposed to have said in a speech in the early 30ies; "My staff will do their best to teach Domestic Science, House-wifery and Hygiene as it is taught in England".\textsuperscript{75, 76} This is something that may be one reason why women have had less access to Parliament as it is stipulated that to attend the Parliament one should at least have a degree at A-standard level or the equivalent.\textsuperscript{77, 78}

During the first tottering years of independence, it was the women organisations that pushed women's issues and the women's movement became stronger. But already during Obote's governance a change occurs and when Idi Amin came into power in 1971 he forbid any form of opposition, including women's organisations.\textsuperscript{79} During this period it can be seen via statistics that female representation within Parliament fall from the already low rate of 4% in the years 1955-1958 to scarce 1% over the period 1980-1986.\textsuperscript{80}

For about 30 years it could be said that woman were being neglected within the rooms of politics but when Museveni and the National Resistant Movement, NRM, came into power in 1986 it could be seen as a turning point. A special seat was established for women

\textsuperscript{72} Tripp & Kwesiga (2002) s 23
\textsuperscript{74} Tilly (1999) s 95
\textsuperscript{75} Tamale (1999) s 12
\textsuperscript{76} A parenthesis or a parallel that has not to be forgotten within this context is that this was not unique for just colonised countries. Even within the western countries during this period of time the womans role was within the private sphere. Tripp & Kwesiga (2002)
\textsuperscript{78} The system of education in Uganda has a structure of 7 years of primary education, 6 years of secondary education (divided into 4 years of lower secondary (O-level) and 2 years of upper secondary school(A-level). *Nationalsyrkopedie, Band 18*: Höganäs: Bra Böcker Cop., 1995, ISBN 91-7024-619-X, s 597
\textsuperscript{79} Tamale (1999) s 15
\textsuperscript{80} Ballington (2004) s 39
specifically, within the Local Councils at all five different levels.\textsuperscript{81} Mainly the women have to enter as "the Secretary for women" within the nine-member Board in the Local Council. Consciously or unconsciously, the female representatives, on the basis of the historic female role of caretaker, took the position as tea-and coffee maker or deal with the practical issues within the Board's work and the access to the purely political work was notable by its absence.\textsuperscript{82}

1989 seats reserved for women were introduced in Parliament, one for each district.\textsuperscript{83} The reason for the quota is disputed. Some wondered why it suddenly become a change; \textit{“Were the NRM males fundamentally different from the patriarchal “old boys”?”} Many believe that there was international pressure and female lobbying from the women's movement that affected Museveni to impose quotas. Others consider that Museveni himself declared that female quota is only a symbolic gesture to appease women.\textsuperscript{84} Museveni himself noted that half of the country's population consisted of women, and they account for much of Uganda's income and that NRM because of that wanted to give the women access to the political sphere.\textsuperscript{85} But looking to Tilly's theory, it might simply have cost too much to maintain the unequal structures where both external pressure from donors and other Nations, as well as internal pressure in the form of women's organisations from the subordinate layer in the structure, did not adapt to the prevailing pattern therefore it cost more to maintain the unequal structures than to let go of them.\textsuperscript{86}

Quotas are also subject to discussions. Some believe that it is reverse discrimination. Others believe that women are a kind of hostage; they have come to the Parliament on the basis of a decision which did not include the women's movement in its preparatory work which resulted in that women found themselves in a position where they must be loyal to the men who had elected them and follow their decision.\textsuperscript{87} One of the interviewed parliamentarians also saw it as a "trap":

\begin{quote}
I stood against a powerful woman [---] and people thought I was mad. [---] The woman seat is not meant to be blocked, that was my conviction. If a woman uses it, that seat for two terms, she should leave it and other
\end{quote}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[81] Within Sylvia Tamale's book \textit{When Hens Begin to Crow}, (1999) s 70 -71, it comes very clear how the Ugandan political system is built, consisting 5 different levels plus the Parliament (fig. 3.1).
\item[82] Ballington (2004) s 38
\item[83] There were 39 districts when the system was established. Nowadays (2004) there are 56 different districts with one woman representative in Parliament from each district. Ballington (2004) s 38 och 40
\item[84] Ballington (2004) s 40
\item[86] Tilly (2000) s 129
\item[87] Ballington (2004) s 40
\end{footnotes}
women come up. Because, to me, for creating a formative action and it support only one woman, the seat is not being productive! We are not in facing number! [...] I told her so. I said: Now you are on a national level, everybody knows your name. Everywhere you pass, they know you. Why must you block this seat for the women? You also go and contest against the elected seats, against men, because you are known! Show us that you are a woman who wants to bring up other women.88

After all, through quotas, there is some opportunity for women to influence decisions that affect women's ability to be a public part of the construction of the nation of Uganda. But it is not always an easy situation to deal with. Sylvia Tamale named her book *When Hens Begin to Crow* based on this event;

Female chickens normally do not crow. At least popular mythology claims that they cannot. Hence, in many African cultures a crowing hen is considered an omen of bad tidings that must be expiated through the immediate slaughter of the offending bird. During the 1996 general elections to Uganda’s national legislature, a male observer at a campaign rally reminded a woman candidate of this old African apothegm: Waki owulide ensera ekokolima? “Have you ever heard a hen crow?” The message was clear: Women have no business standing for political office. The rowdy applause from the other men at the gathering signalled their broad sympathy and support for their colleague’s observation.89

Now when women are a part of the parliamentary work is pressure made to enforce law proposals that are female related. Women have pushed for changes in order to achieve laws on rape, sexual harassment and abuse. Attempts have been made for the establishment of a new law, the Domestic Relationship Bill, to act in terms of consolidation issues relating to succession, regulation of polygamous marriages, bride price and lawful age for marriage. The draft law was controversial and was on the table for decades without impact in Parliament. In 2002 was further lobbying done by UWOPA and the Coalition on the Domestic Relations Bill, DRB to enforce the law90. In spite of pressure the law is yet to date91 not implemented and adopted in Parliament.

Difficulties to enforce female related issues is something which unfortunately also is seen within the interviews conducted for this thesis with female politicians both at local political level as within Parliament, especially matters that traditionally is regarded as female related. Here are some of the statements made by the female politicians:

Question: How has the response been when you raised the issues that are gender related?

88 Interview no 2, Parliament 2009-03-20
89 Tamale (1999), Introduction remarks to the book where she writes “This is by no means an isolated case. Reference to this African saying has frequently been made since women began participating in formal politics in large numbers (e.g. Sunday Vision, May 8 1994, 8)
90 Tripp & Kwesiga (2002) s 9
91 Up to date = 2010-01-01
They have been received well, but, as you know it is a patriarchal system and women’s affairs may not always get the space they need.\textsuperscript{92}

Response have been positive, but, unfortunately you might feel...I think men politics don’t take it serious, yes, but women MPs understand it very well...and support it and also the men seem like they support it, but they are not so serious. If anything else comes up they would prefer that topic, the maternal health wont. They think it’s not a very big issue. They think, that whatever we have is enough for that particular. But we came to Government to do more.\textsuperscript{93}

Men usually...some understand, because some men, even their children are child mothers. They sometimes give...a positive respond...yeah...that we should put something to guide this child mothers.\textsuperscript{94}

Question: Are women’s issues your main issues?

Among other issues, because they chose you, you came in on a woman seat, you get it? [...] So all the problems of a woman must come to my disc. They call you a woman member of Parliament. So you must take care of the issues of men as well, you can see? You can see the contradiction? A male Member of Parliament normally concentrates on issues of his constituency but for you as a woman member of Parliament you must take care of both.\textsuperscript{95}

Question: Is it difficult to be a woman in politics?

Yeah! It is difficult, because even in politics, a time when you get a man who does not like politics, you are not allowed to participate.\textsuperscript{96}

Of course, this is a general picture that is given of the male attitude towards women. There are of course men who do not make a distinction between men and women including what the respondents answered in this paper. But the fact remains; the male attitude is one of the challenges for female politicians in the exercise of its political commitment.

At the same time, progress has been made. Just the fact that more women have access to the Parliament and the legislature has increased the ability to enforce law proposals and measures which affect women’s ability as nation-builders. Among other things, the country’s legislation in the Land Bill during the period of field studies in Uganda\textsuperscript{97} relating to trafficking. Pressure and lobbying is made also to change the Land Act in order to increase women’s ability to own land. And the latest addition is the Domestic Violence Bill

\textsuperscript{92} Interview no 1, Parliament 2009-03-14
\textsuperscript{93} Interview no 3, Parliament 2009-03-27
\textsuperscript{94} Interview no 3, Kitgum 2009-04-10
\textsuperscript{95} Interview no 2, Parliament 2009-03-20
\textsuperscript{96} Interview no 1, Kitgum 2009-04-10
\textsuperscript{97} http://www.observer.ug/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=5549&Itemid=59, downloaded 2010-02-04
that passed by Parliament in November 2009. Also a bill prohibiting the execution of female genital mutilation has been submitted to Parliament.

5. Swedish aid to Uganda

Swedish Aid trend has changed over time. Within the aid sphere, one can see the different trends that come and go, and the benefits of aid or how the aid has been allocated has often been criticised and discussed. In the small scripture *Hjälp* eller *stjälp* — *biståndet och tillväxten* (Help or queer — the aid and the growth), it is discussed whether aid is useful in the larger view. If there is any evidence that increased aid also leads to greater economic growth? Or, perhaps as was written in the scripture, perhaps the questions is been asked the wrong way "*can we possibly expect that aid should create growth?*". Of course, the question is relevant and should be discussed on the basis of how the global resource are allocated at the present time, given the fact that aid as a phenomena can be said to have existed since the early 20th century which, among others, the Red Cross (ICRC) won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1901 for the organisations humanitarian work.

Even Swedish aid has changed over time, not least to Uganda, where the budget aid was reduced during the years 2005-2006 and was frozen completely during the 2007-2008 because they saw the lack in the development of democracy and human rights. In addition, we must be aware that Swedish development policy is based on the incumbent Government directive and proposals and the development policy can be changed along with power shifts within the Government of Sweden. It could be asked; on whose conditions is aid given? Is it given based on the Swedish political perspective, or is it based on the needs of the recipient country? About the cause and effects of aid "is still disputed, and the case it still before the courts", and so has been the case throughout time and history.

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98http://www.sundayvision.co.ug/detail.php?mainNewsCategoryId=7&newsCategoryId=128&newsId=701178, downloaded 2010-01-02  
102Aid that is given directly from the funding country to the receiving country’s budget. http://www.regeringen.se/sb/d/2001/a/12467, downloaded 2009-05-11  
The very concept of Swedish aid, u-assistance, development aid or international aid is now obsolete terms. In the present situation the term for aid is *international development cooperation* in order to emphasise the nature of an activity involving at least two partners who are working together for the same purpose. Aid as a term relates more to one party helping the other.\(^{105}\)

At the present time approximately 1% of Sweden’s GDP are given to international development cooperation, which is now seen as a part or component within the Parliament established "Policy for Global Development", PGU. The idea is that all the different domestic policy areas such as trade, agriculture, environment and migration policy should be designed in such a way that it promotes global development. In particular, there are two human rights perspective which should be taken into account: the human rights perspective and the perspective of the poor. Many critics consider, however, that PGU has ended up in the shadow of the respective policy areas national interest and the different interpretations can be made about how PGU will be translated into practical policies.\(^{106}\)

The Swedish current strategy for development cooperation with Uganda\(^ {107}\) provides that it shall be made in accordance with the objective of Sweden's policy for global development and create conditions for poor women and men to improve their living conditions. The overall objective is an increased respect for and enjoyment of the democratic principles in which four sectors have been prioritised; (1) democratic governance, including peace and security, (2) the health sector, (3) private sector development, including international trade and financial system, and (4) research cooperation.

As justification for the priorities it is said;

The focus within the cooperation has been adjusted according to the contradictory picture of the development within Uganda. In parallel with the introduction of a multi-party system in 2005, a clear trend to an increase of the presidential power has been seen. Limitations have been seen within the freedom of speech and assembly, as well as within other violations of civil and political rights. The country has since the 1990s had a positive economic development that has contributed to the percentage of the population falling below the level of national income poverty has declined. At the same time, the political will to allocate resources fairly and to protect and ensure the economic and social rights are breached.


\(^{106}\) Elander, *downloaded 2010-01-26*, s 16

\(^{107}\) Regeringskansliet, *downloaded 2009-07-19*
Particularly within the conflict-affected areas, within the country in the north and east, access to social services is continuously very low.\textsuperscript{108} 

During the period, support to non-governmental actors has increased and aid is given for project support, such as the two investigated projects for this thesis. As a background to its priorities the following analysis has been made:

- That Uganda demonstrated a high degree of concentration of power to the Executive in the last years.
- That the State has increased its control of NGOs within the civil society.
- That, despite some efforts that has been made, the social, political and economic status of the woman is still low. Discrimination against women is widespread.
- That the armed conflict in northern Uganda is the major cause of insecurity, poverty and lack of development in these parts of the country.
- That the rapidly growth of the economy has led to a reduction of people living below the national poverty level.\textsuperscript{109}
- That the rapid growth has occurred while a diversification of the economy has taken place where the agricultural shares of GDP have decreased.\textsuperscript{110}
- Over ½ million Ugandans are living abroad, whose remittances they send home constitutes about 7% of GDP.
- Those behind the national statistics are large regional differences.
- The business environment, productivity and competitiveness of the country have gaps and needs to be improved, especially in the agricultural sector.
- That infrastructure within several parts of the country is poor with only 6% of Uganda's road network has asphalt and approximately 1% of the people in the rural areas have access to electricity.

More and more donors are now seeing the importance of targeted aid to strengthen the role of women in society, and that goes for the Swedish international development cooperation as well. In the regulatory policy of the Government "gender equality and women's role in society" is one of the three priority areas.\textsuperscript{111}

The intentions of the Swedish international development cooperation sounds good enough but one cannot help but to reflect on a paragraph that Robert A. Dahl writes:

\textsuperscript{108} Regeringskansliet, downloaded 2009-07-19
\textsuperscript{109} From 56% year 1992 to 31% year 2005/06, Regeringskansliet, downloaded 2009-07-19
\textsuperscript{110} From 23% year 2001 to 16% year 2007, Regeringskansliet, downloaded 2009-07-19
\textsuperscript{111} Remaining two prioritized areas are "Democracy and human rights" and "Environment and climate", Regeringskansliet, downloaded 2009-07-19
Even if [...] democratic countries were to pursue policies more favorable to the evolution of democracy in nondemocratic countries, however, changes in the essential conditions would be slow. Political and military leaders long accustomed to using force to gain their political ends are unlikely to sacrifice their superior political resources on the altar of democracy. The transformation of social and economic structures is also slow. If we have learned anything from foreign economic assistance it is that the development of a modern, dynamic, pluralistic society requires more than foreign aid; it depends on prior conditions, including cultural factors, that are themselves not particularly well understood. Nor can a democratic belief system and culture develop over a season. Likewise the roots of subculture conflicts are usually too deep to be eradicated by outside intervention.\textsuperscript{112}

Tilly also denounces pattern in governance on the basis of his theory that has to be reflected on:

Since there emergence as distinct forms of social organisation some ten thousand years ago, states have always intervened in patterns of inequality across the territories their rulers have controlled. Most of the time, their agents have tried to maintain and reproduce existing inequalities, notably those guaranteeing the dominance of their ruling classes and sustaining supplies of essential state recources: money, weapons, soldiers, food, transport, communications.[...] In their armies, hospitals, and bureaucracies, states have provided models for exploitation and opportunity hoarding in nongovernmental organisations.\textsuperscript{113}

This paper does not take a stand to point out that Uganda is a non-democracy, but according to Western standards, Uganda is a young democracy that is slowly starting to build its democratic cornerstones and democratic institutions, as Dahl demonstrates, it has to be taken into account when building up the basic conditions for a stable democratic nation.

6. “Application for project funding to support their party organizations linked to democracy building in developing countries and in countries of Western Balkans and Eastern Europe. Joint project in Uganda” or “The Inter-Party Cooperation” (IPC)

6.1 Background
Yoweri Museveni and his National Recistance Movement, NRM has since 1986 governed the country. During the period it has been relatively stable and peaceful in the country but the form of Government has been a one-party State, or as president Museveni himself puts it, a non-party democracy, where political activities has been prohibited and written into the Constitution in 1995 while at the same time NRM moved to become a "movement", the Movement. Museveni justified it by the commission that the Constitutional Commission in 1989 was commissioned to examine how the Ugandan people wanted to be governed in

\textsuperscript{112} Dahl (1989) s 317
\textsuperscript{113} Tilly (1999) s 197
the future. Museveni declares in his book *Sowing the Mustard Seed* that the Commission's final report showed that the majority of the Ugandan people did not want to have a multiparty system, but that the Commission made a compromise and considered that, if the time was right, a multi-party system should be introduced 5 years after the first elections under the new Constitution.  

In addition, he formed the idea of a non-party democracy based on that Western democracies built their party system on different class memberships, middle class, working class, and so on. According to Museveni the Ugandan population consists predominantly of one single class, poor farmers, where a multi-party system would entail sectarianism and vertical polarization. Critics of the Movement claim, however, that there were other reasons for the introduction of a "one-party State", which was based on a "one-man rule" system camouflaged as a "non-party democracy". Onyanga Odongo writes;

> Because of the absence of a clear and loud refutation of NRM’s demonstrably false accusation of the political parties, from internationally recognised and responsible multipartyists, foreign democrats who might have supported the cause for democracy in Uganda, were left without an alternative. They had to abandon their previous stand on the question of democracy, and meekly accept the false claim, that political parties were the purveyors of political instability in Uganda. Hence the real cause of instability in Uganda which was the absence of a workable political system, was buried deep in the dustbin of Uganda’s political history.

Among citizens in Uganda there is a kind of tiredness with regards to policy and the political system, where power structures often has been built on the principle of "divide and conquer" and has been misused. A safe and stable social system has been absent, which has made people bitter and disillusioned, becoming unwilling to change; "we know what we have but not what we get" seems to be the attitude and that has been used by the current regime. Even within associations and NGOs, some concern for regime change can be seen. From a paragraph within the UCAs EFTAFs description of risks for the project it could be read:

> [---]There is however a risk that either due to changes in government, someone else with limited understanding could want to come in and disturb this equilibrium and harmonious

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114 Museveni (1997) s 194  
115 Museveni (1997 s. 194  
117 Odongo (2000) s 68  
118 Robert A. Dahl indicates that “democratic breakdown characteristically occurs in new polyarchies, that is, in countries that have experienced less than twenty years with democratic institutions. In most such countries democratic habits and practices have had quite shallow roots. It is hardly surprising, particularly if we take into account all the other acutely unfavourable conditions, which throughout Africa parliamentary systems that had replaced colonial rule were with few exceptions rapidly replaced by military dictatorships and personal authoracies.” (1989) s 315
relationship that has so far been built. It is the same if the government were to change bringing in people without the background of where co-operatives have come from.\textsuperscript{119}

In addition, it is worth mentioning that opponents to the Movement can see that when Museveni came to power in 1986 a sequence of measures were made to stabilise the country and create structures and, as one of the recipients for this paper express:

\textit{Ok, it`s the history of this country. The country have suffered so much under the previous governments and[...], you know, you found that you also suffered as a family. Some because I was living in Kampala, those days there were no law and order and the break ins in our houses, I think they broke in in[to] my house like six times. So they steal everything you have and of course you are put at gunpoint, you don`t know how to defend yourself, you don`t have a gun. Not only one soldier about 6-8 soldiers have entered into your house, you know, you feel you are in a desperate situation. So when this government came in, it brought in law and order.}\textsuperscript{120}

The Constitution that was written in 1995 where political activities were prohibited was amended in 2005, when the ban was abolished.\textsuperscript{121} Different political parties had continued to operate in secret, during this period, but the parties lacked and still lack some knowledge and tools, such as political party platforms as well as strategies and financial resources to build sustainable structures within the parties.\textsuperscript{122} Again the history is repeated, when Museveni`s biggest opponent in the opposition is one of his former closest men. Something that seems to have permeated all seizures of power since independence in 1962.

From this base started KIC, Christian Democratic International Centre, in 2007, in cooperation with SILC and CPIF a common project in Uganda, IPC, with two main focus; partly to strengthen women in politics and partly collaborate with the various opposition parties in Uganda to strengthen each party, at the same time that they want to develop working methods in order to build alliances, such as the alliance parties have done in Sweden. As one of the background to implement the IPCs project it could be read in the project description:

A very common problem in developing countries and emerging democracies is that the disagreement between opposition parties are very noticeable, which has often contributed to the continued abuse of power by the established party. Uganda is no exception, the opposition is weak and fragmented and the suspicion between the parties is substantial. Through this project, we want to take part in developing joint cooperation strategies and

\textsuperscript{120} Interview no 2 Parliament 2009-03-20
\textsuperscript{121} The Swedish Institute of International Affair`s Country database, Landguide, downloaded 2009-01-09
\textsuperscript{122} Joint project in Uganda, KIC, 2006
visions in order to be able to present a credible alternative to the current government in the elections in 2011.\footnote{Joint project in Uganda, KIC, 2006}

The IPC was launched already in 2006, at that time with the aim to strengthen female politicians;

Cooperation has, among other things, focused on bringing female parliamentarians together (Uganda Women's Parliamentary Association) with a number of NGOs working on women's issues. The position of women in politics is highly marginalised and the goal is to get women's issues on the political agenda. [...] Further work will also focus on women's and young people's participation in the political work and continue to achieve a change in legislation and attitudes within policy on issues relating to women's rights.\footnote{Joint project in Uganda, KIC, 2006}

The country analysis of the IPC shows that approximately 40% of Ugandan women are exposed to domestic violence, and female genital mutilation still exists\footnote{In November 2009 a law proposal was put forward to the Parliament to prohibit female genital mutilation. http://www.theinternationalonline.com/articles/102-uganda-gender-laws-gain-support, downloaded 2010-02-04} and a reform proposal has been put on the table to among other things criminalise rape within marriage but that "it requires a significant change of attitude on the status of women to make any significant changes."\footnote{Joint project in Uganda, KIC, 2006}

6.2 IPCs aims and objectives

IPC has several different goals and it is expressed that the direct target group for the project is Uganda's political parties with a focus to strengthening cooperation between the various opposition parties. This thesis will focus and make delimitation to the IPCs targets that are specifically targeted to/for women. In the problem analysis for the IPC is found:

[---]Women and young people have a marginalised role within the political life. Out of 234 seats within Parliament, 99 seats are held by women. These groups and the questions these groups want to highlight in particular, is in need of assistance. Specific space should therefore be given in the project to these groups. Women in Uganda has traditionally very little to utter within the Ugandan society and female parliamentarians has too often turned out to vote against the reforms, which had the aim to improve the situation for Ugandan women.\footnote{Joint project in Uganda, KIC, 2006}

To support these women, the IPC has drawn up the following objective analysis:

Overall objective: to build a democratic and efficient multiparty system in Uganda where alliance-building and cooperation across party lines is a prominent feature, as well as improve the position of the country's women and youth.

Project goals: to help our partners to build functional parties and facilitate a fruitful dialogue and cooperation between them. To help our cooperative parties to train more women and young people so they can take a leading role within politics.\footnote{Joint project in Uganda, KIC, 2006}
So a short analysis gives that the IPC, in order to "improve the situation of women and young" has chosen to do so by "train more women and young people so they can take a leading role in policy".

In the intermediate goal it may be concluded:

Intermediate goal 2: Female politicians were strengthened in order to jointly develop strategies for strengthening of the Ugandan women.

Intermediate goal 3: Young women and men gain larger space in their respective parties.\textsuperscript{129}

Here it could be asked what is actually meant by "strengthening of the Ugandan women" and what "larger space" means. This thesis aims to look at women as nation's builders and their role in the strengthening of democratic institutions. Within Hyland's five points for definition of democratic institutions, he characterizes a political arena with elections and a political debate and perhaps even parties\textsuperscript{130} as well as a community protected by law and order in which everyone's equality before the law will prevail as the two criteria for democratic institutions.

If the assumption is that "strengthening of the Ugandan woman" among others means the possibility of equality before the law, then it makes sense to provide them with "larger space" within their respective parties. By doing so, they can take a larger part in the construction of the nation of Uganda. And if so then they can also become part of the other three points Hylander defines as democratic institutions: the opportunity to participate in different groups within civil society which is separate from the state, enhancing the ability to become part of a non corrupt bureaucracy that adheres to the government, and have more opportunity to participate within the economic arena, the financial market.\textsuperscript{131} It is apparent in the interviews made with the female politicians in Uganda that it should not be the case, if not the role of women in politics has been strengthened. The majority of the women interviewed pointed out the patriarchal society in which they lived in, where most of the issues relating to the status of women and women's rights is not given or has not been given space, if it were not for the fact that women had brought them to the table.\textsuperscript{132}

The indicators and follow-up criteria the IPC identified, which are directly related to women, is;

\textsuperscript{129} Joint project in Uganda, KIC, 2006
\textsuperscript{130} Notice that Mr Hylen do not take political parties for granted to define democratic institutions.(\textit{Authors remark})
\textsuperscript{131} Hylén, downloaded 2009-06-19
\textsuperscript{132} Statements and reflections given within the nine interviews conducted with the female politicians during the field work for this thesis, springtime 2009
- Female politicians meet to discuss cooperation in order to achieve common goals.

- Women's organisations give suggestions on the necessary reforms to strengthen the legal position of women in the home and society.

- Women in Parliament put forward and support proposals for reforms that enhance the woman's legal position in the home and society.

- Young women and men win official positions within the party.

A reflection on the indicators and follow-up criteria IPC points out is that it would be extremely difficult to make a direct link between the IPCs tasks and the above indicators. Few of the projects are implemented by just one organisation both in terms of the economical aspect and the day to day activities. There are more often more than one stakeholder and more than one factor that influence the outcome. This aid project can possibly be seen as part of the process. The indicators provided within this case are broad and leaves room for interpretation.

7. Manyakabi Area Cooperation Enterprise (ACE)

7.1 Background

Uganda is still one of the world's poorest countries, with a GDP of 1454 which is no 150 on the ranking list of a total of 177 countries according to the Human Development Report 2007/2008, in spite of good economic conditions with a favourable climate, fertile soil and abundant natural resources. Poverty alleviation remains a major challenge and 31% of the population are reported to live on less than 1 dollar per day. The past 15 years, the country's growth has increased, but growth has taken place from a very low level were the economic development has often been hampered by a number of problems such as guerrilla warfare, severe corruption and poor infrastructure, including electricity supply.

Only a minority of the Ugandan people has a formal employment and urban people are in general living within the so-called informal black market, which include street trading as "big business" with commerce and bargaining as part of everyday life. The population in the rural area is mainly living on agriculture.

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133 Area Cooperative Enterprise, ACE, is a model for cooperative were the producers in the rural areas create a cooperative, like a union, that, in this case, is supported by UCA and partly financed by Swedish Cooperative Center, SCC.

134 The Swedish Institute of International Affair´s Country database, Landguide, downloaded 2009-01-09
7.2 Agriculture

Agriculture is without comparison the most important industry in Uganda, and employs approximately 80% of the population, where 77% of the female labour force is sustained through the agricultural sector. According to some estimates women are cultivating around 80% of the traditional food crops and 60% of the exported crops.\textsuperscript{135}

Mainly cultivating is for own consumption but agriculture also contributes to exports, where the most important export goods are coffee and tea, but in recent years has exports of tobacco, cotton, vegetables and cut flowers increased. The majority of the agricultural sector is small scale, where the average size of a farm is 2.5 acres and is cultivated for own consumption, such as cooking banana (matoke), cassava, sweet potatoes and maize. Here it should be mentioned that of Uganda's total area, 7% is owned by women.\textsuperscript{136}

7.3 Uganda Cooperative Alliance, UCA and Swedish Cooperation Center, SCC

Uganda Cooperative Alliance, UCA, and Swedish Cooperative Center have been partners for the development of agricultural cooperatives in Uganda since late 1980s. The cooperation has been developed on the basis of mainly three different previous projects, whose main objective was the development of autonomous and viable cooperatives in society and to promote its members' financial interests.

In the 21st century two new forms of cooperation’s were developed, the FETAS and PACEs (in cooperation with the Norwegian Royal Norwegian Society for Development) as a continuation of previous projects. They have now been merged into a single project, \textit{Empowering Farmers through Agribusiness and Financial Services}, EFTAF to further strengthen all members within the previous projects under one umbrella.

The objective of EFTAF is “\textit{To contribute to improved livelihood of small holder farmers in Uganda}”. This work is primarily focused on individual farmers, agricultural organisations, Area co-operative Enterprise, ACE, as Manyakabi ACE, and financial cooperatives, SACCOs, selected on the basis of the previous projects within the projects FETAS and PACEs that ended in 2006. EFTAF includes almost 80 000 individual members which are organised in

\textsuperscript{135}The Swedish Institute of International Affair’s Country database, Landguide, downloaded 2009-01-09
\textsuperscript{136}Tripp & Kwesiga (2002) s 119
430 primary societies and 86 ACEs. They are supported by 50 different SACCOs that provide support through loans without any interest.\textsuperscript{137}

Also a gender policy has been developed by SCC/Vi-Agroforestry with the motivation “Gender inequalities undermine development therefore improving gender equality has to be part of any sustainable strategy for development”\textsuperscript{138} Gender policy aims to underpin all the work that is done, both within its own organisation of SCCs as its partner organisation to increase gender equality which follows the SCCs vision “A world free from poverty and injustice”.

7.4 Manyakabi ACE

Manyakabi ACE, started around 2004 as part of a FETAS project, partly funded by SCC, via the UCA. The name is a concatenation of four different places, Masha, Nyamiyanja, Kaberebere and Birere and means “Know the coming danger”. The cooperative, which is based in South-Western Uganda, near the city of Mbarara, started with 8 different groups of women but now there are 28 different groups. Nowadays the cooperatives involve men as well but within Manyakabi ACE 95% of the members are women. In connection with the project is also the Manyakabi Saving and Credit Cooperative Society, SACCO, which allows members to both save and borrow money in order to further develop.\textsuperscript{139}

7.5 Manyakabi’s purpose and objectives

As mentioned about the IPCs formulation of purpose and objectives even the Manyakabi ACEs formulations have to be seen from different angles. Usually there are a number of stakeholders within different projects. In this case, we should first look at SCCs overall aims and objectives, then break it down to UCAs formulations for the purpose and objectives and in the end of the chain watch Manyakabi ACEs own formulations for the cooperative. It has been a challenge to follow the red thread and finance support from the SCC to those the objectives should benefit, in this case, the members at Manyakabi ACE.

SCCs overall formulation for its activities in East Africa is “A world free from poverty and injustice”. Together with partner organisations in developing countries, they want to help to reduce poverty and improve global justice. In Africa they are specifically working with;

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{137} EFTAF, Project 2007 - 2010, Uganda Cooperative Alliance, UCA, 2007
\bibitem{139} According to the interviews with the female farmers in Mbarara, Kaberebere, Masha Nyamiyanja and Birere in Southwestern Uganda.
\end{thebibliography}
• Support poor women and men to mobilise in defence of their human rights, to improve their livelihoods and increase their income.
• Strengthen the democratic and financial capacity of partner organisations.
• Contribute to the development of a democratic and just society\textsuperscript{140}

Paragraph two and three could be directly transferred to the cooperation partner in Uganda, UCA. Paragraph 1 and 3 could be seen as the overall goal for Manyakabi ACE.

SCCs work in East Africa focuses on different methods for development in the form of, among other things, training workshops. In addition they have developed a gender policy to underpin all the work both within the organisation as well as for their partner organisations and in the project implemented.

If we look at UCA and the project description for EFTAF, where SCC is one of four stakeholders within the project, the vision for the cooperation is “To contribute to improve livelihood of small holder farmers in Uganda”. The target groups are individual members of cooperatives, Area Cooperative, farmers’ associations and Enterprises Savings and Credit Cooperatives. Women are not a specified target group but as it is said in SCCs work for East Africa Gender inequality and poverty are very distinct in these areas as is the high prevalence of HIV/AIDS”. In addition it is expressed in the plan:

UCA adopted a gender policy, which puts emphasis on mainstreaming gender issues right from head office down to members. Integrating gender will be in all aspects of planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation. EFTAF will continue to enhance affirmative action interventions started by previous projects, and these include ensuring representation of women in all leadership positions. Secondly the project stresses the importance of equal participation by men, women and the youth in project activities.\textsuperscript{141}

Within the projects objectives formulation we find that one of the main indicators for UCAs objective is improved health and housing, increase the number of children that are enrolled in school and fewer drop outs. In addition there are indicators such as; the farmer specialise their production for sale, that they should increased both the quality and quantity of their production and that they should have improved their savings and investment culture.

Out of the expected results for UCA there are ten points, using percentages, to draw conclusions about success or not. The expected results include all 80 000 persons that in

\textsuperscript{140} http://www.sccportal.org/about.aspx, downloaded 2009-07-20
\textsuperscript{141} EFTAF, Project 2007 - 2010. Uganda Cooperative Alliance, UCA, 2007
any form are participants within UCAs different projects. Therefore these results are not relevant for this thesis. On the other hand, it is interesting to look at some of the indicators that are relevant to the members of Manyakabi:

- That members should have increased their production.
- That members should have increased their production surplus for sale.
- That members should have found good markets for the sale of their production.
- The proposed links to markets are established and functioning.
- An increasing number of members in the SACCO and to have increased their savings.

The objectives of Manyakabi ACE is also in line with the SCC vision and what UCA want to develop through EFTAF, namely to develop participation by farmers through education, giving them the opportunity to secure outlets for their products, develop their cultivation quantitatively as well as qualitatively so that they can increase their standard of living, health and better support their children's access to education.

8. Field work
8.1 Meet the women in the corridors of power

The women who were interviewed for this thesis were representatives of their respective districts, Tororo, Ibanda, Kasese, Kitgum and two from Kampala within the Parliament. They were between the ages of 32 and 54 years and of varied backgrounds. Especially the older came from simple conditions where the parents most of the time were farmers who cultivated for their personal consumption. The three younger women had backgrounds in which the father had a higher education and worked as a politician, a veterinarian or as a teacher at University level. The mothers were housewives, farmers for own consumption or had a "small business". All the interviewed female Parliamentarians’ had higher education where three of the women studied at University in parallel with their work in Parliament. The older women had gone higher education recently and they have had to struggle for it. A woman told in the interview about a conversation she had with her mother as a child;

*But one time I asked her, I actually confronted her; Why did you have to get birth to us, if you couldn’t look after us properly? Because here I am, whenever I go to school I don’t have enough money for school fees, my sisters don’t get money for their school fees, why on earth did you get birth to us? But these are traditional*

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142 Some of the indicators are focused on Agricultural Associations and is therefore not applicable for this thesis.
On the question of how long they have been active in politics one woman replied “Man is a political animal.” She believed that whatever you do, it is policy. Two of the women became politically active when the NRM came to power in 1986, the other became active in 1998 and 2001.

The reasons for why they became politically interested vary. Two of the women came from homes where their fathers were politicians, so it was natural to become politically involved. A number of respondents wanted to create change, both for women and for their region or for people at all, give faith in human rights, or giving people rights in general was important.

When asked whether they considered that they had sufficient training to be a good politician, all of them said yes. All of them felt that they had opportunities for further training, regardless of political party or area of interest. For those interested in gender issues there were also opportunities for collaborations with organisations outside the Parliament often in cooperation with UWOPA. No one expressed, however, clear that they received training given by KIC, probably because they had easy access to learning opportunities where it may not always be clear who offered it, there are often several stakeholders involved. If they could wish for additional training they suggested training in conflict resolution, scheduling (probably on the basis of their role as parliamentarians, good mother, and so on), leadership, and communication skills.

As written before, several of the respondents saw that it might be difficult to enforce issues female-related, such as reproductive health, health care, maternity issues in general but specifically the situation of child-mothers’, children and education and female-related violence. One woman answered;

I am so much interested in youth participating in decision making… I also like to look at the issue of... gender... not really gender equality... but... issues... looking at men issues and women issues as an aspect of fairness. Cause if a man intervene you or if a man... you say... gender equality, gender equality... they get irritated... but, generally, I usually refer it as fairness.

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143 Interview no 2, Parliament 2009-03-20
144 UWOPA stands for Uganda Women Parliamentarian Association, where different associations and organizations are invited for keeping seminars etc on the basis of different topics.
145 According to Joint project in Uganda, KIC, 2006
146 Interview no 3, Parliament 2009-03-27
A woman took the view that if the election were to be done on the base of issues rather than personal they would have the “right” Government, then it would be easier to enforce issues that were female-related because half of Uganda's population is women, and the respondent ended her answer with saying “Politics in this country have not used the lens of a woman” and that women have come to Parliament to achieve something “to change the face of politics”. The answers from the interviews consistently demonstrated that if the female parliamentarians had not brought up these women's issues, they would not be discussed at all.

All the women gave a powerful impression, where a few women looked a bit tired and answered politely to questions while others went into issues with great enthusiasm! A reflection was how they relate to their voters in their respective districts. Although they worked more or less in order to improve conditions in their own district/region through political pressure, but, in addition to this, the purely private initiatives, as they funded themselves, which also appeared in the interviews with women politicians at the Local Council. The women at the local level got the question of what Parliament has done for their districts and one woman came up with one improvement that had been done privately, by the female parliamentarian. This is something that seems to permeate the entire Uganda’s power structure, and could be seen as a "patron/client" relationship.

8.2 To be a woman and politician in the area of conflict, Kitgum, Northern Uganda
The women that were interviewed came from the same environment where they have suffered during civil war between government forces and the rebel army Lord Resistant Army, the LRA for more than 23 years. Since one and a half years back there are peace talks going on but it is a long process, with a variety of stakeholders, extending to the International Criminal Court in Hague, but very little activity has taken place to facilitate the situation.

One woman told that she lived in one of the refugee camps with her alcoholic husband, who had previously been a politician. She had "produced" nine children to the husband; seven of them were still living. They were given food through the World Food Programme, but they had to go out into the forest to fetch wood so that they could prepare warm meals to their children. In the woods they could meet the rebel soldiers who abused them, raped them and sometimes killed them. She realized that this was not a life for her and her
children whom she wanted to get good education. She asked her husband, who is the head of the family, if they can move to Kitgum, which he agreed to. The husband remained in the camp. The journey to the city of Kitgum was risky but she handled it, got an accommodation, started to work hard, paid the children's school fees and today one of her son's is a doctor in United Kingdom.

In the area, it is not uncommon for girls to become pregnant at 12-14 years of age. If they once have given birth they become an easy target for abuse over again by elder men because they are seen as bottom dwellers of society’s hierarchies. One of the women told:

[---] this child-mother...she could give birth when she is 14 years old. She knows nothing and after that there will be a big man, like the father of the child going to...to try again and defile that child-mother. Because they know that this one have produced, she is in problem, if I go and give money, she can agree, an old man, can go to that girl and sometimes, after giving her something, he leave that child again with the baby again. This girl will continue suffering all the time. We shall put a law for this child.147

Alcoholism is widespread, mostly among men that can be partly blamed on the situation. It is not an easy situation to sit in an internal refugee camp and not be able to provide for his family. Women usually take care of the children and the families’ maintenance and one woman was asked if the man takes care of the children;

Ahhhhh...(laughter)...there is nothing! He can't even raise anything as man! So I am the only one to struggle, even buying the clothes for him, it's me...During this time that we could not go to our field to dig; they just sit there in the camp. So you, as a woman and as a leader, you are supposed to struggle and do each and everything, even for your husband.148

The women for the interviews are aged 25, 32 and 45 years. One stopped school at Senior 3 and two at Senior 6 and the reason was the lack of school fees and in one case a pregnancy. One woman had, however, continued to study and later been trained as a midwife. Just as it appeared in Uganda's history, it is not surprising that two out of three fathers were police officers; the third was a businessman and politician. All of the mothers was housewives where they cultivated for own consumption.

One woman told that she got elected early by the other women to lead them at sowing, weeds picks and harvest. She loved to work together and these women wanted her to stand as a candidate as their women's representative at the LC1 in 2001, because she had knowledge in reading and writing. She appreciated her political work and thought that she

147 Interview no 3, Kitgum 2009-04-10
148 Interview no 3, Kitgum 2009-04-10
learned a lot, including conflict resolution and people often turned to her for advice. The other women began their political career in 2001 and 2005. The reason for one of the woman to become a candidate as a politician was due to the misery in the health care sector. Her co-workers asked her to stand for election so that she might influence the situation. The third woman was inspired by the spirit of the women who took place in politics.

When asked whether they considered that they had sufficient training to be a good politician was the answers unambiguously. They had never received any form of education as politicians. Education appeared in the work plans but had never been implemented due to lack of resources, so if they want to have any training, they have to pay for it themselves. On the other hand, all were incredibly inspired of the training held by NDI and KIC on gender issues;

The NDI\textsuperscript{149} have been coming here, they have been giving us information and they have been trying to bring our capacities so that we have a voice, women councillors. They are the ones who try to bring the Bill, they helped us. But all of a sudden they left us and we didn’t know, they are not now supporting us. [...] So it was NDI supporting us briefly and all of a sudden they left. \textsuperscript{150}

Here, it became clear that the small amount of education given by NGOs was of importance at this level because of less opportunities to education, especially as the area has been neglected in development, partly due to violent actions happening at the same time as some people mean that there has been a deliberate choice of neglect by the incumbent President, just like the previous regimes has turned its back on this region. It also showed that, when these women received support from outside it strengthened them in issues which have traditionally been seen as women’s issues. At the same time, it showed how vulnerable this type of action was. The women in Kitgum had no idea why NDI suddenly were not there.\textsuperscript{151} The same woman continued;

\textit{So, due to such problems, about three women being killed and it was the men killing them, they said this ordinance would be helpful for the women, it would now protect the women. So we are trying our level best and modify our paper and present it to the House. When they pass it as a Bill, maybe. ...I am not sure, maybe, it will help the what? The women.} \textsuperscript{152}

\textsuperscript{149} It might be because it was NDI that were seen in the field and conducted education for the women in Kitgum. Therefore the women were not aware of KIC as partly funding the project. (authors remark.)

\textsuperscript{150} Interview no 2, Kitgum 2009-04-10

\textsuperscript{151} One reason why the women said that NDI suddenly disappeared could be the lack of communication. (authors remark)

\textsuperscript{152} Interview no 2, Kitgum 2009-04-10
Based on the interview responses it can be understood that it is even more difficult at this level to put through issues that are gender related and, based on the historical context, it is not surprising. Women put forward proposals, but it was not always easy to get attention for them. All three respondents preferred, however, that they would get more education and training to meet their mission. The most prominent requests were management training and information on gender issues.

In addition, something that became very clear was that unless Parliament had pushed through the issue of quotas for women, women would not have been represented at this level. All three women filed complaints on that.

8.3 Meet women at Manyakabi Area Enterprise, South-Western Uganda

Many of the women in Manyakabi ACE (M ACE) were widows where most of the men had died of hiv/aids, which was a major problem within the region. Even the majority of women and their children were infected by the virus. That is one of the reasons why many of them have chosen to not marry; it was also difficult to marry when they already have children. Also the ability to remain on their farm when the husband had died was difficult, since, according to the traditional jurisdiction it is the husband’s relatives who automatically become the owner of the property as well as take over the responsibility for the children.

Some of the women interviewed lived in their own house. Others "borrowed" accommodation from relatives but had started to save within the Manyakabi SACCO, in order to be able to buy a piece of land to cultivate on. Most of the time the size of their farms was from 1/2 acre to 3 acre where they mainly cultivated for own consumption but to some extent also for sale.

The part of Manyakabi ACE we visited had had the opportunity to lease for free a piece of land from the community, in the area of Masha. They worked together, side by side when sowing, weed control and crop. They had two harvest seasons: Dec/Jan gave the greatest harvest thanks to better wet seasons. June/July, gave slightly lower harvests.

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153 This is something that does not seem to be common in the area. On the bases of the interviews it becomes clear that several of the women in the cooperative see this as a great benefit, to be part of the cooperative, to work together and share experiences with each other. This is something that seems to strengthen them in their role both as citizens of Uganda as well as farmers but it do not seem to be common to do so. Each and everyone seem to mind their own business and a kind of jealousy exists that makes people unwilling to help each other.
despite rain. No form of artificial fertilization, etc existed and the land was cultivated by human labour and pickaxes.

During the sow and harvesting period they lived at the community based area in Masha. They built small temporary shelters/tent of tarpaulins and branches very Spartan because it is plastic tarpaulins that easily punctured in the rain and wind and a woman estimated that the tents, if they were lucky, could last for 4 months. Here they lived in 2-week periods and went home over the weekend to look after their children and the home. Usually they rented a common transport to get home in order to save costs and time because some cooperative members lived 40 km away from the Masha. A woman complained that it took her 8 hours to walk the distance, one way.

The women interviewed were in between approximately 38 and 58 years. Age was not so important, there were other things that were more important, survival. 6 of the women were widows and three of the older women had not gone to school at all, one went to Primary 5, another to Primary 6 and one was a Senior 4 "drop out". All were born in the region, where the parents have been farmers for their personal consumption, and only one woman told that her father had another profession, as a road inspector.

The majority of the interviewed women cultivated exclusively for home consumption before they joined the Manyakabi ACE and they told that they did not understand the value of what they grow. Here are some of the comments the women gave;

From the beginning I cultivated only for our own consumption, I didn’t see what I was growing as a valuable asset. Thanks to Manyakabi ACE and the educations I have received, I understand now that agriculture can be "business", and it has given me so much. Being able to work together; to be able to grow and harvest together, so that we can sell beyond what anyone can sell on their own is so good!

Before I joined the Manyakabi ACE I cultivated just for own consumption without understanding the value of what I cultivated. I was able to cook 5 kilo of beans, then we ate until we were satisfied and so we threw the rest. Now I understand that if I cook, a pound of beans it will be sufficient both for lunch and dinner and the rest I can sell and have an income of.

Before, I only sold small quantities and the money I received was useless for me since I did not know how I would save money, the money just disappeared. Now I am aware of making a budget for my money so I can invest in a pig or goat, as "emergency money". Manyakabi has been an 'eye opener' to me, I am more aware of my own capacity in order to improve my situation.

154 Interview no 6, Manyakabi 2009-03-26
155 Interview no 6, Manyakabi 2009-03-26
156 Interview no 4, Manyakabi 2009-03-25
In the beginning I cultivated different beans, corn and various vegetables mixed. So when I tried to sell I got less paid. Now, through workshops and training, I understand that if I sow the different seeds separately I will have much better paid.\textsuperscript{157}

The statements speak for themselves.\textsuperscript{158} Consistently the answers given gave the fact that they had increased their production and quality, they had increased their income and had now the opportunity to save in Manyakabi SACCO. Some of them had their own account\textsuperscript{159}, other saved via the group's common account at the SACCO. One woman told that before she joined the Manyakabi ACE she was not trusted to have an own account.\textsuperscript{160}

The women had been able to buy land, which must be seen as a step forward in their potential as nation builders, comparing with what we read in the previous chapters on women's ability to own land. They have been able to influence within the cooperative to make improvements, including quality improvements. Through the joint cultivation they had made both qualitative and quantitative improvements releasing increased opportunities to better prices and a more secure income. Since Manyakabi ACE was owned by the members, their ability to influence its development increased. In addition several of the women pointed out that they enjoyed to work together, to share sorrows and worries and experiences and realize that they were not alone in their situation.

One of the most important issues for these women was to give their children access to education, to be able to pay school fees and health care. Despite, or because they have not had the opportunity to study they were very keen on that the children should have the possibility, regardless if it was boys or girls. Some were asked why they wanted their children to receive education, and the answer was more or less expected. It was to give them the opportunity to move forward in life, so that they did not have to stay as a farmer, which was a tiring work.

Something that all respondents identified and said had been improving their opportunities as good farmers was the possibility to receive training within M ACE, among other questions where questions on how to increase their production and quality, how to save money and the education in economic. When asked what further training or education they

\textsuperscript{157} Interview no 8, Manyakabi 2009-03-26

\textsuperscript{158} With a reservation for that the women glorified Manyakabi ACE because the interviews were conducted in the presence of one of the directors for UCA that also acted as an interpreter sometimes. But, with the independent person who listened to the recordings of the interviews they seemed to be correctly interpreted and the fact that the women did not know about my arrival. It was their own choice to participate in the interviews, they were not selected from the management of UCA.

\textsuperscript{159} They could get an own account if they show result and willingness for saving.

\textsuperscript{160} One interpretation of what the woman said could be that she meant that the reason for it was that she is a woman and poor.
wanted was the respondent; farmer training, banana cultivation, cultivation of special crops and goat rearing. Something that also emerged during the interviews was that it was offered more training and development during the FETAS-period. During the new project umbrella EFTAF in principle there had been, no training or investment carried out whatsoever, which may indicate how vulnerable a project can be for structural changes and allocation of resources.

An additional insight that has been given through the interviews was a question in the questionnaire that was not seen as very important, but which turned out to play a decisive role. The question has been asked to all respondents whether they were parliamentarians, local politicians, or farmers. On the question; "What do your family/ neighbours think about that you’re parliamentarians/politicians/member of M ACE?" 12 of 17 respondents answered that a form of jealousy reigns. People became jealous of others trying out to influence their situation to achieve a better life.

They think that we are prostitutes’ when we are on the municipal land and digging. So when I come home, they have stolen a hen because I had it better than others. When they saw everything I produced they began to steal my bananas because I was not at home. They want me to suffer, but I will survive.\textsuperscript{161}

It is shared emotions. Unfortunately, there is a form of jealousy, why should she have it better than us … and so on. But some have changed when they see the work that I do.\textsuperscript{162}

9. Conclusions and reflections

As written in the introduction of the essay, how the various African countries have suffered under regimes which more or less may be referred to as dictatorial, Uganda has been overwhelmed by regimes which do not appear to have been interested in everyone's equal value within the nation, both during the colonial period as during their independence. On the contrary, based on what history has described it seems as if ethnicity and different group affiliations have been used to diversify the country. This has created a nation that is permeated with divergences, from the highest decision-making body, the Parliament, down to the ordinary man on the street. The opposite, to have viewed the different ethnic compositions as an asset for the construction of the nation of Uganda, could possibly have created a country that has now blossomed, who had a functioning infrastructure where people felt involved in the construction of the nation of Uganda, but perhaps that is a utopia. What we are seeing now is a country that suffers from poverty, poor infrastructure and with regimes which at first seems to pursue goals that benefit the Ugandan society, but

\textsuperscript{161} Interview no 1, Manyakabi 2009-03-24
\textsuperscript{162} Interview no 1, Parliament 2009-03-14
instead of including people creates exclusion. This creates prohibition of oppositional expressions which in itself creates a closed society where hopes for a stable society are continually dashed, and where distrust and unwillingness to change is growing rampant.

To look at women's possibilities as nation builders within such society has been a challenge. Uganda is a patriarchal society in which women's ability to influence the construction of the nation of Uganda has been minimal. They have in fact played a major role over time; however, they have belonged to an invisible sector in which they appear to be excluded in the written history of Uganda. It might be considered as being a pessimistic view but should be seen as a reality.

This study shows that, when women are given the opportunity to step into the public sphere, improvements have been made on issues that are traditionally seen as women's issues. When women quotas have been set in both the Parliament and at a local policy level it creates opportunities to affect the jurisdiction have arisen which, in turn, to a certain extent have created changes in the attitudes towards women's abilities and capacities in the development of democratic institutions in Uganda. However, it is still a long way to go before we can consider the Ugandan society to be an equal society, weather it concerns men or women, whether you are an Acholi or Bagandan, Muslim or Catholic, where all have equal opportunity in the construction of the nation of Uganda. Furthermore, on the basis of Hylén’s definition of democratic institutions, where one of the criteria are "a state governed by the rule of law: all equal before the law" it could be questioned whether women really enjoy equal rights to the same extent as men, or Ugandans as a whole, to enjoy equal rights before the law.

Robert A. Dahl reflected on democracy development and development of democratic institutions in emerging democracies and those pre-democratic institutions influencing the speed of democratisation. Here he takes up examples from within pre-democratic institutions such as literacy, education, human rights, pluralism and income distribution. If we look historically at how women have had access to establish or to use those pre-democratic institutions, it can be see that the possibilities have been small, since it has traditionally been the men who belonged to the public arena, despite the fact that women are half of the population of Uganda.

If we make an analysis of this thesis according to Tilly’s theory a pattern can be seen that matches with what Tilly claims. Based on the historical context, one can see that women
are excluded from the public sphere, where democratic institutions are a part of that sphere. However, one has to be aware of that democratic institutions and democracy are prerequisites for one other, which can be questioned if Uganda has had, and to some extent, still could be questioned, whether they have. But, apart from the democratic aspect, a pattern of exploitation could be seen, in which the power elite, mostly men, were taking advantage of women's work efforts for their own benefits at the same time as women have been excluded from the resources they contribute to. Where women have been excluded both autonomous as from the relative goods and to some extent adapted, acquired routines, for probably being able to manage the daily situation. However, there could also be seen, on the basis of a dislocation in the structural patterns in which the women have organised themselves to put pressure on the power elite, which have also received support from outside the nation's borders, has created a situation where the power elite, the developer, probably have had a greater cost to maintain the unequal structures. By for example female quotas, women have now the opportunity to be a part of the power elite but, as shown in this paper, women in this new environment are struggling with social codes/languages, scripts, in which there probably lies a challenge for women to crack. The question then becomes, if one should assume that inequality is persistent, if the inequalities are dislocated, are there new hierarchies and new social structural patterns being created? Will there always be categorical based opposite pairs where one or more groups of people will be favoured vis-à-vis other groups? Are durable inequalities a threat to democracy development? Is democracy answer to a more equitable social system?

However, as shown in the study, the women in the thesis are really a part of Uganda, the democratic institutions, whether they are members of Parliament or working within the agricultural sector in a cooperative in Mbarara. Probably due to changes in the laws put forward by the female parliamentarians, the women's cooperative members has now the opportunity to both take part in and be a part of the creation of democratic institutions and it has been strengthened. Here is a link that is very significantly.

How does it look when it comes to the Swedish aid to Uganda with regards to increasing women’s possibilities within the nation building process? Has it affected the women who have been involved in the projects and, if so, how? Here it can be seen several different conclusions, depending on which of the women we are talking about. What has clearly been seen is that, as previously written, projects operated through aid are incredibly vulnerable to structural changes and resource reallocation, especially when it comes down
to the local level and very much is dependent on the communications or non-communication as we saw in the example in Kitgum (see section 8.2). In addition, it can be difficult to specify what exactly has been funded by a specific project because there are often several NGOs who cooperate within projects on the basis of the various directives and operational directions. This is good, but can make it difficult to follow up the projects’ objectives and financial efforts and results. In addition, certain objectives have had such a wide scope formulation that it would be difficult to make a direct link between the objective and tasks of the monitoring criteria.

If women are divided into three different groups, female parliamentarians, women local politicians and female agricultural cooperative members, so is the conclusion of this thesis as follows:

**Female Parliamentarians:** On the basis of this thesis field studies and background literature so are the women influencing and taking part in the Ugandan national construction process while they themselves at the same time are a part of the process. But it does not come clear whether and how women are affected by the Swedish aid interventions. Probably, the reason is that these women generally have good access to education and learning opportunities as well as workshops to strengthen themselves in their role as female parliamentarians, but from an overall perspective with different funders, the Swedish efforts are not clearly visible. The efforts could possibly be seen as part of overall efforts, efforts done both nationally and internationally. Maybe the projects final reports give a different picture, but on the basis of the women interviewed for this thesis, it is not possible to clearly demonstrate that the women have been significantly affected.

**Female local politicians:** Even here, it is clear that, on the basis of this thesis field studies and background literature, so are these female politicians making a difference for the women at a local level for their opportunities in the nation-building process. What is also clear is that the efforts made by the Swedish aid provide outcomes in terms of increased awareness of gender issues and the ability to influence the Legislative Assembly. Probably, it is a major challenge to conduct attitude change and advocacy work at the local level, but it will probably be needed in the future as well, when it seems clear that the allocation of resources for strengthening the role of women are not sufficient from the national authorities and that it is not prioritised (see Chapter 8.2).
Female agricultural cooperative members: The women interviewed for the report is clearly a part of the Ugandan nation-building process. So have they been throughout their entire life, but now they are also a part of the public sphere as small business owner and cooperative members. And although there have been several interest groups involved (SCC, UCA, etc) has it been possible to follow a red thread from project plan to result. What perhaps have not been possible to follow is the financial efforts, what has been invested by whom, but that women, thanks to Swedish efforts, has developed as pillars of society and they see themselves as part of the development process and that they fulfil the objective criteria for the project is very clear. What could be seen here as well (as in Kitigum) is the vulnerability of structural changes in aid projects. According to the women interviewed in this thesis and on the basis of the project plans paper assumed (SCCs, UCAs and MACE) since the EFTEF project have been carried out there is not much that have happened of development in their area. During the period of the implementation of FETAS, on the contrary a number of workshops and training sessions were conducted, and the need for training and education is still there.

Something that can and should be taken into account when supporting various cooperation projects is how participation in the project is perceived in the local environment. As demonstrated in this paper, a form of jealousy arises which can overturn instead of helping in the construction of the Ugandan nation. Perhaps information activities can prevent this form of jealousy.

10. References

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**Interviews Manyakabi**

No 1, Ruyankoli, with an interpreter, with a tape recorder 2009-03-24
No 2, Ruyankoli, with an interpreter, with a tape recorder 2009-03-24
No 3, Ruyankoli, 200 with an interpreter, with a tape recorder 9-03-25
No 4, Ruyankoli, with an interpreter, with a tape recorder 2009-03-25
No 5, Ruyankoli, 2 with an interpreter, with a tape recorder 009-03-26
No 6, Ruyankoli, with an interpreter, with a tape recorder 2009-03-26
No 7, English, without a tape recorder 2009-03-26
No 8, Ruyankoli, with an interpreter, without a tape recorder 2009-03-26
No 9, English, without a tape recorder 2009-03-27

**Kitgum**

No 1 – 3, English, with a tape recorder 2009-04-10

**In Parliament**

Nr 1, English, without a tape recorder 2009-03-14
Nr 2, English, with a tape recorder 2009-03-20
Nr 3, English, without a tape recorder 2009-03-27
Nr 4, English, with a tape recorder 2009-03-27
Nr 5, English, with a tape recorder 2009-04-01
Nr 6, English, without a tape recorder 2009-04-06
Photos from Minor Field studies-MFS period in Uganda April – May 2009

View from the chair I borrowed by the security guards at the Bauman House, where I sat many times and had nice talks waiting for my “interview victims”.

Women and men working in Cooperative Manyakabi ACE in South-Western Uganda, near the city of Mbarara. 95% of the members are women, often widows after men who in most cases, died of AIDS.
An internal refugee camp in Kitgum district, where the war against the rebel army LRA has continued for about 23 years.

Appendix

Appendix 1

Interviews with women participating within politics

Common questions; **Tell me about your background, your family, work**
- Age?
- Birth place?
- Your parents maintenance?
- Clan/ ethnic group?
- Religion?
- Marital status?
- If married; What type of marriage? /poly/mo
- If married; Do you live with your husband?
- If married; What is your husbands occupation?
- If married; Are your husband active within politics? Within the same party?
- If married; Are your husband working voluntarily or connected to any other interest groups?
- Do you have any children? How many if so? Age? Boys/ Girls?
- If children; Do they attend school? Elder children; Education?
- Your own education?
- Do you have another occupation, apart from the politics? What if so?

Questions about your political commitment; **Tell me about your political commitment**
- When did you get interested in politics?
- Why did you get interested in politics?
- How did your political career start?
- What make you choose the party you are committed to?
- What is your role now within the party?
- Have you got any education within the party to strengthen your political role/commitment?
  - What precisely if so?
- Are you interested in getting more education to strengthen your possibilities within the party?
  - What if so?
- What are your specific interest areas within your party?
- Are you active in the debates and discussions within your party?
- Have you made any propose submits or being part of doing that within your party?
- What kind of questions have you been able to put forward within your party?
- How has the response been within your party when given topics/propose submits or questions to debate?
- Have your possibilities to make a career within the party increased?
  - If yes; What has made it possible? If no; What makes it so?
- What is your opinion about the transparency/information/communication within your party from a national to a local level and vice versa?
- Do you have the possibilities to have an influence within the party from a national level to the local level and vice versa?
- Does your party cooperate with any other organisation/NGO? Locally? Nationally?
  - If yes; Which ones? If no; What makes it so?
- If yes; In which kind of questions?
- Do your party cooperate with other parties?
  - If yes; In what way? In which questions? If no; What makes it so?

- Do you have the opportunity to be part of debates within Parliament/Local Council?
- Do you have opportunities to propose submits to the Parliament/Local Council?
  - Have you done that if so?
  - If yes; Within which area/issue? If no; What makes it so?
- Have your possibilities to advance within the Parliament/Local Council increased?
  - If yes; What have made it possible? If no; What makes it so?
- How is the communication/information from a local level to the Parliament and vice versa?
- Do you have the possibilities to influence the whole way from a local level to the Parliament and vice versa?

- Are you interested in gender issues?
  - If yes; Within a specific area? If no; What makes it so?
- Do you think that matters concerning gender issues are met with sympathies within your party? In Parliament/Local Council?
- Have your possibilities to influence reforms concerning gender issues increased?
  - If yes; In what way? If no; What makes it so?
- Do you find it difficult to debate/discuss/submit proposals that are related to gender issues within your party/the Parliament/Local Council?
  - If yes or no; What makes it so?
  - If yes; How do you make a change?
Remaining questions; **Do you want to add something?**
- Who is responsible for the home?
- How are your possibilities to actually be active within the politics?
- How much time do you spend on being active within politics?
- Do you get any kind of financial compensation for your political commission?
- What does your husband think about your political commission?
- How do your children think about it?
- What does your husband, relatives/ neighbours and friends think about it?
- Are you committed to any other interest groups?
- Something to add?

Thank you so very much for your kindness to participate within this interview!

**Appendix 2**
Interviews with women participating within the Manyakabi ACE

**Common questions; Tell me about your background, your family, work**
- Age?
- Birth place?
- Your parents maintenance?
- Clan/ ethnic group?
- Religion?
- Marital status?
- If married; What type of marriage? /poly/mono)
- If married; Do you live with your husband?
- If married; What is your husbands occupation?
- If married; Are your husband connected to the ACE?
- Do you have any children? How many if so? Age? Boys/ Girls?
- If children; Do they attend school? Elder children; Education?
- Has the situation change for them to attend school?
- If yes or no; What have made it so?
- Your own education?
- How is your accommodation? Own house?
- Has it change over time? When if so and what made it so?
- Have your facilities change over time? Such as sanitation- and hygienic facilitates? What if so and what have made it change?
- Have you got any information about it? Wherefrom if so?

**Questions about your work within the ACE; Tell me about your work within the ACE**
- How did you earn your living before you joined the ACE?
- What made you interest in joining the ACE?
- What kind of crops do you grow? Has it change over time? Yes or no; what have made it so?
- Is it easy for you to sell your products? To a good price? Yes or no; what have made it so?
- Have your possibilities to increase your production increased? Yes or no; what have made it so?
- Have you been able to increase the quality of your crops over time? If yes or no; what have made it so?
- Have you been able to increase your income over time? If yes or no; what have made it so?
- Do you co-operate with other farmers? Within the ACE? Yes or no; what makes it so?
- Have your possibilities to save money or invest in your farm increased over time? Yes or no; what have made it so?

- How are your possibilities to influence within the ACE?
- Do you have meetings within the ACE? How often?
- Are you able to participate?
- Have you made any proposals within the ACE? What if so?
- If so; How has the response been within the ACE?
- Have you got any education in farming within the ACE?
- Do you want more education? What if so?

- What gives you most pleasure with your work?
- Is there anything that you don’t like with your work? What if so?

Remaining questions; **Do you want to add something?**
- Who is responsible for the home?
- How are your possibilities to actually be active within the ACE?
- How much time do you spend on being active within the ACE?
- What does your husband think about your work within the ACE?
- How do your children think about it?
- What does your relatives/ neighbours and friends think about it?
- Are you committed to any other interest groups?
- Something to add?

Thank you so very much for your kindness to participate within this interview!