

## AN ANALYSIS OF THE 2011 PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION AND ITS IMPLICATION ON THE ECONOMY OF UGANDA

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### Abstract

The National Resistance Movement (NRM) government transitioned to electoral democracy with promulgation of the 1995 constitution. This constitution provides for a periodic election after every five years. This has given a roadmap for political action to put Uganda on the road of democracy. This study makes an analysis of the 2011 parliamentary election, which attracted a total of 1659 parliamentary candidates both male and female. A content analysis was adopted in this study and the main source of data was the electoral commission results document records. Method of data analysis was based on descriptive statistics to interpret, discuss and analyse the parliamentary election outcome. The findings are that the ruling NRM party won most of the seats; there was decline in the number of seats won by opposition. And female still enjoy affirmative action seats with little inroads to directly elected seats, which are the domain of men among others. But opposition political parties attract little support and register poor performance in election. The conclusion is that given the huge number of seats obtained by NRM, the parliament is likely to turn into a rubber stamping body for the demands from the executive. Therefore, the recommendation is that in order for the citizens to be familiar with multi-polity politics, where electoral system is free and fair, there is need for government to invest in political education right from primary to university level to enhance active and equal participation in election through political parties of their choices.

**Key words:** Election, Political Parties and Gender

### Introduction

An election is a fundamental and critical component for effective and efficient functioning of any democratic system. Since Uganda transitioned from a no party system to multiparty election competition in 2006, elections have been organised on the basis of political pluralism through, which Members of Parliament (MPs) forming the government have been regularly re-elected to

office after an interval of five years. An outstanding feature of the 2011 parliamentary election in Uganda was an effort to increase electoral advantage of incumbent MPs, particularly those in National Resistance Movement (NRM), the ruling party to win the various seats they contested for. Eight members of parliament sailed through unopposed, of these MPs four were women<sup>i</sup>. But surprisingly also, this election ended with so many cabinet ministers losing their parliamentary seats<sup>ii</sup>, the impact of incumbent candidates no longer applies. A total of 120 members of the 8<sup>th</sup> parliament were voted out including 18 cabinet ministers<sup>iii</sup>. This new trend raises a host of interesting questions, both about the cause for incumbents particularly those in the cabinet losing their seats to new entrants and non-cabinet incumbents. It looks like one's position and the incumbency (dis)advantage is likely to differ from one seat to another. Parliamentary election concerns three categories of parliamentary seats each with its constituency. These include directly elected to represent each electoral constituency; women members of parliament directly elected to each administrative district; youth, workers and persons with disabilities.<sup>iv</sup>

Indeed, records show that this is not the first time NRM is enjoying such a huge majority in election but since it came to power it has been seeking and encouraging people to join NRM. And indeed it is in the archive of political history of Uganda; NRM enjoyed an overwhelming majority in the NRC, Constituent Assembly and in all the successive parliaments since the promulgation of the 1995 Constitution. With that constitution put in place, came fundamental and wide-ranging democratic innovations that have seen Uganda progress politically that there is now periodic elections in the country after every five years.

However, no study has been carried out in the government and politics of Uganda to document the number of persons contesting in an election. But rather most studies have been interested in documenting those who win and with what percentages. Therefore, the objective of this article is to study and document all those persons who took part and the outcome for both male and female participation in the 2011 parliamentary election. This study further makes analysis of the political parties' performance in this election. The study also looks at the implication of this ninth parliament on the economy.

## Literature Review

Election is very important in democratic processes. It gives people confidence of the government in power since they are the one who put them there.<sup>v</sup> It has been argued that incumbents' behavior in office increases their advantage in relation to challengers. Once elected, incumbents have the opportunity to gain experience, provide services, and make decisions that benefit their constituents.<sup>vi</sup> This suggests that the greater the access to resources which satisfy voters, the stronger the incumbency advantage to be reelected to retain his/her seat.

It is further argued by in their study that, a central party organization can more directly be held accountable for low proportions of candidates.<sup>vii</sup> He points out that four aspects of a party's organizational structure that may influence various groups' representation include the degree of centralization, the degree of institutionalization, the location of candidate nomination, and the party size. These four aspects seem to be lacking if not well adhered to among the political parties in Uganda. In a political system, where institutionalisation exists it is difficult for a leader to bend the rules in favour of a particular candidate. Normally, weak political parties find it very easy to support or bias candidate nomination for a certain political position in favour of those who over time have accumulated political capital.

Palmieri and Jabre argue that genuine democracy cannot exist without the equal participation of men and women in politics<sup>viii</sup>. Therefore, people particularly voters must be sensitized to the importance of facilitating women's entry into electoral politics. The studies conducted in the United States of America suggest that candidate's gender affects the vote choice and the electoral outcome.<sup>ix</sup> In this way, there is a tendency for gender to support the democratic process.

Norris and Krook in their study found out that there are six steps that can promote gender equality in the participation in electoral process.<sup>x</sup> These include:

- (i) Constitutional rights - More broadly, constitutional provisions guaranteeing gender equality and/or prohibiting discrimination on the basis of sex and gender provide an important framework for more specific political and civil provisions on equality.
- (ii) Electoral systems and party laws- in turn, the laws governing elections and political parties regulate the nomination and election processes used for national, supra-national, and sub-national elected office. The most important feature is the type of electoral system used in any contest, whether proportional representation, mixed, or majoritarian, each providing different incentives and opportunities for the party's electorate engaged in candidate recruitment.
- (iii) Legal quotas- Legal quotas vary in the level of women's representation they require, whether they specify any placement provisions, which institutions – if any – monitor their implementation, and whether they include any penalties for non-compliance.
- (iv) Party rules- Effective strategies by parties for the increased recruitment of women include the adoption and implementation of party-specific gender quotas, informal targets, and other positive action mechanisms at all levels of office, including for internal party positions.
- (v) Capacity development intervention- These interventions can take the form of equal opportunity initiatives (candidate training, recruitment initiatives, and knowledge networks), initiatives to combat stereotypes and raise awareness (media campaigns and citizen education), and political party initiatives (women's sections, fundraising, and women's parties).
- (vi) Gender sensitive rules and procedures in elected office- Elected bodies should review their internal procedures to ensure that there are gender-sensitive policies, such as considering the hours of parliamentary sitting, the recruitment of leadership positions within the legislature, and the provision of childcare and maternal facilities.

These are steps, which Norris and Krooks believe can effectively create a balance among political parties to win candidates to carry the label of the party in the process of running of political office.

But in Uganda since the time NRM government introduced a no-party system where candidates were elected on individual merits, this allowed individual candidates to run for election on their own merits. This went on till 2006 when multi-party politics was re-introduced. However, it appears the culture of individual merit had taken root because many have not been able to stand as a member of political party.<sup>xi</sup>

### **Theoretical Framework**

This study bases its analysis of the 2011 parliamentary on arguments advanced by political theorists about theories of political power, particularly ruling class model as highlighted by Marx and Engels. Under this model, Newton believes that real centres of powers are the classes.<sup>xii</sup> In the light of this, the key to political power lies in the economic organization of a society. Thus, the class who controls the means of production holds the political power. Secondly, the ruling elite model states that the political power lies in the hands of a few (elite). They also point out that the political attitudes and behaviour are shaped by capitalist institutions and they ensure that the system reproduces itself by passing on its privileges and power to its children and that the masses are indoctrinated into a state of false consciousness. More importantly the ruling class is designed to protect their economic interests. This reflects the state of the ruling class in Uganda.

### **Research Methodology**

This study adopted content analysis method. This is a type of unobtrusive research method appreciated by Babbie as a method, “of studying social behaviour without affecting it. Such methods can be qualitative or quantitative”.<sup>xiii</sup> Unobtrusive research can also be referred to as nonreactive research which according to Neuman is, “a class of measures in which people being studied are unaware that they are part of a study”.<sup>xiv</sup> Therefore, when the evidence of social behaviour is left behind, an observant researcher infers the information without intruding on those being studied.

According to Babbie content analysis is “the study of recorded human communications, such as text books, journals, paintings, laws and websites”.<sup>xv</sup> Neuman stresses that content analysis “is a

technique of gathering and analyzing the content of a text”.<sup>xvi</sup> The content according to him refers to “words, meaning, pictures, symbols, ideas, themes or any message that can be communicated”.<sup>xvii</sup> He also highlights that a text “is anything written, visual or spoken that serves as means of communication such as newspapers, books, magazines, speeches and poems to mention but a few.

### **Sources of Data**

This study used data from both primary and secondary sources. The secondary sources included textbooks, Journals and other published materials. Meanwhile the primary sources were the 2011 parliamentary election results and reports of monitoring groups independent of government.

### **Study Findings**

Uganda has had nine parliaments since independence, with total number of MPs as indicated in the Table below.

**Table 1: Parliaments of Uganda since Independence**

<b>Parliament</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Total number</b>
1 <sup>st</sup> Parliament	1962 – 1966	92
2 <sup>nd</sup> Parliament	1967- 1971	92
No Parliament	1971 – 1979	-
3 <sup>rd</sup> Parliament	1979 – 1980	154
4 <sup>th</sup> Parliament	1980 – 1985	126
5 <sup>th</sup> Parliament	1986 – 1996	270
6 <sup>th</sup> Parliament	1996 – 2001	281
7 <sup>th</sup> Parliament	2001 – 2006	305
8 <sup>th</sup> Parliament	2006-2011	332
9 <sup>th</sup> Parliament	2011-2016	375

Source:

Table 2 reveals that the number of members of parliament in subsequent parliament has been gradually but steadily increasing since Uganda attained its independence in 1962.

### **National Resistance Movement (NRM) Dominates Parliament**

On 18<sup>th</sup> February the Chairman of the Electoral Commission, organised general election and Uganda were at the polls on this day to choose leaders of their choice to represent them in the ninth parliament (2011-2016). This fundamental pillar of democratic governance attracted a significant number of contestants. Many of whom competing on political party ticket while others going it alone (independent) without any political party leanings. Worthwhile noting is that if democracy was to be strictly measured by the number of political parties that exist in a country, Uganda would be among the many democratic countries. Many political parties in the country are guaranteed freedom of expression, but only in a situation that do not appear a challenge to the government in power. The political landscape in Uganda is occupied by political parties, which seem to be of less significance to the people. In particular, opposition political parties do not appear to demonstrate wide support impact.

**Table 2: Number of Candidates who vied for Parliamentary Seats**

<b>Party Affiliation</b>	<b>Female</b>			<b>Male</b>	
	<b>Affirmative Action Seat</b>	<b>Direct Seat</b>	<b>total</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>Total</b>
NRM	101(6.1%)	7(0.4%)	108(6.5%)	229(13.8%)	<b>337(20.3%)</b>
FDC	73(4.4%)	4(0.2%)	77(4.6%)	180(10.8%)	<b>257(15.4%)</b>
UPC	28(1.7%)	2(0.1%)	30(1.8%)	98(5.9%)	<b>128(7.7%)</b>
DP	16(1.0%)	8(0.5%)	24(1.5%)	76(4.5%)	<b>100(6.0%)</b>
CP	1(0.1%)	2(0.1%)	3(0.2%)	5(0.3%)	<b>8(0.5%)</b>
JEEMA	2(0.1%)	-	2(0.1%)	10(0.6)	<b>12(0.7%)</b>
INDEP	172(10.4%)	21(1.3%)	193(11.7%)	498(30.0%)	<b>691(41.7%)</b>
PPP	6(0.4%)	-	6(0.4%)	25(1.5%)	<b>31(1.9%)</b>
UFA	8(0.5)	2(0.1%)	10(0.6%)	50(3.0)	<b>60(3.6%)</b>
PDP	2(0.1%)	5(0.3%)	7(0.4%)	10(0.6%)	<b>17(1.0%)</b>
LDT	1(0.1%)	-	1(0.1%)	7(0.4%)	<b>8(0.5%)</b>
SDP	-	-		5(0.3%)	<b>5(0.3%)</b>

FIL	-	-		3(0.2%)	<b>3(0.2%)</b>
UEP	-	-		1(0.1%)	<b>1(0.1%)</b>
GPP	-	-		1(0.1%)	<b>1(0.1%)</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>410(24.9%)</b>	<b>51(3%)</b>	<b>461</b>	<b>1198(72.1%)</b>	<b>1659(100%)</b>

**Source: Electoral Commission Result 2011.**

Table 2 shows that a total of 1659 candidates participated in the 2011 parliamentary election, with the independents taking the largest percentage share of participation. But interesting to note is that it appears many political parties have not fully mobilised people to join their parties. Political parties are core institutions in today’s democratic dispensation and the primary mean for citizen’s representation in the parliament.<sup>xviii</sup> But the distribution of candidates in the Table 2 reveals that many political parties could not present candidates to vie for the seats in all constituencies. It is also very clear that all political parties with the exception of the ruling NRM party, they could not attract reasonable female candidates with other political parties failing to field even a single candidate. This suggests that these political parties are possibly not gender insensitive. One would as well wonder whether they have affirmative action policy in their slots in recruiting candidates to contest on their party ticket or not. Based on this position, it is not wrong to suggest that political parties need to be reformed to provide more opportunities to women and men need to be told about the current demand of gender equality. The constitution of the Republic of Uganda that is currently in effect, which was enacted in 1995, provides for gender equality. It also provides for democratic multi-party system. These are fundamental values of the political system in Uganda. But as data above reveals that gender equality at a political party level is farfetched. It is perhaps correct to say that political parties are poorly organised to perform their functions of political socialisation. It is quite disturbing if not interesting to evaluate the performance of political parties in this parliamentary election. In 2000 majority (92.5%) voted overwhelmingly in the referendum for the restoration of multi-party politics in the democratic process in Uganda with smallest remaining percentage (7.5%) voting against. By implication, people had got fed up with “no party political system” introduced by Museveni when he took over power in 1986. Political parties were kept in prison for nearly more than two decades without competing for elections. This historic event aroused the expectations that the return to multi-party system would be a cornerstone for multi-party democracy. It has certainly not, because in subsequent elections at different levels of

government the biggest numbers of positions have been retained by the NRM. The excitement of multi-party people had to be restored, it has not stood firm on the ground.

Thus, it is perhaps correct to argue that a culture of equal opportunities seems not to be central to political parties in Uganda in the selection process for candidates to run for elective positions. No political party can attract good number of candidates where equality cannot exist. Therefore, political leadership of different political parties clearly need to recognise the problems that hinder candidates to seek for the party's endorsement.

### **Measures Political Parties can adopt to unite Gender across Party Lines for Election**

The study findings reveal that as many as (41.7%) of the total candidates in the parliamentary competition stood as independents. This suggests that many prefer running for parliamentary seat without party leaning.

A gender equity policy should be included in the statutes of political parties, ensuring that women candidates can benefit from an equitable internal distribution of resources. Party resources would thus more equitably support the promotion of women running as party candidates, contribute towards women's nomination processes, during which women often require resources to establish a political reputation both inside and outside their parties, and contribute towards electoral processes.

Parties committed to gender equality should: ensure equal access to income resources for women and men, designate a specific amount of resources for women candidates as an affirmative action and incorporate gender equality criteria into parties' internal transparency and accountability mechanisms.

Establishing an effective and functional women's caucus would empower women candidates and help to ensure equal access to the party's resources, guaranteeing that financial management has a gender perspective.

Strategizing with women from other parties would be beneficial to all women candidates and has proved an effective method for institutionalizing means for securing financial resources across parties.

## **Women Involvement in Directly Elected MPs**

Carrying women along politics in Uganda has gained momentum; the parliamentary election 2011 saw further increase of the proportion of women joining the ninth parliament. They are now free to compete for any electoral seat being contested for both local and national level.<sup>xix</sup> Right from the start when the NRM came to power, it made it a policy that at least one woman would represent each district on the law-making organ of the country. Also women were to be represented at the different levels of grassroots government organs. However, women aspiring to be elected to political position still face strong challenge to be elected. Evidence gathered from directly elected members of parliamentary election suggests that women are still far from closing the gap between male and female participation in electoral competition on directly elected seats. A smaller number of women won an election against men for the direct constituency elections. However, the constitutional allocation of seats to women remains a blessing to them. In fact, reserved seats for women are the only way for them to gain position into the parliament. The directly elected MP positions remain a monopoly of male members of parliament. Given this position women still face an uphill task to become public figures on their own and enter the main stream of politics through openly contested seats with men in Uganda. The affirmative action seats, which women seem to enjoy, are considered to be politically inferior.<sup>xx</sup> Therefore, women should be encouraged to get to the front seat of politics if gender equality should be included in the grammar of politics. This will finally play off the song of gender discrimination.

It must be emphasized here that women's effort to compete on the slot of directly elected members of parliament seats showed poor results. This poor performance on traditional predominant seats of men may preempt one to argue that, women's skills to match that of men in canvassing for votes on equal competition with men is still very low. However, of 375, the total number of the ninth parliament (2011-2016), 128 (32.8%) are women, 112 having been elected through affirmative action as district women representatives and 5 contested directly against their male counterparts and won, indicating that compared to 2006 parliamentary election, where 14 were directly elected, suggests decline in women contesting with men. But interestingly and perhaps worth to note is that the ninth parliament promises to continue being more gender sensitive parliament than the previous

eighth parliament. Women have gained an increase in their seats from 103 in the previous parliament to 128 in the ninth parliament.

**Table 3: Distribution by Gender and Party Affiliation of MPs who Won Seats**

<b>Party Affiliation</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Total</b>
National Resistance Movement (NRM)	98(26.8%)	165(45.0%)	263(71.8%)
Forum for Democratic Change (FDC)	10(2.7%)	24(6.6%)	34(9.3)
Uganda Peoples' Congress (UPC)	4(1.1%)	6(1.6%)	10(2.7%)
Democratic Party (DP)	3(0.8%)	9(2.5%)	12(3.3)
Conservative Party (CP)	-	1(0.3%)	1(0.3%)
Justice Forum (JEEMA)	-	1(0.3%)	1(0.3)
Independent (INDEP)	13(3.6%)	31(8.5%)	44(12.1%)
<b>Total</b>	<b>128(35%)</b>	<b>237(64.2%)</b>	<b>365(100%)</b>

**Source: Electoral Commission Result 2011**

According to these results as shown in Table 3, there is an encouraging fact that the biggest percentage of voters gave their votes to the National Resistance Movement (NRM), making it to have the largest percentage (71.6%) of the total number of the members of parliament. However, a critical analysis of distribution of seats won by different parties reveals that Ugandans are unprepared for the dynamics of multiparty politics. It also suggests that voters look out for the competence and characteristics of the person contesting to be elected rather than party issues. Therefore, parties should consider looking into the quality of a candidate to present to the electorates to present the party in national election. In other words, people are willing to vote for competence of an individual rather than a political party. This also demonstrates that leaders of respective parties failed to mobilise and unite their supporters for a common purpose. Some political parties though they filled candidates to participate in the election could not gather enough support to win even a single seat. This implies few political parties are going to be represented in the parliament. This therefore, suggests that despite the roles political parties play in the democratic dispensation, they have yielded little in the inculcation of party ideologies in the Ugandan citizens' minds.<sup>xxi</sup> This undermines that fact that political parties are supposed to organise the electorates on behalf of a common set of interests or ideology.

Furthermore, Table 3 provides an analysis of parliamentary representation by gender and party. Here one finds that the opposition parties have declined in numbers compared to the previous eighth parliament in which they had 60 members. This small number of opposition MPs can pre-empt one to argue that the ninth parliament will have no strong opposition. Therefore, the NRM, the ruling party has an advantage to advance its interests before the house with minimal resistance from the members of parliament. In fact, it is possible that NRM will have its demands easily passed by the legislature unless the new NRM MPs entrants and those with independent minds remain focused and express their views without being used by the executive of NRM; little is expected of the ninth parliament apart from being rubber stamp of the government. This is perhaps correct because the eighth parliament has been finding it difficult to challenge the request placed before the parliament for consideration due to resultant effect of NRM big numbers in the parliament. For example, the opposition members of parliament were not in favour to approve the supplementary expenditure of 1.5 trillion for the purchase of a fighter-jet and the swearing-in of President Museveni's fourth term in office. Despite the fact that the opposition put up powerful arguments against the idea of approving the executive arm of government's demand, the government was able to convince its NRM members confidently counting on the strength of their numbers in the house and the request was passed.<sup>xxiii</sup> This breeds challenges to develop into a properly independent functioning mind free of executive manipulation.

Judging from these results further, there are no reasons to doubt that NRM will use this majority to champion its interests without much resistance from the opposition. This seems to be very important for a country like Uganda, which is a country on the road of democracy, for purposes of fast decision-making and implementation. But this is not to argue that Uganda does not require any checks and balances from opposition political groups that are in the parliament. In fact, Uganda requires a strong foresighted legislative body, which is people-centric to champion the formulation and implementation of policies. Therefore, members of parliament should play the role of oversight unsparingly rather than being a rubber stamp of the executive, particularly when the ugly face of corruption is visibly seen the political system in Uganda.

It is important and necessary to point out that for the NRM to refine its internal work methods in the parliament they need to be very transparent so that any shadows of political corruption, unprincipled compromises, and impunity are minimized in the country. As a progressive organisation, the NRM need to take Uganda’s interests for the “common good at higher levels,” and balance its own against those of the larger public. NRM needs to resist the careerism and political opportunism creeping among sections of its leadership. To do so successfully the NRM must make its decision-making transparent, functional and trustworthy to enlist discipline key among them is its parliamentary caucus. Without the above NRM MPs should neither demand nor expect conscious discipline, loyalty and work from opposition members in the house. The NRM must build an internal system to check its own members not only from corruption in the parliament, but also outside, which seem to be plaguing the government system, starting with enacting stringent codes for its leaders and ensuring those rules are followed and the corrupt “big shot” in government are punished including removal from office. Otherwise, the current position of opposition as a checkmate to the government cannot be relied upon, because their small number in the parliament cannot cause much more challenge to the dominant NRM.

### **Party Leaning Independents**

Interesting in the 2011 parliamentary election, many candidates belonging to particular political parties defied the rules of their parties, after being knocked out in the party primaries decided to stand as independents. This practice, no doubt weakens the strength of political parties.

**Table 4: Party-Leaning Independents**

<b>Party</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Total</b>
NRM	9(29.0%)	20(64.5%)	<b>29</b>
DP	-	1(3.2%)	<b>1</b>

**Source: Electoral commission Result 2011**

Table 4 reveals that many parliamentary candidates who had earlier contested for their party primaries’ and lost but decided to contest as independents actually defeated those candidates who

had defeated them during party primaries’. This signifies that there was foul play during the party primaries election. However, there were recognizable seats, which were lost by different political parties losing to other parties. In this context Forum for the Democratic Change (FDC) registered the biggest loss as shown in Table 5 below:

**Table 5: Parties losing their Seats to other Parties**

<b>Seat Lost</b>	<b>Number of seats</b>
Forum for Democratic Change Loosing to National Resistance Movement	16
National Resistance Movement losing to Forum for Democratic Change	2
Forum for Democratic Change losing to Democratic Party	1
National Resistance Movement losing to Democratic Party	3
Democratic Party losing to National Resistance Movement	1
Uganda Peoples’ Congress losing to National Resistance Movement	3
National Resistance Movement losing to Independent	2
Democratic Party losing to Independent	2
Forum for Democratic Change losing to Uganda Peoples’ Congress	1

**Source: Electoral Commission Results 2011**

### **Campaign Issues and Style in the 2011**

Campaign for 2011 parliamentary election kicked off on 16<sup>th</sup> December 2010 and was to last until 16<sup>th</sup> February 2011. Quite unique in nature, candidates of ruling party, the NRM preferred to move together in their campaigns while many of the candidates contesting on various party-tickets and as independent went it alone as the law requires. The 2011 election campaign was clearly dominated by parties that eventually also recorded the best results: the NRM and FDC. The two parties not only set the overall tone of the election discourse. Candidates contesting on the ticket of these two parties arguably were the most visible in articulating socio-economic issues affecting the country. To some extent, it can be said that these two parties profited from their ability to organisationally incorporate some of the most significant potential competitors. However, NRM played a very big role in facilitating its candidates. Each was given twenty million shillings to facilitate their

campaign activities. This huge funding by NRM, the ruling party, gave the NRM incumbent candidates advantage against other party candidates. This shows that there was unlevelled ground in the entire process. This partly explains the increasing commercialisation of politics. The money factor formed the buying of allegiance dominated the campaign.<sup>xxiii</sup> This report indicates that NRM is well endowed with resources to finance their political activities.

It should be pointed out at this point that lack of clear regulation of political parties' financing policies encourage use of illicit payments to electorates something which undermines these voters' free will. In other words, commercialisation of politics (electoral process) erodes the values of voting, fades away the dividends of democracy. It must be stressed that the practice of giving money to contesting candidates encourages them not to articulate issues that affect them. This has resulted into the development of a bribery plague in the Uganda's electoral process. This kind of political behaviour has significantly contributed to a situation of compromising the facts and acceptable standards of democratic practices. Therefore, government (legislators) need to enact laws, which defines the amount of money politicians, should spend during the time of election campaign. Spending such large sum of money on campaigns, puts legislators in questionable competence to execute their legislative roles as one may be after recovering what he actually spent during campaigns. This too, makes many politicians not to fulfil their pledges they promise during the time of their campaigns.

There is no doubt about the fact that too much money was spent on parliamentary political campaigns. The question which remains unanswered is that was this huge money that facilitated NRM candidates from the national coffers? Other parties such as UFA, SDP, JEEMA including UPC, CP and DP, which are some of the oldest political parties in the country lacked enough financial resources and clear focus and in general these parties were unable to project themselves as credible and competent to gain confidence and trust of the people and win election. It can be said that the opposition parties were economically weak in mobilising the key task of motivating people to their side. Therefore, it is perhaps correct to point out that political party and individual candidates must obtain large sums of monies not only to ensure sufficient media exposure, boost one's chances of winning and run an entire campaign, but also to guard closely the entire voting

process most especially during the counting of votes. This is because complaint of vote rigging and manipulation at this stage seems to have taken root.

All the political parties that participated in the electoral exercise termed the exercise a sham because of malpractices that characterized the entire process dominantly perpetrated by the NRM leadership. Political parties, civil society organisations, including all religious leaders and international partners, highlighted some of the irregularities in the 2011 parliamentary election. They argued that election result created despair and disenchantment over elections in the country for many Ugandans. They mentioned that this is likely to produce a politically explosive situation in the country. This forced NRM government to deploy mambas and other kinds of artillery at almost every sub-county ready to maw citizens who dare raise a finger expressing their discontent.

### **The Implication of the Ninth Parliament on the Economy**

The parliament exists to sustain any government in power by considering, discussing and eventually passing bill as well as keeping a close eye to the executive arm of the government for better service delivery. However, parliament in Uganda (lawmakers) has been working in a manner, in which the executive has been able to manipulate to render it toothless. It is argued that its role of playing the oversight function has become a money-making venture for members of parliament<sup>xxiv</sup> in Uganda. It is a public knowledge is that the government gave 20 million to each Member of Parliament through their bank accounts three months to the end of their tenure to monitor government projects, but the fact is that this money was meant to influence them to support and pass the controversial supplementary budget of 602 billion the executive needed badly.<sup>xxv</sup> The NRM (executive) has used this kind of bribery and numerical strength to promote its interest without putting much effort on problems affecting the people in the country.

Table bellow highlights the expected expenditure on the members of parliament during their term of office (2011-2016). Each member of the house earns about shs15m monthly and besides, other benefits and allowances including good cars, which they drive that costs several millions of shillings. When people are not accessing social services like health, many Ugandans are dying of preventable diseases; and education is beginning to deteriorate.

**Table 5: Composition of the Parliament and their Expected Salary in Millions**

<b>Nature of Election to Parliament</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Salary in Millions (m)</b>
Affirmative Action	112	-	112x15x12x5=100800m
Directly elected Parliamentary seat	8	229	237x15x12x5=213300m
Workers Representatives	2	3	5x15x12x5=4500m
Youth	2	3	5x15x12x5=4500m
UPDF	2	8	10x15x12x5=9000m
PWD	2	3	5x15x12x5=4500m
<b>Total</b>	<b>128</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>337500m</b>

**Source: Based on MP Salary per Months**

Table 5 above suggests and raises fears of increased cost on the legislature. No doubt the government will spend a total of three hundred and thirty seven thousand five hundred million in five years as salary for the members of parliament. This unnecessary increase of members of parliament needs to be reduced including the number of numbers of the executive arm of government (cabinet ministers). It should be appreciated that a developing country like Uganda does not need to have 375 MPs and over 70 ministers when other big African countries like Nigeria with a population of about 160 million people has only about 400 senators talkless of developed countries like Germany and USA, which do not have such numbers in their legislatures. It must be emphasized Uganda's population with the poorest per capita income does not need such huge number of members of Parliament. The number of the members of parliament has been increasing on two dimensions. One is the increase in the number of districts. Each district is supposed to produce a woman member of parliament. Secondly, the idea of having different interest groups such as workers, Army and Persons with disability and the youth. Although the intention is good for having different interest groups partaking in the decision that affect them, it has deeper economic implication to the economy. Since there are different ministries in charge of various

interests of the people, it is suitable to reduce the number of the members of parliament to the tune that each district in the country produces strictly two members of parliament, a male and a female. This will not only cut down on the expenditure on legislators but it will also balance the number of female members of parliament to that of men.

## **Conclusion**

NRM achieved huge wins and successes, but the general parliamentary election result reflect some dissatisfaction among some pockets of Ugandans. In fact, the above arguments seem to suggest that vote bribery played a crucial role in the 2011 parliamentary election campaign. This confirms and supports Muhumuza's 1997 study on the Ugandan Presidential and Parliamentary election of 1996, in which he found that the amount of money spent by candidates during election times reflected the electoral outcome.<sup>xxvi</sup> He further reported that the voters' choice was influenced by money, material contributions or promise of material benefits. The two main contenders NRM and FDC presented different and often mutually incompatible visions of how the country and economy should be managed and how much redistribution should there be in various public sectors of the economy. The most challenging situation the members of parliament face is as to how to stand their ground to avoid the greed for money, corruption including the manipulation of the executive arm of government. It appears the government is much more willing to spend quite reasonable amount of money to the legislators to see demands and interests approved by the parliament. It is perhaps correct to mention that the numerical NRM dominance in the parliament, will very much affect rational legislation process. This is so because, manipulation politics seems to be at play to strengthen the whims of NRM government. However, more important to note is that affirmative action remains an important route for boosting women's access to parliament. It would not be wrong to argue that women still have low political skills and financial resources to widen their horizon of politics, particularly taking open directly elected constituencies. There is need to offer and build more capacity of women across the political spectrum in the country to enable them compete favourably with men.

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