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Women Participation in Electoral Processes in East Africa: The Case of Somalia

Electoral Violence in East Africa: Exploring Opportunities for Democracy and Peacebuilding in Uganda

"Enhancing Strategies and Mechanisms of Countering Violent Extremism and Protection of Civilians".

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Table of contents

Foreword

The International Peace Support training Centre (IPSTC) is a research and training institution focusing on Peace Support Operations (PSO) capacity building at the strategic, operational and tactical levels within the framework of the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA). The Centre has evolved to become the regional Centre of Excellence for the African Standby Force (ASF) in Eastern Africa.

IPSTC addresses the complexities of contemporary UN/AU integrated PSO by interrogating the actors and multi-dimensional nature of these operations. The research conducted covers a broad spectrum of responses ranging from conflict prevention through management to post-conflict reconstruction. The Centre has made considerable contribution in training and research on peace support issues in the Great Lakes region and the Horn of Africa through design of training curriculum, field research and publication of Occasional Papers and Issue Briefs. The Occasional Papers are published annually, while the Issues Briefs are produced quarterly. The Issue Briefs are an important contribution to the vision and mission of IPSTC.

The First Quarter Issue Brief No. 1 (2017) has two articles; *Electoral Violence in East Africa: Exploring Opportunities for Democracy and Peacebuilding in Uganda* and '*Women Participation in Electoral Processes in East Africa: The case of Somalia'*.

The Issue Brief provides insights into the dynamics of electoral violence, democracy and peacebuilding in the region and provide knowledge that is valuable to policy makers as it also makes a contribution to the contemporary security debate and praxis. The articles in the Issue Brief are envisaged to bolster the design of the training modules at IPSTC. The research and publication of this Issue Brief has been sponsored by Government of Japan through UNDP.

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Acronyms

AMISOM	African Union Mission in Somalia
AU	African Union
CAR	Central Africa Republic
CEDAW	The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CSO	Civil Society Organisations
DP	Democratic Party
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EAC	East African Community
EC	Electoral Commission
EMB	Electoral Management Bodies
FDC	Forum for Democratic Change
FGM	Female Genital Mutilation
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
IEBC	Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission
IPF	Ivorian Popular Front
KAF	Konrad Adenauer Foundation
KY	Kabaka Yekka
MPs	Members of Parliament
NDP	National Development Plan
NHDR	National Human Development Report
NRM	National Resistance Movement
PPOA	Political Parties Oversight Act
SGBV	Sexual and Gender Based Violence
SNA	Somalia National Army
TPDF	Tanzanian People's Defense Forces
UBS	Uganda Bureau of Statictics
U N	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNLF	Uganda National Liberation Front
UPC	Uganda Peoples' Congress
US	United States

Introduction to the Issue Briefs

This first quarter issue brief addresses two aspects of regional peace and security dynamics that are key concerns in the Eastern Africa region.

The first paper; *'Electoral Violence in East Africa: Exploring Opportunities for Democracy and Peacebuilding in Uganda',* examines electoral violence in East Africa with respect to entrenching democracy and peacebuilding in Uganda. Findings indicate that electoral violence is still a major challenge in the region and Uganda in particular. Its prevalence is informed by a history of non-democratic governance that has no respect for the rule of law, human rights, separation of powers and depoliticization of the security sector. The study identifies the structural problems that have created favourable conditions for electoral violence in Uganda.

The study establishes pillars for strengthened democratic system with free and fair elections, freedom of the press, civil society organizations and political parties as yardsticks for government's democratic legitimacy. As long as electoral violence defines the political landscape, sustainable peace will be a pipe dream. The international community including the African Union (AU) and United Nations (UN) have a vital role in nudging countries in the region to strengthen democratic institutions in order to prevent electoral violence and build sustainable peace.

The second paper; '*Women participation in Electoral processes in East Africa': The case of Somalia',* examines how women are excluded in decision making structures and leadership roles in Somalia. While women of Somalia have been successful in managing social issues, they have been stone-walled on the political, leadership and decision-making front. Somali women are expected to submit to men and to fulfil their duties as daughters, wives, and mothers.

While women have held important leadership roles in Somalia and enjoyed some level of recognition and popularity in the past, the interpretation of the Islamic religion and Somali culture do not allow them to speak in public and especially in the presence of men. Despite some support to women participation in politics, some men continue openly opposing women when they stand up to deliver a speech or to express their views and thereby publicly embarrassing them. This has meant that women continue to be side-lined from participating in politics and development activities. As a consequence women in Somalia are not adequately represented in local governments, parliament, judiciary and in the cabinet. Without substantive representation or attention to women's interests in Somalia, the interests and priorities of half of the population are not properly addressed.

A greater participation of women in the country's affairs can bring new and useful initiatives in Somalia's rebuilding efforts while narrowing the gender-gap between women and men in terms of access to decision-making authority and political power.

Electoral Violence in East Africa: Opportunities for Democracy and Peacebuilding in Uganda

Joseph Kioi Mbugua

Abstract

Democracy holds profound potential for being a driver of sustainable peace in East Africa. Previous research has indicated that the road to transition to democracy is often prone to conflict in the initial stages but may promise more durable peace in the long run. Countries that faced protracted internal instability and where rebels formed governments such as in Rwanda and Uganda, manifest unique challenges and different democratic trajectories. Electoral violence is still a major challenge in the region and Uganda in particular. Its prevalence is informed by a history of non democratic governance with no respect for the rule of law, human rights, separation of powers and depoliticization of the security sector. The study identifies the structural problems that have created favourable conditions for electoral violence in Uganda.

The study establishes pillars for strengthened democratic system with entrenched constitutionalism, rule of law, independepent judiciary, free and fair elections, freedom of the press, apolitical military, participation of civil society organizations and democratic political parties as yardsticks for government's democratic legitimacy.

Key words: electoral violence, elections, democracy, peacebuilding

Introduction

Political violence has engulfed many countries in Africa. In West Africa, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Mali and Chad came from a long history of internal political conflicts. Nigeria, Cameroon, Ghana, Senegal, Gambia and Gabon among others are still consolidating democratic culture amidst different levels of violence. In Eastern Africa; South Sudan and Somalia are still going through violent conflict situations while Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Ethiopia and Djibouti are building democratic structures amidst significant domestic politics and conflict challenges.

The United Nations (UN) and African Union (AU) promote democratic governments as the most appropriate structure of governance for preventing violence and promoting socio-economic and political development. Many countries in Africa and Eastern Africa in particular are still working on effective democratic systems. While Kenya and Tanzania have made significant progress, many other countries still face challenges in democratic consolidation.

Peacebuilding has emerged as a tool for both domestic and international partners to prevent, manage and transform conflicts. It has had different outcomes in South Sudan, Somalia, Kenya, Uganda and Ethiopia. Given its salience in preventing political and electoral violence, peacebuilding practices and theoretical perspectives continue to offer various options for stabilizing countries in conflict and creating sustainable structures of peace in relatively stable countries.

The Ugandan state, like others in Africa, is a colonial creation having been declared a crown colony by the British in 1890 and acquiring independence on 9 October 1962. Independence came after a constitution conference held in Lancaster in the United Kingdom (UK) in 1962. The country was plagued by a number of structural and historical conditions that predisposed it to conflict such as political divisions based on ethnicity, lack of developed institutions including political parties, religious and regional divide (Karugire, 1980).

Due to lack of political legitimacy based on popular participation, rule of law and impartial institutions, use of force continued to define politics and the special place of the military in Uganda. The Baganda who occupied the central region of the country often defined its political trajectory before and after colonization. Nation building, constitutionalism and democracy remained 'paradoxical and superficial' throughout colonial and post-colonial period (Asiimwe, 2014:4).

Credible elections are deemed as great potential contributor to peacebuilding. Relationship between democracy and peacebuilding is hinged on a number of factors including elections, values and principles of participation, citizenship and accountability (Lappin, 2009:2-3). Democratic governance offered through regular and credible elections offers reliable avenue for peacebuilding and violent conflict prevention especially in post conflict countries. Most peace agreements such as in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Mozambique and South Sudan provides frameworks for elections as tools for democratic consolidation and peacebuilding.

This study interrogates electoral violence and opportunities for peacebuilding in East Africa using Uganda as a case study. It looks at the relevant literature in the context of the Uganda political, democratic and electoral perspectives in light of building sustainable peace in the country.

Uganda is a landlocked country bordering Kenya to the East, Tanzania to the South, South Sudan to the north, Rwanda to the Southwest and Democratic Republic of Congo to the west (UBS, 2014). The country occupies a land and water mass of 241 551 Sq. Miles. As per the 2011 census, Uganda had a population of about 32.9 million people with a growth rate of 3.5%, translating to 36, 600 000 in 2017. Uganda's population is composed of: Baganda (17%), Iteso (6.6%), Ankole (9.8%), Basoga (8.6%), Banyarwanda (6.6%), Acholi (4.8%), Bagisu (4.7%), Lang'i (6.2%), Lugbara (4.3%), other ethnic groups make up (30.7%) (UBS, 2014; Mwakigale, 2009).

The political system of Uganda is a presidential republic where the president is both head of state and head of government. Legislative power is held by both the Executive and the National Assembly. Governance is based on democratic a parliamentary system with universal suffrage where citizens above the age of 18 are eligible to vote.

Focus and Scope

This study examines the state of democratic consolidation and peacebuilding through elections in East Africa with special reference to Uganda.

Statement of the Problem

The road towards democracy, stability and peace in Africa and East Africa in particular has not been smooth and it is still an unfinished business. Electoral violence is a threat to democracy, peace and security. More than 50% of elections in Sub Saharan Africa since 1990 have been violent compared to global average of 19% (Burchard, 2015).

Electoral violence has been witnessed in Kenya, Burundi, Uganda and to a smaller level in Tanzania (Zanzibar). Though regular elections are done within all the countries, they are not deemed free and fair. Kenya is still building the integrity of key democratic institutions such as the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC). In Tanzania opposition leaders are often harassed by law enforcement officers and the law provides little room for challenging electoral outcome. The last Burundi election in 2015, did not adhere to the Arusha agreement on which peace in the country was founded. The recent 2016 elections in Uganda, were marred by violence and incarceration of the main opposition leader, Kizza Besigye. Sustainable peace in Uganda cannot be achieved without free, fair and violent free elections. Electoral violence disrupts social order and frustrates democracy and peacebuilding.

Justification

It has been established that 19-25% of all global electoral processes, have experienced various levels of violence, intimidation and electoral fraud (Bekoe, 2010; Bishop & Hoeffler, 2014). Since 2001 all elections in Uganda have experienced small scale violence and fraud (Burchard, 2016).

Research has not yet established the relationship between electoral violence and peacebuilding (Burchard, 2015). Examining the causes of electoral violence in the region can inform regional policies on state stabilization, democratization and peacebuilding. It is necessary to identify common principles and lessons learnt in democratic transitions of previous unstable societies/countries. Absence of electoral violence fosters democracy and peacebuilding.

Main Research Question

How can elections be harnessed for sustainable democracy and peacebuilding in East Africa and Uganda in particular?

Specific Research Questions

a)   What is the nature and likely causes of electoral violence in East Africa and Uganda in particular?

b)   Are elections effective vehicles of democratic peacebuilding in East Africa especially Uganda?

c)   What are the challenges of democratic peacebuilding through elections?

d)   How best can elections be leveraged for sustainable democratic peacebuilding?

Research Objectives

a)   To identify the nature and causes of electoral violence in East Africa with a special reference to Uganda

b)   To examine the potential of elections as vehicles of democratic peacebuilding in East Africa   and specifically Uganda?

c)   To assess the challenges of democratic peacebuilding through elections

d)   To identify best options for leveraging elections as effective democratic peacebuilding tools?

Operational Concepts and Contextual Dynamics
Democracy

A system can be said to be democratic where the majority enjoy universal suffrage and when the most powerful decision makers are selected through free, fair, honest and periodic elections (Huntington, 1991). Democracy therefore rests on a social contract enshrined in constitutions and implemented through rule of law, fair judicial process and non-violent transfer of political power.

Democracy is more than conducting periodic elections, it brings together respect for diverse and plurality of opinions, freedom of expression, multi-party political system, free and universal multi-party elections and accountability of the rulers (Gebreworld, 2008 as quoted in Opiyo, et al. 2013).

Democracy is rule established through the will of the majority. It enhances justice in decision-making, values, consent and choices/voice of voters, thereby increasing legitimacy of governments (Tommasoli, 2008). However, democracy might permanently keep the minority out of governments or escalate abuse of human rights; serious issues in deeply divided societies. Where countries are divided on ethnic or religious identities, these cleavages can be enhanced during elections (Tommasoli, 2008).

Democratic Values and Practices versus Autocracy

DEMOCRACY ↑

| Rule of law, credible institutions, Credible & peaceful elections, Peace values, attitudes & behaviour, no electoral violence | Biased & unfair elections, fraud, intimidation, disregard for peace values, electoral violence |

AUTOCRACY ↓

(Paraphrased from Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung ((KAF), 2011)

Principles of Democracy

Citizen Participation

Participation of citizens in decision-making and in deciding who and how they are governed is a key democratic ingredient.

Equality

This refers to a situation where citizens are treated as equal before the law and in access to opportunities without discrimination based on race, ethnic identity, gender, religion or other basis.

Separation of powers

This refers to constitutionally guaranteed independent operations of the different arms of government: Executive, Judiciary and Parliament/Legislature and their actual ability to operate without one arm encroaching on the turf of the other.

Political Tolerance

Citizens withstand and respect different views/opinions from people who look different from them and the minority. This political culture also means the losers in an election are ready to concede defeat and for the winners to rule without discriminating the losers.

Transparency

This refers to a situation whereby the political system allows citizens freedom to access information on the operations/management of public institutions without undue hindrance.

Accountability

This refers to a situation where the system provides capacity for citizens to hold those in authority to account for their actions or inactions and decisions. Citizens should be able to check abuse of power such as extra-judicial activities and corruption, among others.

Human Rights and Rule of Law

This refers to the government in power and the opposition respecting and protecting the rights and freedom of citizens. Rule of law means everyone is held accountable according to the law and due process is followed equally for citizens' protection.

Regular, Free and Fair Elections

Citizens should be able to elect their preferred leaders freely without intimidation or coercion in elections whose schedule/cycle is predictable.

Economic Freedom

This refers to the citizens' ability to economically resist being manipulated through inducements by politicians to vote against their will. Economic vulnerability is one in which citizens succumb to monetary or otherwise manipulation and lose the ability to elect leaders objectively.

Elections

Elections are accomplished when citizens enjoy universal suffrage in a 'one-man one-vote' system where one casts a vote for their preferred candidate without fear, intimidation or coercion. Regular, transparent free and fair elections are regarded as key indicators of a democratic state. Elections generally act as a pressure release valve in a democratic system where interests and pressure groups resolve their disputes in a civil manner (without recourse to violence) through mutual reconciliation and accommodation (Goldsmith, 2015:2). Democratic elections are competitive, periodical, inclusive and definitive.

Political Violence

Violence refers to violations of a person's rights and freedoms, which can either, be physical or psychological. Political violence refers to the use of either physical force or otherwise in order to destroy human beings or other objects in order to alter political institutions, systems, governments or policies, (Mushemeza, 2001).

Electoral Violence

This refers to planned or spontaneous actions meant to influence electoral outcome before, during or after elections (Fisher, 2002). It may occur in different forms such as: intimidations, coercion, fraud, hate speech, propaganda, physical attack/killing and property damage.

Legitimacy

This refers to citizen's level of confidence in government, their freedom and capacity to participate in determining who governs them, government respect for human rights and conditions where violence is not used as a political tool (Author's interpretation). It can also mean the capacity of a political system to engender and maintain the belief that existing political institutions are the most appropriate and proper for the society (Lipset, 1983 in Norris, 2014:2), however, this interpretation sounds more like manufactured legitimacy (Author).

Civil Society

This refers to the space, arena or associations between government, private sector and the family (Putnam, 1994). Civil society occupy a moral and non-coercive voluntary space to deliberate on public goods that enhance citizen's democratic participation through provision of services, knowledge and skills (KAF, 2011).

Media

The media concept in this study refers to print, electronic and social media as mediums of communication between the sender and receiver. It is a crucial institution in democracy being the public avenue through which public debates are conducted and relayed. Research has shown correlations between lack of media freedom with autocracy, closed societies and non-democratic states (Freedom House, 2017). Countries where the media is free also register more democratic freedoms, respect for human rights and better standards of living (Freedom House, 2017).

Peacebuilding

From a general perspective, peacebuilding is viewed as: '*efforts to transform potentially violent social relations into sustainable peaceful relations and outcomes*' (Lederach, 1997). This approach encompasses different actors such as civil society, community and government working together. According to the United Nations (UN), peacebuilding is post conflict social and political reconstruction activities aimed at avoiding relapse into conflict (UN, 1992, para, 55). It is different from peacekeeping and peacemaking, which precedes it. This study adapts both approaches with reference to Uganda.

Democratic Peacebuilding

This refers to creation of an elected, human rights respecting, stable and participatory governance system that encompasses constitutional, legal and policy reforms, socio-economic and political relations and institutions, creating accountable institutions and free space for civil society and media (Call & Cook, 2003).

Theoretical Framework
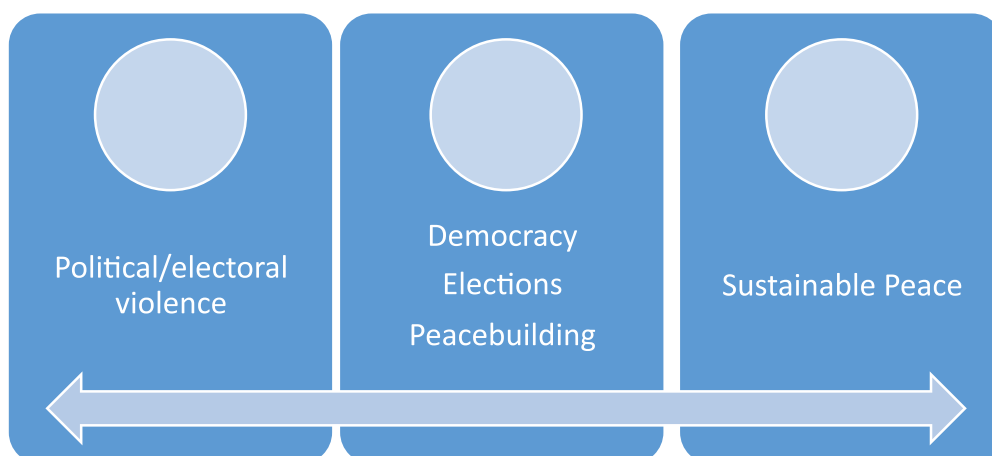
Democratic/Liberal Peace Theory

The democratic peace thesis maintain that according the populace ample space for civic participation in governance and establishing systems of accountability in a polity will act as an insurance against political violence and significantly raise prospects for durable peace (Doyle, 2005). Liberal peace theory asserts faith in normative, civic and legal values established to regulate or enforce behavior within a society or country. It provides individuals with rights and obligations to form and dissolve governments through expression of their popular will. Some of the liberal values advocated in this paradigm are: good governance, rule of law, human rights, political participation, free and fair elections, gender equality, free markets, transparency and accountability (Richmond, 2005). Democratic countries are more likely to be at peace with themselves and their neighbours (Doyle, 2005).

Peacebuilding and Conflict Transformation Theory

Peacebuilding is a complex and multi-dimensional approach that encompasses constitutional, legal and policy reforms, reconstruction of socio-economic and political relations and institutions, creating accountable security sector and expanding space for civil society and media. It also refers to approaches and activities for preventing and managing violent conflict and sustaining peace even after the end of violence.

Conflict transformation refers to approaches and activities meant to change existing socio-economic and political conflict generating factors into pillars of peace. It combines short-term conflict management techniques with long-term measures to rebuild affected relationships (Rupesinghe, 1995). It is a collaborative approach that combine both top-down and bottom-up approaches (Lederach, 1997). The techniques employed depend on the primacy of actors. There are approaches best suited to governments, intergovernmental organizations, civil society organizations (CSO) and communities.

Conceptual Framework

The diagram indicates possible outcomes of liberal peace thesis and peacebuilding theory where introduction of democracy and elections may trigger violence or provide opportunities for peacebuilding. Historical factors, socio-economic and political factors, neighbourhood effects, external involvement among other factors may determine the direction of state's political trajectory towards violence or peace.

Literature Review

The literature on electoral violence, democracy and peacebuilding borrows heavily from Western liberal paradigms (Call & Cook, 2003). There are assumptions that these concepts in practice can work well in Africa without supporting academic evidence. The approaches rely heavily on Western interpretation despite literal adherence to 'local ownership'. This study adapts the current models with contextual interpretation and application.

Electoral Violence

There is hardly any universal definition of electoral violence but some authors have defined it as; '*riots and protests at least somewhat related to the handling or outcome of election*' or *'significant violence relating to elections that result to civilian deaths'* (Hyde & Marinon, 2012).

It may also be defined as violence directly tied to an impending electoral contest or an announced electoral result (Straus & Taylor, 2012: 19). These definitions render acts of electoral violence dependent on actors (government, opposition parties, rebels or journalists) interpretation on the ground and therefore it is open to bias. For lack of exclusive delimitation and conceptual clarity, the data generated on electoral violence prevalence may therefore suffer the above deficiencies.

The motives of actors given the political context and role of electoral outcome in power allocation and distribution need to be determined in order to gauge the value of violence as strategy. Electoral violence is informed by prevailing political violence and local actors may align with different national actors based on their perceived interests or benefits (Straus & Taylor, 2012).

Electoral violence is sometimes perpetrated by incumbent regimes facing electoral threats where governance institutions are weak and transition to democracy has stalled (Bekoe, 2010). Several tools can be used to propagate electoral violence. For example, land, used as patronage tool, increased violence in Zimbabwe and Cote D'Ivoire alongside multi-parties and poor economic performance (Boone & Kriger 2012: 76-78; 106-107). Land redistribution by force can be used to reward supporters, punish detractors and even strip them off their citizenship.

Mueller (2009) identifies the causes of electoral violence in Kenya as: decreasing state control of violence, weak and highly personalized institutions which could not check excesses of politicians and their armed followers and the winner take all system coupled with ethnicity and patronage. These factors cumulatively raise the stakes of electoral outcome among the politicians. The politicians 'privatized' violence in order to pursue their political interests (Mueller, 2009: 46, 150-51). The Kenyan experience is similar to the Nigerian, Sudan, Cote D'Ivoire and Zimbabwe as indicated in Strauss & Taylor (2012) findings.

Ethiopian government used direct violence rather than proxy to suppress opposition after the 2005 elections, indicating minimal violence perpetrated by the opposition and mainly targeted towards government forces rather than other ethnic groups (Bekoe, 2010:192-94).

Violence is used in tandem with other electoral malpractices such as irregularities, fraud and legal manipulation (Kelly, 2014). Where there is pre-election violence and no violence during voting day, Western election monitors tend to endorse the vote as legitimate to avoid further violence and promote stability. This appears to have been the case in Nigeria, Kenya and Zimbabwe (Bekoe, 2010: 72-73, 160; Hyde & Susan, 2011).

What Mueller (2009) calls privatization may more appropriately be referred to as delegated or proxy violence. This becomes viable where there is a relatively professional and de-ethnicized security sector; therefore the ruler may not be sure of their loyalty in illegitimate prosecution of violence as can be seen in Kenya under President Daniel Moi, 1992 and 1997, Mwai Kibaki, 2007/8. It is also meant to cushion the security sector from culpability where international monitoring is significant. The strategy also avoids the risk of dividing the security forces along political/ethnic lines thus endangering sustainability of the ruling regime or further escalation of uncontrolled violence.

In Cote D'Ivoire under the regime of Ivorian Popular Front (IPF), youth militias were encouraged to attack opposition under government protection while the Bakasi Boys in Nigeria were linked to politicians (Boone & Kriger, 2012: 102). This option is not necessary in Museveni's Uganda where he has personal control of the military, level of democratization is low and the international community's tradition of handling regimes that have turned their countries' violent past around, (post Idi Amin Uganda and Post Genocide Rwanda), with kid gloves. Authoritarian regimes can manipulate control of state organs through controlling the security sector, judiciary and control of state administration (Norris, 2014:3).

Electoral violence has also been associated with closeness of electoral race, extent of electoral fraud or presence of international monitors (Salehyan et al., 2012; Sundberg & Melander, 2013). Other causes are: neglected land rights, political incitement, formation of gangs, institutional failure, ethnic based politics, depth of social cleavages and economic stress (Bekoe, 2012).

Democracy in Africa

The African democratic rule has evolved since political liberalization in the early 1990s. Dictatorial rules and military regimes witnessed in Uganda under Idi Amin, Equatorial Guinea under Macias Nguema, Bokassa in Central Africa Republic (CAR) and Mobutu in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) have waned (Goldsmith, 2015). Multi-parties/liberal democracies have emerged and even where single parties dominate, there is relative respect for constitutionalism, rule of law and human rights, however civil liberties have remained restricted (Freedom House, 2017).

Among factors supporting liberalization is the global thawing of the East-West divide signified by fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 (end of cold war/wind of change), reduced support of dictators by the United States (US) and Soviet Union, development partners support for elections through funding and observation, expanded space for judiciary, legislatures, civil society and media (Goldsmith, 2010).

Peacebuilding

From experience in Togo and Zanzibar, managing electoral violence through post-election agreements often involves power sharing, international involvement and institutional reforms (Bekoe, 2010: 117-44). According to the author these agreements succeed when the involvement of international community is credible, reforms proposed are well implemented and mechanisms for consultations between the parties are present. Experience in Ghana indicates that in hotly contested areas coupled with social tensions and weak institutions, violence would most likely happen (Oduro, 2010: 218-21). Unlike in other African countries, the policies put in place by the government and non-state actors forestalled the escalation of violence. The role of electoral/democracy monitoring is crucial especially where the state is dependent on foreign aid and therefore it needs to appear responsive to democracy and good governance as required by donors (Kelly, 2014).

The Nexus between Democracy and Peacebuilding

In some literature, democratization is perceived as an expected inevitable and linear norm as experienced in the Western world. The peacebuilding paradigm also suffers the same presumptions elevating individual agency above communal approach (Call & Cook, 2003). These perspectives also promote top-down approaches rather than homegrown solutions for stability and good governance in a country (Carothers, 2002).

Both democratization and peacebuilding literature have recognized the need for long-term approach rather than focusing on single issues. Peace agreements does not mark the end of conflict but the beginning of the implementation of peacebuilding initiatives. Democracy and peacebuilding processes are concerned with enhancing peace, preventing conflict and promoting good governance. However, there are instances where democratization can jeopardize peacebuilding and vice versa (Call & Cook, 2003). Both processes acknowledge the importance of grassroots participation, guaranteeing civil rights, strengthening institutions and diffusion of the 'winner takes all' effects. They also recognize the need for enhancing delivery of justice and strengthening the rule of law. Literature also predicate democratization on the presence of peace and security.

Differences in both democratization and peacebuilding can be noted in a number of factors. While international peacebuilding is often welcome, external democratization is often seen as interference with the administration of local affairs. Indeed, most of the literature on peacebuilding focuses on making external efforts more effective in local context rather questioning its desirability. These approaches promote Western values, institutions and practices as the best model for application to fragile states. International participation in peacebuilding is perceived as legitimate despite its often-potential negative consequences (Carothers, 2002).

Democratization has informed national debates on the best system of governance through constitution making, determining electoral system, devolution, governance institutions and separation of powers, among others. Peacebuilding has not enjoyed that political space (Call & Cook, 2003). Both approaches also recognize the need for state monopoly of the instruments of violence. However, democratization literature does not state how wars and violence impact democratization yet many established democracies including the United States, France, Germany and Japan are products of war (Call & Cook, 2003). There is inadequate research on best approaches, strategies of dual democracy and peacebuilding models that would be most appropriate and effective in any given context. Research continues on the best model for each country as witnessed in challenges of state formation in South Sudan and state stabilization in Somalia today.

Democracy, Elections and Peacebuilding in East Africa

Majority of countries in East Africa have faced electoral conflicts after political liberalization ushered by the end of cold war. Kenya, Uganda, Burundi, Rwanda have faced severe levels of conflict while Tanzania has faced low scale conflict especially in Zanzibar. Kenya went through conflicts after political liberalization in the 1990s (Oucho, 2008; Ngunyi & Katumanga, 2014). Elections and political parties' formation assumed ethnic dimension with perceived repercussions on incumbent's vulnerability, fragility of the democratic experiment and recourse to violence as a means of forcing compliance where there was legitimacy deficit (Oucho, 2008).

Where local state capacity is weak and the country has a history of political violence, elections tend to exacerbate violence in the short run (Goldsmith, 2015:3). Many African states conduct elections to create a veneer of democracy to please the international community and to avoid political and economic sanctions. The pace of democratization through elections is important in the formative stages to avoid conflict (Brancarti & Snyder, 2012). In the long run as free, fair and non-violent elections become the most legitimate variable for leadership in a given country, prospects for durable peace rise as can be seen in Botswana, Malawi, Zambia, Tanzania, Namibia, Kenya, Ghana and Nigeria.

Political violence in semi-democratic countries is caused by a number of factors that include increased social mobilization, expanded political participation and liberalization that weakens state institutions (Goldsmith, 2010:9). However regimes that are transparent, accountable and have gained legitimacy through popular representation and administrative capacity can forestall violence. Countries that are more democratic are less violent (Goldsmith, 2010:14).

In Kenya's 2007/8 scenario, the political parties may have 'privatized' violence borrowing from past political culture where violence had been legitimized as a crucial determinant of electoral outcome. The likely viability of this option in Kenya's liberalized political dispensation after Moi's departure, where opposition parties gained more leeway, limited state monopoly of power, amidst international community's oversight for democratic values and human rights protection may also have made it a viable option. However, this is a costly short term survival tactic, in the long run it provides political space for informal organized armed groups such as Mungiki, Sabaot Land Defense Forces (SLDF) and Mombasa Republican Army (MRC) among others that may evolve into an independent source of threat to national security, law and order (Ngunyi & Katumanga, 2014).

Ugandan political system does not provide for structural democratic transformation, while there is popular participation at the lower levels, collusive state-business relations, nepotism and patronage dominate at the apex (Mutebi & Hickey, 2013). The polity is still faced with critical political questions on the role of the constitution, elections, the military and presidential succession (Makara, 2010; Opiyo et al. 2013; Ssempebwa, 2015).

Background of Uganda's Political History

Uganda has had a tumultuous political history since it was granted independence from the British in 1962. After independence power was to be shared between Baganda's political party (Kabaka Yekka) and Milton Obote's Uganda People's Congress (UPC). Therefore Kabaka Mutesa II became a ceremonial president while Obote became Executive Prime Minister - a perceived unholy alliance that would soon crumble (Asiimwe, 2014). After the 1964 referendum on the two lost counties of Buganda[1] in 1964, Uganda would not hold elections for the next sixteen years.

The presence of two centers of power after the Buganda leader, Kabaka Muteesa from Kabaka Yekka (KY) political party was elected president and Milton Obote of the United Peoples Congress (UPC) became Prime Minister (the Uganda Agreement of 1900 provided for a special position for Buganda (Apter, 1995:7). Due to the unsustainable and conflicting political power play, the system collapsed when Obote decided to remove the president by force using the military through Col. Idi Amin in 1966 thereby abrogating the independence constitution and introducing the military into Ugandan elite politics (Uzoigwe, 1983:3; Apter, 1995:8). Buganda and other kingdoms were also abolished and a state of emergency declared. The suppression of traditional rulership in Uganda inhibited democratic rule and peacebuilding.

After a new constitution was proclaimed in 1967, it made Uganda a unitary state and made the president the supreme source of authority with support of the military overriding parliament and practically made the country de facto one party state (Uzoigwe, 1983:14). With the overthrow of Obote by Idi Amin in 1971, Uganda went through an 8-year period of dictatorial and brutal military rule (Uzoigwe, 1983:15, Apter, 1995:8). After Amin was deposed in 1979, Ugandan went through a series of failed democratic experiments which saw the return of Obote's short stint rule, 1980-2. Obote's second rule seemed to have learned nothing from the

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1 *A local referendum held in November 1964 to decide whether the "lost counties" of Buyaga and Bugangaizi (in modern day Kibaale District) should continue to be part of the Kingdom of Buganda or be transferred back to the Kingdom of Bunyoro or be established as a separate district; the residents voted for the return to Bunyoro.*

past and was accused of human rights abuse, violence and intimidation (Amnesty International, 1981/82; Apter, 1995:9).

The elections of 1980 were deemed unfair by political analysts though declared valid by the commonwealth observer mission (Uzoigwe, 1983:19). An internal armed struggle (1981-86) ensued after the disputed election. The leader Yoweri Museveni of the National Resistance Movement (NRM) emerged triumphant in 1986 from whence he has ruled the country to date.

Evolution of Political Violence in Uganda

Political violence in Uganda may be traced to the British colonial occupation and political resistance by local social groups from 1890 to 1962 (Mushemeza, 2001; Karugire, 1980). Through the use of indirect rule, the colonialist used established kingdoms such as Buganda to dominate other regions of the country. With colonial inland socio-economic and cultural penetration came new values of capitalism and foreign religion such as Catholic and Protestant, a factor that would later influence politics, democratization and violence (Karugire, 1980). Islam had been introduced by the Arab traders to the Kabaka (King) in the 1840s.

Colonial political reforms provided space for political organization after internal political struggle that culminated in the London Constitutional Conference of 1960. Independence saw the rise of Apollo Milton Obote as Prime Minister and the Kabaka as a ceremonial president. Violence was used as an instrument of control where consent from the governed was lacking due to perceived lack of legitimacy. Democracy as an avenue for peoples' voice was progressively curtailed as violence was used to determine political competition among the ruling elites (Karugire, 1980).

Between 1962 and 1966 the country was engulfed in a power struggle for political supremacy between the two offices, which culminated in an attack, and subsequent exile of the Kabaka in 1966; Obote used the military then led by Col. Idi Amin to resolve civil conflict. Obote abrogated the 1962 constitution and installed his own in 1967 that consolidated power in the presidency. Through these strategic political choices, Obote established control and use of force/institutionalized violence, as a determinant of political competition, a factor that informs Ugandan politics to date (Asiimwe, 2014:3). This marked a significant blow to democratization in Uganda.

The political atmosphere was quite favourable to Amin's coup in 1971. However, given his lack of adequate formal education and erratic character, he ushered a reign of terror hardly witnessed before in East Africa. With his overthrow by a combination of local resistance forces under the umbrella (Uganda National Liberation Front (UNLF) and Tanzanian People's Defense Forces (TPDF) in 1979, a new power struggled ensued. During the 2006 elections there were allegations of human rights abuse, torture and disappearance perpetrated by the ruling party against members of the main opposition party (Asiimwe, 2014:18).

Electoral Violence in Uganda

Most violence episodes in Uganda are associated with disputed regime transitional order (Khisa, 2015:17; Asiimwe, 2014:2). The current peace and stability is pegged on the legitimacy of the current president, where the military offers the backbone of the leadership. It is not clear and certain that a new president will receive the same loyalty and therefore constitutionalism and politics in Uganda remain unpredictable while state civil institutions remain weak and civil society is vulnerable to state manipulation and repression (Khisa, 2015:16; Asiimwe, 2014:2).

Constitutional Democracy in Uganda

Constitutionalism in this study refers to *'an arrangement by which power is organized within a state so that its exercise is accountable to a set of laws beyond the reproach of those who exercise those powers'* (Tandon, 1994:225; Opiyo et al., 2013). As previous sections have indicated constitutional democracy has been a challenge in Uganda. In the constitution of Uganda, Members of Parliament (MPs) are appointed as cabinet ministers, which compromise their positions through mixing executive with legislative authority (Opiyo et al., 2013). The Executive also has an overbearing influence on the legislature.

The political history of Uganda has been marked by dictatorship both military and civilian, tyranny, political violence, disputed electoral outcomes, civil wars and military coups (Opiyo, et al., 2013). The first independent constitutional framework that brought together Kabaka Mutesa as the president and Apollo Milton Obote as Prime Minister proved unworkable by 1966. It was replaced by an interim constitution, then referred to as the 'pigeonhole constitution' of 1966. The new constitution was replaced by the Republican Constitution of 1967. The 1967 constitution was later violently set aside by the Idi Amin's dictatorial regime (1971-79) and Obote II (1980-85), (Opiyo, et al., 2013). These unconstitutional leadership suppressed the will of the people, promoted instability and produced unfair and disputed elections.

Though Uganda enjoyed tremendous hope in constitutional democracy after the victory of the Yoweri Museveni's National Resistance Movement/Army (NRA/M), that took power in 1986, and the subsequent promulgation of a new constitution in 1995; subsequent constitutional changes, autocratic tendencies, abuse of human rights, patrimonialism and electoral malpractices reversed collective societal expectations (Asiimwe, 2014:2).

The NRM instituted measures to end conflicts and restore democracy and constitutionalism - the rule of law. A new constitution was put in place in 1995 through a consultative and inclusive process. It was hailed by observers as a progressive constitution for being gender responsive and sensitive to the less fortunate groups in society. It vested all powers in the people of Uganda, who were to be governed according to their will and consent expressed through regular, free and fair elections (Opiyo, et al., 2013; Khisa, 2015).

Political parties were banned in 1986 having been blamed for past societal divisions and political instability. The new constitution was amended in 2005 to allow for political pluralism as the new global trend of democratization took shape. The government of Uganda allowed multi-parties in 2005 after a 20 year ban. This was ushered by the review of the 1995 constitution where presidential term limits were abolished and the independence of the Judiciary and legislature curtailed with open demonstration of the supremacy of the military in Ugandan politics as a military siege of the High Court took place in November, 2005 (Khisa, 2015:12; Asiimwe, 2014:2).

During the first decade of the NRM government, there were positive attempts to develop a broad based governance system with different political factions being incorporated into the NRM unity government. A unified military incorporating NRM and other groups was created and civil administrative structures in the form of National Resistance Councils (NRC) were established to promote participation (McDonough, 2008). However, by 1996 restrictions on some political groups emerged. The government increased capacity to respond to the citizens' socio-economic needs and therefore given past poor governance in Uganda, it enjoyed widespread legitimacy (McDonough, 2008).

Lack of effective constitutionalism and rule of law has been one of the major causes of violent conflicts and political instability in Uganda (Opiyo et al. 2013). The winner takes all presidential model continue to exclude perceived losers of the electoral process. Lack of strong devolution also hinders effective community participation. Federalism remains an attractive model especially in Buganda that previously enjoyed such status (Opiyo et al. 2013).

Elections in Ugandan Politics

Perceived illegitimacy of elections in Uganda has been cited as one of the key factors informing political violence. Elections did not determine who rules Uganda from 1967 to 1980 and from 1985 to 1989. Elections of 1980, 1989, 1996, 2001, 2006, 2011 and 2016 were all marred by electoral malpractices and violence (Makara et al., 1996, 2003; Apter, 1995; Asiimwe, 2014; Khisa, 2015; Freedom House, 2017).

Uganda was ruled under the no party NRM system from 1986-1995, when a new constitution allowed the reintroduction of multi-parties (Makara, 2010:4). Unlike the common trend of presidential term limits in Kenya and Tanzania, the political dispensation in Uganda scrapped the two term limits; a severe limitation on the democratic space (Makara, 2010:4).

Opposition parties are often intimidated by government agencies as has happened to the Forum for Democratic Change (FDC) since 2001-2016 elections (Makara, 2010:6; Freedom House, 2017). The security agents illegally dispersed opposition rallies and arrested opposition leaders. The electoral legal regime has been cited as an impediment to free and fair elections although others doubt the law as being the most important issue as there is no predictable and acceptable constitutional order (Khisa, 2015:15).

Despite the NRM leadership having restored law and order and improved the well-being of Ugandan's citizens, a number of shortcomings of past elections are cited: not all stakeholders are confident with past elections, no level playing field, intolerance for political dissent, removal of presidential term limits, unaccountability of elected leaders, corruption and in-conducive political culture (KAF, 2011).

Media, Freedom of the Press and Speech

There are over 100 FM Radio stations, seven TV Stations in Uganda, several National Newspapers, Internet and mobile phone service providers (Makara, 2014:9). These spaces provide avenue for citizen participation in public affairs. However, journalists are often arrested for their views in the media and a number of media houses are controlled by the government or owned by government-affiliated politicians.

Freedom of the press improved after NRM came into power. Uganda was ranked among the 'not free' and 'partly free' in the press freedom survey of 2017 (Freedom House, 2017). There have been occasions of media harassment in the past including in 2001, 2005 and 2011 (Asiimwe, 2014:22; Opiyo et al. 2013; Goldsmith, 2015).

Compared to past brutal regimes, the NRM government has improved the human rights record with an operational Uganda Human Rights Commission and law enforcement organizations however; the effectiveness and independence of these institutions is in question (Opiyo et al. 2013).

Civil Society Organizations (CSO) Democratic and Peacebuilding Space

At the beginning of the NRM government, development partners tended to favour the government for funding as opposed to the CSOs. Resistant Councils (RCs) formed at the grassroots created a more legitimate space in post war Uganda; this tended to limit space for CSO (Onyango & Barya, 1997). CSOs are critical in promoting civic participation and government accountability in the delivery of social services. While the CSO sector has grown phenomenally in Uganda, its space in monitoring governance has been limited due to limiting regulations. For example, CSOs are legally muzzled by a requirement for annual license renewals that can be denied on security grounds.

Given the democratic deficit in the polity where even political parties have limited space, CSO contribution has been affected (Khisa, 2015). The potential for CSO grass root contribution to sustainable peace in the country is immense given their local penetration (Vinck et al. 2007). For example, the CSOs have participated in peacebuilding in northern Uganda with remarkable success.

Political Parties and Political Dynamics

Political parties are yet to assume the role of custodian of democratic governance in Uganda. While the ruling party (NRM) is strong and enjoy military support, the other parties are yet to prove a threat to the ruling party. Political parties were first established in Uganda in the 1950s: Uganda National Congress (UNC), 1952; Democratic Party (DP) Catholic, 1954; Uganda's People's Congress (UPC) Protestant, 1960 and Kabaka Yekka, Protestant, 1962. Milton Obote introduced a one party system in 1966 thereby limiting democratic space through single voice authoritarianism (Asiimwe, 2014).

Rule through political parties was interrupted by Idi Amin's military leadership (1971-79) and civil war (1981-86). The country was run through NRM single party movement for 20 years until, 2005. Though other parties continue to exist their political operation space was severely curtailed (Makara, 2009:4). Multi-parties were re-introduced for various reasons including internal NRM squabbles, donor pressure and regional influence (Makara et. al, 2009:3). From early 1990s donors made political pluralism a condition for external aid.

Political parties in Uganda are regulated through the Political Parties Oversight Act (PPOA) of 2005 where all political parties are required to register with the Electoral Commission (EC); the criteria for registration is well spelt out (Makara, 2010:9). A requirement for disclosure of financial accounts is often flouted by all the parties due to lack of transparency. The EC has been accused by opposition parties of being biased in favour of the government. In the 2001 and 2006 elections, the High Court ruled that the EC did not conduct free and fair elections (Makara, 2010:10).

Despite political pluralism, the political playing field remains uneven and the government is reluctant to accept legal reforms and police harassment of the opposition remain potent (Makara, 2010:12). The touted removal of presidential term limits portends additional challenges to the politics of multipartism and weakening of institutions.

Parliament

The parliament of Uganda is made up of 375 members. Political analysts find the number too big and ineffective for the country (Opiyo et al., 2013). There has been a proposal by a constitutional review commission for a ratio of one Member of Parliament for every 200 000 (i.e. 1:200,000) citizens. Currently members of parliament determine their remuneration, a practice that limits accountability. Given the other factors mentioned in this study, parliament of Uganda is far from being independent from the executive. There have been calls for the establishment of a Bi-Cameral parliament to increase independence and make it a stronger conflict resolution mechanism (Opiyo et al., 2013:28).

The Judiciary

Like other arms of democratic governance in Uganda, the judiciary is no less subservient to the executive (Khisa, 2015). The judiciary has borrowed heavily from the British jurisprudence owing to the history of colonialism. In August 2016, vigilantes were mobilized to stop private prosecution of the Inspector General of Police, General Kale Kayihura (Kabumba, 2016). In 2013 the judiciary ordered the police to leave the premises of the Monitor newspaper but the order was ignored (Kabumba, 2016:14). In 2007, the court released suspected members of the Peoples Redemption Army (PRA) but the police cordoned off the area. Earlier on in Uganda's history, in 1972, during Idi Amin's reign, Chief Justice Ben Kiwanuka was kidnapped and murdered (Kabumba, 2016). Presidential election petitions have not succeeded to change the electoral outcome in 2001, 2006 and 2016 (Monitor, 2016).

The courts also do not enjoy financial independence, their allocation being dependent on the goodwill of parliament and the executive (Kabumba, 2016).

The Special Role of the Military in Uganda Politics

The constitution of Uganda provides that the Uganda Peoples Defence Forces (UPDF) shall be non-partisan, national in character, patriotic, professional, disciplined, productive and subordinate to civilian authority (Constitution of Uganda, 1995, Article 208 (2)). The same constitution made the military part of the legislature (Constitution of Uganda, 1995, Article 78 (1). This provision makes the political impartiality of the military questionable. Compared to previous Ugandan militaries, the UPDF is regarded as highly disciplined but; their representatives in parliament always vote according to the wishes of the executive (Opiyo et al. 2013).

Many Ugandan authors have noted the historically predominant role of the military in the Ugandan politics (Opiyo et al. 2013; Khisa, 2015; Asiimwe, 2014). The act of president Obote calling for military support to resolve his political differences with the Kabaka is cited as the opening of the 'Pandora's box' (Mutibwa, 1992; Karugire, 1980). The authors note that this singular act opened the gate for Amin's putsch in 1971 and the subsequent seven-year reign of terror. The disputed elections of 1980 ushered a five-year civil strife that culminated in a short-lived military rule in 1985 and eventual military victory of the NRM in 1985. This militarization of politics in Uganda remains a significant feature of the country's political dispensation to date (Khisa, 2015: 18).

Threats of a military takeover from senior government officials whenever the Executive clashes with Parliament demonstrate its special role in the country's politics (Khisa, 2015: 19). The military has ten appointed representatives in parliament; their role in a liberal/multi-party democratic system is unclear. The lack of clarity compromises their apolitical stand when they vote for or against bills in parliament. Additionally, military personnel are also appointed in the police service and other civilian domains but, to date, the military in Uganda has not been subordinated to civilian control (Khisa, 2015:20, Makara, 2009:8). Interestingly, the face of the military is found in the opposition parties; Col (RTD.) Kiza Besigye was the head of the opposition and was succeeded by another ex-military, Maj. General (RTD.) Mugisha Muntu (Khisa, 2015:20).

The dominance of the military in the country's governance system continue to hamper the growth of other institutions. For example, the military role in the in internal security is thought to curtail the development of a professional police force. Further, there have been accusations of paramilitary groups established by members of the armed forces being used to intimidate opposition parties in 2001 (Asiimwe, 2014:21).

Challenges of Electoral Violence, Democratic Consolidation and Peacebuilding

The special role of former guerrillas turned civilian rulers in a number of African countries such as Angola, Zimbabwe, Rwanda, Burundi, Ethiopia, South Sudan and Uganda provide a different perspective of democratic consolidation in Africa.

Some regimes seem to be adorning civilian attire but retaining military approaches in national governance. Regular elections are held to provide a veneer of democracy especially to the Western donors who hold the purse strings but they don't bring any real change. Civil society and the media lack the free space needed to enhance civic participation and peacebuilding. Free and fair elections cannot be guaranteed where the primary source of power is not the peoples' votes but one controlled by means of violence.

Political and electoral violence emerge in this atmosphere thereby hindering democratic consolidation and sustainable peace. As this study has indicated the rule of law has not emerged as the supreme determinant of governance in Uganda thereby posing a threat to human rights and democracy.

Prospects for Sustainable Democracy and Peacebuilding in Uganda

Political transformation and constitutionalism in Uganda remains an unfinished business needed to ensure stability and peace in the country. Local political elites, civil society, the military, judiciary, parliament and the international community have a role to play in order to ensure peaceful evolution of politics in Uganda.

Promotion of good governance and rule of law require building capacity of state institutions, addressing the root causes of conflict, improving delivery of services such as health, education, and maintaining law and order through security sector reforms, access to justice and dispute settlement as some of the strategies for democratic peacebuilding.

Power sharing (formal or informal), fair electoral rules and strong Electoral Management Bodies (EMB), strong Judiciary, credible commitment to the rule of law, devolution, democratization (constitution, parties, media, CSO), democratic culture, good governance (accountability, rule of law, justice system), institution building, human rights monitoring law, justice system, truth and reconciliation commission and trauma healing are some of the measures taken to move conflict prone countries to a stable future (Lake & Rothschild, 1996).

There is still a need to address democracy deficits, political conflicts and civic participation for good governance in Uganda (Khisa, 2015; Goldsmith, 2015, Opiyo, et al., 2013). Indeed, it is necessary in any democratic system for elections to be done in an atmosphere where the laws and procedures facilitate for citizens expression of their will and consent. The Electoral Commission of Uganda is mandated by the constitution to perform this role. However, past ECs in Uganda have, either out of incompetence or deliberate manipulation, produced contested electoral outcomes leading to confrontation and wars (Ssempebwa, 2015; Opiyo, et al., 2013).

The doctrine of separation of powers in democratic governance is meant to increase accountability through provision of checks and balances between the Executive, Judiciary and Legislative arms of government. This system enhances political stability through establishment of rule of law and predictable resolution of conflicts. The two terms limit put in place in Uganda by the amended 1995 constitution should be re-instated to create a predictable political future that gives hope to dissenting political voices about the possibility of alternative leadership through a democratic process. This avenue promotes stability, sustainable peace and security (Opiyo, et al. 2013:24).

Uganda as a member of the East African Community (EAC), which provides for political federation, should fulfill its obligations in the EAC. The EAC treaty states that, 'in order to realize the objectives of EAC, partner states should observe fundamental principles such as good governance – adherence to democratic principles, rule of law, accountability, transparency, social justice, equal opportunity, gender equality, and the recognition, promotion and protection of human rights in accordance with the African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights (EAC, 2007). Kenya and Tanzania have provided positive regional role models in adhering to the presidential term limits, with predictable peaceful transfer of power (Opiyo et al. 2013). The two countries are also offering good models of separation of powers with the parliament and Judiciary gradually assuming their rightful democratic positions.

The preamble to the EAC treaty provides for civil society organizations and private sector participation in peace and security consolidation (Article, 7, 127). The treaty emphasizes the creation of 'an enabling environment for the private sector and civil society, strengthening the private sector and cooperation among business organizations and professional bodies' (EAC Treaty, Chapter 25). CSOs have been making use of these provisions to agitate for constitutional reforms in Uganda (Opiyo, et al. 2013).

Conclusion

This study has shed light on electoral violence in East Africa and Uganda in particular noting its continued hindrance to democratization and peacebuilding. Elections remain a cardinal yardstick for democratization and by extension sustainable peace. Promotion of free and fair elections in the region will provide citizen's confidence in the governance systems. Lack of legitimacy in governance can erode citizen's faith and thereby open possibilities for recourse to electoral violence. Election Management Bodies require capacity building and the requisite resources and freedom to deliver credible elections. Where electoral disputes arise, the judiciary should offer credible judgments in order to strengthen faith in the rule of law.

Though 'Western' based democratic models face challenges in countries where ruling regimes acquired power through the gun, there is still hope for transitioning to the power of the ballot based on historical, socio-economic and political contexts of each country. Elections being only one aspect of democratization can only gain roots when other aspects such as rule of law, professional and apolitical security sector, separation of powers, freedom of the press and civil society, protection of human rights, government accountability and transparency develop in tandem.

The current political stability in East Africa can be streamlined into sustainable peace through the strategies analysed in this study.

Recommendations

- There is a need for further research on electoral violence in East Africa to examine the following in order to gauge level of vulnerability to electoral violence and the choice of appropriate peacebuilding strategy:

    - Relations/interface between nature of governance, political history and culture

    - Nature and role of the military in politics, socio-ethnic composition

    - Level of democratization and institution building

- Nature of external involvement and legitimacy of government and the opposition parties

- The future and possibility of East African Community Federation and its implications to democracy and sustainable peace

- There is also a need for EAC, African Union (AU) and United Nations (UN) to provide more assistance in democratic consolidation and peacebuilding in East Africa

- The international community should understand the historical context of different countries in East Africa and provide context tailored democratic and peacebuilding strategies

- Governance in Uganda need to be progressively based on democratic principles in order to realize sustainable peace.

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Women Participation in Electoral Processes in East Africa: The Case of Somalia

Col Nduwimana Donatien

Introduction

Elections give voice to every person in the community and allow all interested citizens to directly engage in politics and participate in the discussion of how the society will be ruled. The electoral process includes a long list of activities from the organisation of elections, campaigns, voting, vote counting and declaration of results. Women have not had enough space in both political engagement and decision making processes worldwide due to political marginalisation. Only 22.8 per cent of all national parliamentarians were women as of June 2016, a slow increase from 11.3 per cent in 1995 (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2017) .

In sub-Saharan Africa, women occupy 23.6% of political leadership with Rwanda having the highest number of women parliamentarians worldwide having won 63.8 per cent of seats in the lower house (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2017).

Most of African countries currently recognize the right of women to equally participate in politics, but women remain disadvantaged and marginalized in many political settings. Gender equality was first declared a development agenda in the United Nations Charter of 1945, and was subsequently addressed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948). The Maputo Protocol on the Rights of Women in Africa, which has 46 signatories, guarantees comprehensive rights to women including the right to take part in the political processes and to social and political equality with men.

Men and women shall have an equal opportunity in involvement in different forms of the political system including voting in elections, holding political positions, judiciary, ministers or head of state (Abdi, 2007). As of January 2017, 10 women were serving as Heads of State and nine as Heads of Government (UN Women, 2017).

The realization of the effective participation of both women and men in the political and decision-making processes in an equal manner is the obligation of the state. Their participation in decision-making is vital to achieving equality, development and peace. Unfortunately, women continue to contend with limited political space in their quest to exert influence in the public sphere (Ndubi, 2009). The 4th World Conference on Women of 1995, and World Summit for Social Development of 1995, affirmed that inequalities still persist in women's political representation despite the progress made globally in improving their status.

In East Africa, the situation of women participation in politics is not much different. Most of countries have signed international treaties on women empowerment, key among them being the African Union's Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa (2004), the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (2003), the African Plan of Action to Accelerate the Implementation of the Dakar and Beijing Platforms for Action for the Advancement of Women (1999) and the Constitutive Act of the African Union, the Dakar Platform for Action (1994). Tanzania was the first country in the region to include 30% quota representation in her national constitution in 1998 followed by Rwanda. In the other countries, including Somalia, women still experience very low representation and are generally invisible in political processes.

The conflict in Somalia is largely fuelled by poverty and inter-clan contexts in a society that is founded on a deep clan-based culture with a strong pastoral tradition (Bashir Ali Osman, 2015). The ravages of conflict and entrenched poverty are compounded by the lack of a functioning centralized government.

Somalia signed and ratified the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights in 1985, and has also signed but not ratified the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (the Maputo Protocol) of 2006 and nor has it signed The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). The clan system '*Diya*' based on kinship is thought to be behind the refusal to recognize international treaties on empowerment of women. *Diya* group members are linked together in alliances, which collectively pay or receive blood compensation for violence committed against or by members of the group. The membership status of women in the *Diya* differs from that of men; for example, they do not count as paying members and payments (blood compensation) go directly to the men.

Despite the advocacy for a quota of 30% of representation in all political institutions, the participation and role of women in politics and decision-making spheres in Somalia is extremely limited which, perpetuates narrow gender-based roles and inequalities. To address these issues, this study seeks to identify factors that propagate inequality between men and women in the sharing of power and decision-making at all levels and strategies to expand the role of Somali women in leadership.

Female Political Representation in East Africa

In the East African Community there has been a significant improvement in women's participation in decision-making. Gender policies that promote gender mainstreaming in all East African countries are in place, making it mandatory to have women in positions of leadership. However, a number of challenges exist that need to be addressed.

- Women who aspire for political leadership through election are affected by low literacy levels, lack of resources for their campaigns, limited political experience and cultural and traditional beliefs that still place women at "home" rather than in political leadership.

- Reluctance by women to compete for political leadership due to economic, cultural and political environment that is at times plagued by violence.

- Intimidation of female voters by their spouses thereby preventing some women from participating in campaigns and/or voting for candidates of their choice. In addition some women are not supported by their spouses when they aspire to join politics. This discourages some qualified women from joining politics (Tenth Commonwealth Women's Affairs Ministers Meeting on Women's Leadership for Enterprise, 2013).

Currently Rwanda and Tanzania are ahead in terms of female representation in politics. According to the statistics available from the Inter-Parliamentary Union, Rwanda is ranked first with 64% of its parliament composed of women, followed by Tanzania 37%, Burundi 36%, Uganda 34.2% with Kenya lagging behind with 21.3% (Women in National Parliament, situation as of 1st September 2017).

Background of Women Participation in Politics in Somalia

The pre-colonial and colonial periods in Somalia was characterized by a patriarchal system where the exercise of power and authority was exclusively a male domain (Kaptreijns, 2010). Traditionally, Somali women have been seen as playing a passive role in decision-making, both in the family and public spheres. After independence, the patriarchal system continued to function (Markus & Ingiriis, 2013).

Since 1991, the Somali people, especially women and children, have suffered the effects of war. The war has perpetuated gender-based violence as well as coercion and discrimination in various dimensions of politics, economy and socio-cultural aspects (US Dept of State, 2007).

The African Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) deployed since March 2007, has been trying to advance the rights of women and has supported different Governments of Somalia to develop policies and frameworks to ensure gender inclusion and participation.

The government of Somalia (GoS) in partnership with other parteners (AMISOM, United Nations, among others), has developed initiatives to ensure that the 30% representation quota for women is supported and implemented. The GoS is committed to mobilise women to register for elective positions, and to lobby and sensitize clan elders on the critical role women play in decision-making.

Despite these efforts, clan leaders continue deaming and frustrating women's efforts seeking political leaderships. They are still stuck to the somali culture norms that do not allow women to seek leadership positions and are unwilling to grant them clan leadership.

However, there is a positive sign in certain parts of Somalia where the perceptions of some clan elders are changing as they are accepting more women in leadership. Since 2000, women became constantly present in Somali politics. The first time women entered in national politics after 1991 was at the Arta conference when out of 245 parliamentarians, 25 seats were allocated to women. The Transitional National Government created in Arta, had for the first time in the history of Somalia a female Minister (Ingiriis and Markus, 2013).

Statement of the Problem

The limited leadership roles of women in local and national political spheres remains a serious concern worldwide. As a result of the rigid cultural/religious and patriarchal norms as well as the effects of war and anarchy, Somalia has been lagging behind all the sub-Sahara countries in terms of gender equality and gender mainstreaming in the public sphere. In administration and leadership positions, Islamic law (*Shari'a*) does not allow women to be a head of any state. Also the Somali culture does not explicitly state whether Somali women can hold traditional leadership positions or political offices (UNICEF, 2002).

Women and girls make up about 50% of the Somali population and the gross inequalities and inhuman conditions they endure both as a result of the conflict, and in general, is a key factor contributing to Somalia's extremely poor human development index (Somalia NHDR, 2014). The situation of Somali women is particularly dire and presents real concerns for their fair treatment, access to justice and overall human rights protection. Of the 1.5 million people that are currently displaced, 600,000 are women and more than 80% of them have no access to safe maternal delivery (ICRC, 2015). Many of the displaced women are widows and heads of households with hardly any access to property, health care and education. Somalia's poverty levels are higher than all the conflict-affected countries in sub-Saharan Africa (UNDP, 2002). The country's per capita income in 2002 was estimated at $226 (compared to $515 in Sub-Saharan Africa). Thus, Somalia is one of the poorest countries in the world. The UNDP's Human Development Index ranked Somalia 123 out of 130 countries in 2000 (Bradbury et al., 2001:46).

While women have held important leadership roles in Somalia and enjoy some level of recognition and popularity, they are neither adequately acknowledged, nor given opportunities to speak in public events. The interpretation of the Islamic religion and Somali culture do not allow women to speak in public and especially in the presence of men. In Mogadishu and Garowe, some men continue to openly oppose women when they stand up to speak or to express their views, which results in public embarrassment. This intimidation of women has resulted in fear and they shy away from speaking in public, even when given the chance to do so. This perpetuates the shunning of women from participating in politics and general development activities. As a consequence, the women lack sufficient representation (seats) in local governments, judiciary and the parliamentary and cabinet houses. Without substantive representation or attention to women, the interests and priorities of half of the population are not adequately addressed.

Justification of the Study

Comprehensive development demands that all genders are involved in decision-making and the management of the public sector. The Somali women are increasingly educated and ready to participate in the reconstruction of the country – economy, social and political systems. Women efforts through effective participation in the country are critical in order to advance the wellbeing of the Somali people and in particular, women and girls.

This study aims to interrogate approaches of increasing participation of women in politics while at the same time creating awareness in regard to gender equality and support to women related initiatives. Hopefully, the study can influence the implementation of future laws and policies that recognize the importance of gender parity in decision-making in the country. Further, the study aims to advocate for legislative and constitutional reforms to ensure women's fair access and representation in the political spheres as voters, candidates, elected officials as well as in the civil service. Women inclusion in the public service institutions is vital as women are not only the majority but are productive members of the society similar to their male counterparts.

Research Questions

a) What is the level of participation of men and women in electoral processes in Somalia?

b) What are the factors that hinder women participation in electoral processes in Somalia?

c) What are the opportunities for enhancing equal gender participation in electoral processes in Somalia?

Research Objectives

a) To analyze Somali women/men's roles and participation in politics and public decision-making.

b) To determine barriers and limitations to women participation in politics in Somalia.

c) To identify strategies for enhancing the equal participation (men and women) in electoral processes in Somalia.

Conceptual Framework

Women participation in government has always been a sensitive issue in sub-Saharan Africa. It is a key indicator of democracy and equal distribution of rights, and a critical factor to ensure equitable representation of all aspects of the society.

With regard to Somalia, political participation has been perceived from a male chauvinist view. As such, women have no significant input in the political dispensation. In this regard, the oppression of women and their subordinate positions are thus located in the personal, structural and cultural factors. Cultural factors are linked to stereotypical views about women's abilities within a cultural context (Kasomo, 2012). Also connected to cultural factors is the Somali patriarchal ideology, which provides the context upon which women play and accept a subordinate role.

Structural factors that negatively impact on women include: male resistance to women in leadership positions, absence of policies and legislation to ensure equal participation of women, discriminatory appointments and promotion practices, and limited opportunities for gender mainstreaming (Smulders, 1998). Somali male leaders and particularly clan leaders have taken advantage of these factors to either conceal or legitimize the perpetuation of oppressive gender practices.

The patriarchal perceptions that a woman's primary roles are childbearing, childrearing, and household chores have been altered in some societies, albeit slowly, as the international community, including the United Nations (UN) and African Union take initiatives to promote women's presence and involvement in the socio-political arenas. The quota theory and the theory of change help to work towards greater women's involvement in the public spheres.

The inclusion of women in electoral processes has been established in numerous democratic countries all over the world to increase gender balance in politics especially the quota of women (Sophia Lu, 2016). Quotas are defined as positive reinforcement based on a determined rate for candidacy and representation of a particular sector for elective positions (Dahlerup, 2006). Women have to be visible in decision-making bodies through quota systems. According to Dahlerup (2006), quota systems have two dimensions. The first dimension is "where the quotas system is mandated". This includes the government-level, wherein the electoral law on gender balance is ensued, and the party-level where political parties voluntarily engage in gender quotas for their electoral list.

The second dimension refers to the level of the selection and nomination process, wherein gender balance can be implemented from the list of nominees and/or those already elected to office. Bodies that employ gender quotas may implement different forms of strategies, such as setting deadlines and targets known as "soft quotas." International organizations have been pushing for the equal representation of women in nomination and all decision-making procedures. The basic principle for setting electoral and internal party quotas is to rectify the inherent discriminatory practices and lack of balance in gender relations in political parties and the present political institutions, not the incapacity of women to handle politics. Furthermore, the application of electoral gender quotas is utilized in all levels of governance - national, regional, local and supranational (European Parliament, 2008).

The Theory of Change assumes that social change is a necessary enabler. The effective participation of women in Somalia politics will only occur through processes of significant social change, including in power relations between women and men, and in the values, beliefs, attitudes, behaviours and practices (social norms) at all levels from individuals to communities and institutions.

Given the current sitaution in Somalia, women have stated to take an active interest in politics and are serving in government committees and the People's Assembly. They serve in military units and are active in sports. Opportunities for secondary and higher education had increased for women before the collapse of the government in 1991. Given that many Somali men died during the civil wars, women have learned to fend for themselves. They have shown remarkable adaptability and business acumen. The United Nations and other international organizations launched campaigns since 1990s to help Somali women and girls get better health care, education, and job skills training. Somali citizens, educated abroad, are returning and helping in the reconstruction of the country including the promotion of women specific initiatives.

Literature Review

To understand the political marginalisation of women in Somalia, it is important to review the social status of women in the somali culture. Acording to Adamu and Mekonnen, the gender role in Somalia is used as an ideological tool by patriarchy to place women within the private arena of home as mothers and wives and men in the public sphere (Adamu & Mekonnen, 2009). The clan politics and tribalism is an important factor in the exclusion of women in Somali politics.

In the somali culture, a married woman still belongs to her father's clan and her behavior can reflect on the honor of her father's familly. Her male relatives are therefore committed to protect her and to claim compensation if she is mistreated or murdered. On her side, she is expected to be loyal to her husband's clan to which she is linked through her sons (Ahmed, 2013). A cultural belief in male superiority and greater ability to leadership assigns women inferior positions from a very early

age (Nagaad, 2007). Women were often excluded from the political sphere, and even from discussions on clan issues.

However , Somali women are known, accepted, and expected to exert political influence albeit indirectly through their husbands and their kinsmen. There are legends like that of Araweello, which warn of the dangers of women assuming political leadership. Others, like the wives of the warrior and the leader, Wiil Waal, suggest that women having been denied direct participation in the political process, can and do exert political power through men, particularly their husbands.

As an addition to women initiatives to advance the status of women in politics, the government of Somalia has evolved in terms of legal and institutional frameworks that support gender equality/equity.

The Federal Government of Somalia launched the Somalia National Development Plan (NDP) for the period 2017-2019 which clearly recognizes the importance of addressing gender disparities and the empowerment of women to enhance overall development efforts.

The Government is committed to reform laws and create new policies that have never existed in Somalia, to ensure the protection and promotion of women rights. The NDP states that gender considerations are relevant for peace and development through political participation and good governance. The development plan stresses that peace, stability and development can only be efficiently achieved by addressing the obstacles women face in fully contributing to their country's development (Ahmed, 2016).

Strategically, the NDP prioritises three areas that are necessary preconditions for women empowerment: (i) Creation of legal, policy and institutional environment to achieve gender equality and equal opportunities, (ii) Improving safety and security for women, and (iii) Making available quality gender statistics and information to address gender disparities.

To achieve these priorities, nine areas of focus have been identified; these include (EU Somalia Gender Analysis Study, 2016):

- Enacting and popularizing key legislation and policy frameworks

- Increasing women representation and participation in leadership and politics

- Establishing framework for measuring women rights and gender equality

- Establishing system to track public allocations to gender equality

- Increasing women participation in law enforcement and SNA through special measures

- Reducing incidences of sexual gender-based violence (SGBV)

- Identifying opportunities and barriers for women participation on conflict resolution

- Availing annual gender statistics; and,

- Reducing prevalence of Femae Genital Mutilation (FGM).

1. Participation of Somali Women in Politics

The representation of Somali women in the political arena is a human rights issue, a justice issue, and their participation is critical in rebuilding transformative and inclusive political institutions (Dini, 2016). In Somalia, women have actively participated in different levels of Somalia political leadership despite the existence of various barriers. People have felt the impact of their work and their popularity and effectiveness lives in the minds of the people served. These women are popular because of their humanitarian work and service to the community. Their advocacy work on rights of women and children, programmes on economic empowerment, education and health have had positive impact on their societies. These women are intellectuals and role models to the society, traits that have enabled them to be appointed or elected to key positions in the government and political spheres.

Despite the great achievements of renowned women and their contributions to development, women in Somalia continue to face a lot of stigma as they are considered weak in nature and unable to lead when compared to their male counterparts.

The last elections in Somalia tried to implement the quota system of representation of women in parliament (AMISOM, 2016). As universal elections are not yet possible, an electoral process was developed to enhance women political participation as compared to 2012. The new Federal Parliament consists of 275 members of the House of the People and 54 members of the Upper House of Parliament. The new Federal Parliament is currently constituted on the basis of a mix of community and geography. The 275 seats of the House of the People was supposed to be distributed in accordance with the 4.5 power-sharing formula between the clans. One of every three seats in the House of the People was reserved for a woman. For the upper house 54 members were elected and each regional state had 30% of its seats exclusively reserved for female candidates (SC/12698 7873rd Meeting).

However, the availble figures after the elections indicate that female representation is closer to 25% with only 85 of 246 MPs being women. This is 23% of the elected officials which falls short of the 30% requirement. Despite failing to reach the one-in-three quota, the current figure is still 10% higher than the 14% achieved in 2012 (Government of Somalia, 2017).

The quota system was not the only positive step for women's political participation in the 8 February 2016 election. Various religious leaders offered support for women's engagement in politics stating that Islam was not at odds with female political engagement.

Table 1. Women in political leadership at national level

Name	Position hold	Impact in Society
Fawzia Yusuf Haji Adan	Was a Foreign Affairs Minister and at the same time Deputy Prime from November 2012 to January 2014	She made many changes in her ministry. She was the founder of Hargeisa University, the first university in Somaliland
Dr. Maryam Qassim	Served as the Minister for Human Development and Public Services of Somalia, from November 2012 to January 2014	As the minister she assisted many young children through her initiative 'Go to School' and after leaving the government she became a health advocate for women against Fistula
Mrs Halima Yarey	Human rights crusader and the elected Chairperson of the Technical Selection Committee (TSC) – Somalia's Independent Electoral Commission since July 2015	Has served as a role model and inspired many young women and girls in Somalia
Hawa Adan	Anti-Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) and education activist	A vocal campaigner for education and women's rights particularly opposing female genital mutilation (FGM)
Hawa Tako	Freedom Fighter and a prominent early 20th century Somali nationalist	Her life influenced many people in Somalia particularly the nationalist Somali Youth League (SYL) political party which has produced key politicians in Somalia
Late Saado Ali Warsame (b. 1950– d. 23 July 2014)	Politician and renowned musician	She used her music to criticize the government and social injustices

Source: AMISOM political Affairs Office,2016

2. Barriers to Women Participation in Politics in Somalia

Politics has traditionally been a male domain that many women have found unwelcoming or even hostile. Societies in which traditional or patriarchal values remain strong may frown on women entering politics. In Somalia women have been shunned by male-dominated history and pushed into feminine professions, as it is difficult for them to get involved in politics without the appropriate experience or suitable background in a profession from which politicians are typically drawn. Education, culture, religion, economic and instability are key barriers to the empowerment of women in the country.

Education

Women's levels of education, is strongly correlated to the number of women in politics (Matland 1998; Moore & Shackman, 1996; Oakes & Almquist, 1993, Putman, 1976). Education serves as a tool to enter professional and political life allowing one to engage in political processes at all levels: voting, running for office, and becoming leaders. Illiteracy, poor professional training, and low levels of female education are factors responsible for low levels of women's participation in politics and uneven access to full participation in politics (Roudi-Fahimi and Moghadam, 2003).

In Somalia, years of conflict and political instability have devastated the education system. Today, Somalia has one of the world's lowest enrolment rates for children of primary school age specially girls. The overall number of children in schools is very low, with girls being fewer than boys. The traditional belief in the country does not give priority to girls' education. Some parents believe that the end of a girl's education is the home of her husband and thus do not expect to see the benefits of their investment and thus, prioritize the education of boys who they look up to for potential support. There is a Somali saying which states: "A mother's purpose is to be a cook, laundrywoman, nurturer and wife to her husband". This describes to some degree the traditional role of women in Somalia, where they remain at the bottom rung of the social ladder.

Currently, about 42% of all primary school age children are in schools, but of those attending, only 36% are girls. At the secondary school level it's even lower; girls make up only 28% of students. Among teachers, only 21% of them are women with the majority being unqualified (UNICEF, 2016). On an encouraging note, there has been a major push to put children back to schools over the recent past, and this includes in girl's schools.

Cultural Barriers

Patriarchy as a system of male domination shapes women's relationship in politics. It transforms male and females into men and women and construct the hierarchy of gender relations where men are privileged (Eisenstein, 1984). Andrienne Rich defines patriarchy as: social, ideological, political system in which men by force, direct pressure or through ritual, tradition, law, and language, customs etiquette, education, and the division of labor, determine what part women shall or shall not play in which the female is everywhere subsumed under the male (Leacock, 1977).

In somalia women have experienced major cultural barriers. These include opposition from clan leaders, cultural beliefs that women cannot take up key leadership roles, social stigma associated with women in political leadership, lack of women empowerment leading to low self-esteem and low self-confidence, and lack of support from community members and clan elders. Additionally, women are not allowed to move freely in public places as their rightful place is at home.

In order to understand the challenges women face in Somalia, one have to understand the clan system which is inimical to political inclusivity and women's participation in politics (Rayale et al., 2015). The clan system is a system that promotes the interests of male clan members. Women are second-class members within their own clans. The clan system is indisputable and plays a major role in Somalia's politics.

Clan leaders often tell women wanting to become members of parliament that the number of seats designated to each clan are too few to allocate them to women. Women with cross-clan marriages face additional challenges when aspiring to become Members of Parliament. These women are told to get the support and nomination from the clan in which they have married from , which is a deliberate strategy to marginalise and deny them access to seats in Parliament.

The 4.5 clan formula has been used as a tool for power-sharing in Somalia. The (4.5) formula divides all Somali clans into four major factions that are equal in terms of size while several other clans are categorised as minority groups into a half (0.5). Women are marginalised in the clan system in every way. For instance, unlike men, they do not have certain entitlements such as the right to become leaders representing their own clans and access to formal decision-making processes. Ironically, this is the system, together with its male leaders, being used to end the protracted political transitioning and promote a permanent political system in Somalia.

Religious Barriers

Religion has also been a barrier for women participation in politics. Islam does not allow women to take up senior positions such as the presidency, but are allowed to take up junior positions. Certain leaders and administrators impose a system of inequality, which they justify by interpretations of the Qur'an and the traditions of the Prophet. Islam requires women to stay at home. Religious clerics see women leadership as immoral (Sidani, 2005).

Muslim governments like in Somalia insist that Islamic law ought to be the universal law. Muslim societies adhere to different versions of the Islamic law that all of them claim to be of divine origin and, therefore, immutable. A second paradox arises from the coupling of the law and culture. It is proposed that, at some golden period, the Muslim *Umma* (the community of believers) actually lived according to the stated law.

This contention results in conflict between the law and the progressive forces of change, including those that promote women participation aimed at achieving freedom and equality. A third paradox, resulting from the second, converts a demand whose legitimacy is claimed on religious grounds to a political confrontation increasingly sustained by the use of force. Thus, success actually diminishes religion by stripping it of its basic moral appeal. A fourth paradox is that Islamic fundamentalism must logically debilitate Islam as religion. This is because Muslims, including Muslim women, need to believe as Muslims; therefore, it follows that Islam will have to be reclaimed against, or reimagined independently of, fundamentalism. The latter contention is evident within the civil society in most Muslim countries, including those that are governed by Islamist regimes.

Financial barriers

Women are often more likely than men to face practical barriers to entering politics, including a paucity of financial resources. Women's groups who are interested in political participation and advocacy are financially unable to pay the requisite expenses such as lobbying, office hire, transport, media and costs incurred to cultivate support of the clan elders. The selection of a parliamentarian is done by clan leaders and clan leaders are not given any allowances by known institutions, they are generally opportunistic and ask for a high price when the time comes for their services to be used (Gonnelli, 2013).

Financial constraints prevent women from participating in leadership positions. Compared to their male counterparts, many women in Somalia do not own property or businesses. Many of them have limited education and therefore have limited options for income generating activities. As a result, they do not have the same purchasing power as men and are generally economically disadvantaged.

Political campaigns require huge financial resources that most women cannot afford. Additionally, even women with financially stable male partners or from wealthy families will mostly likely not benefit from the financial support required to finance their campaigns and contest for political positions.

Insecurity

Interminable conflict has resulted in limited mobility and security in Somalia. Different forms of violence, particularly sexual violence, continues to limit women's freedom of movement. Women are also particularly targeted by extreme interpretation and severe sanctions by insurgent groups thus restricting their access to public space (Gardner, 2007).

Women in Somalia are threatened and killed when they contest for political leadership, which instils a lot of fear. Somalia is often described as the world's first failed state, a lawless country that has been engulfed in conflict for more than 20 years. Currently, around 1.4 million people, mostly women and children, are displaced within Somalia after being forced to flee their homes. Many young girls and women are in danger and risk of imminent rape with girls as young as five being victims. In many areas, especially those under the Al Shabaab authority, women have been targeted and face increased strictures on their rights and organizations. The inability to enforce law and order in several areas allows for savages to kill and rape with impunity. Increased violence has deepened fear for everyone and in particular, women dynaism has been undermined.

3. Opprtunities to enhance Women Participation in Politics in Somalia

National and International Frameworks

The Somali governemnt recognises gender mainstreaming as a cross cutting priority that requires all interventions to ensure equal participation of women. Federal government in collaboration with development partners has developed a national gender policy as a guide to elliminate gender inequalities. The National Gender Policy aims to:

- Eliminate all forms of gender discrimination from Somali society

- Reduce gender inequalities between women, men, boys and girls to achieve sustainable livelihoods

- Advocate for and promote understanding of human rights of women and men

- Increase women's participation in decision making process at all levels

- Provide sets of guidelines for concrete strategies and actions to empower women, men, girls and boys

- Hold government accountable to its commitment to gender equality; and,

- Promote positive social beliefs, attitudes and behavioural change pertinent to achieving gtender equality.

Additionally, Somalia has an obligation to a number of international frameworks that provide guidance for the achievement of gender equality and women empowerment. Among others, these international frameworks include:

- The United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (UN, 2003)

- The United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (UNDP, 2015)

- UN security council resolution on Women, Peace and Security (UN, 2002); and,

- The United Nations policy on Gender and Empowerment of Women (UN, 2006).

Presence of Regional and International Partners

The large presence of regional and international organisations in Somalia can help to advance the issue of women. The African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) and the United Nations can contribute to strengthen gender mainstreaming in Somalia and help to enhance the presence of women in decision-making levels. Their contribution should be to establish a framework to guide the process of developing legislation and implementation of programmes that will promote equal rights and opportunities for men and women in all spheres of life.

Role of Somali Men

The traditional Somali man is constantly hesitant in accepting the rise of women to high positions in politics (AMISOM, 2016). However, this attitude is changing and men have started to gradually understand the importance of having women in decision-making spheres. In Somalia, men need to change their perception about women's political leadership, accept that they can do it and advise them accordingly.

> "*Attracting more men to the gender-equality cause and making their contributions visible is an important tool to be considered. By engaging the resources and support of men, women's sections can enhance the impact of their activities, while female politicians can gain broader support for the issues they campaign on. At the same time, if female politicians enjoy the support of men on issues of gender equality, this will weaken charges that they only focus on women's issues. In fact, achieving gender equality is equally relevant to men, while also carrying benefits for male politicians. To build up this coalition successfully, it is crucial to identify gender equality issues on which both women and men are capable and willing to build consensus (ODIHR, 2014).*"

Even though women are taking up key leadership positions in Somalia, the society still perceive it as inappropriate due to the believe that such women must be difficult and not submissive to their husbands. The parliament of Somalia should endeavour to enact relevant laws that allow women to have a fair representation in the governance of the country. Indeed, gender complementarity will maximise on each other's strengths and the joint consultations in decision-making processes will, progressively, weaken the historical biases and stigma on women leadership.

Role of Women

Women must be at the forefront in the fight to advance their own course and should lead in stating their needs and in seeking collaboration in order to bring the required positive changes. In recent years, women's organisations have been increasingly campaigning for their greater political participation and the protection of their rights. There has also been continuous advocacy for women to participate in the national reconstruction process, obtain political rights and get positions, both in parliament and the judiciary (UNDP, 2007). There is a 30% quota rule in place to increase women's political participation however, women constitute only 13.8% of the current Parliament. In addition, efforts to ensure 25% of female representation in the transitional authority resulted in securing only 12%. However, a July 2013 report indicated that the Somali Ministry of Social Affairs is in the process of drafting a new gender policy stipulating that 30% of Parliamentary seats should be either filled by women or left empty (Jibril, 2013).

Women's political success depends on how they perceive themselves (Piterman, 2008). Women need to develop collective efforts to overcome the barriers they face in their quest for leadership. In this regard, initiatives such as developing women political empowerment programmes, fundraising for political campaigns for fellow women, mentoring women, advocating for better education for boys and girls, and advocating for women in leadership are important. Such initiaitves build the capacity of women and enable them play an important role in the stabilization efforts in the country as well as empower them to seek and assume better representation in the prevailing political environment.

Role of Religious Leaders

Religion is a key factor in the lives of the Somali community. Religious leaders play an important role in shaping norms and values in Somalia. They are usually well respected and are often called upon to transmit key messages to the community. Therefore their involvement in community mobilisation and sensitization towards supporting women's political empowerment and leadership can have positive results.

They have the legitimacy to enhance women's participation in political leadership through advocacy for women's rights, supporting girl-child education, fundraising for female candidates, and speaking against violent extremism to ensure safety of women politicians.

Role of other Stakeholders

In the context of Somalia, the other stakeholders include among others: community, political leaders, investors, NGOs, religious leaders, international and regional organisations.

International parteners could support the realisation of the aspirations of women in politics by championing for their rights and facilitating their political participation. They can also finance education of women and girls, women empowerment initiatives, and advocate for better healthcare and general service delivery. The partners can advocate for the inclusion of women in current decision making spheres as well as lobby the government to include women in election observation bodies.

The community and family members should appreciate and acknowledge the importance of women engagement in politics by their effective participation in elections, financial support to facilitate political campaigns and other activities that help achieve equitable represntation in the politics of the country. There have been bold examples undertaken to promote women participation in politics. These include, for example, an initiative by female politicians in Baidoa askng the Cabinet to set aside a special fund to support women seeking political leadership. Employed women from Garowe and Mogadishu proposed collective community responsibility towards the empowerment of both boys and girls, as well as marshalling the entire society to support women in politics. They also identified a need for the government to develop policies and legislation to ensure fair representation of women in government and their involvement in key decision-making processes.

Conclusion

In Somalia, women remain largely absent from national and local decision-making and political processes. In the history of the country, many women have taken up leadership roles and have made significant contributions to the lives of the people. Women have played key roles in the stabilization process of the society by being mediators and mentors to their sons and husbands, advocating for peaceful co-existence and the resolution of clan conflicts (Accord, 2010). As such, women have been positive role models for the younger generation. Despite these laudable efforts, the clan based politics continue to negatively affect women's participation at all levels of politics in the country. Only men can claim clanship and leadership identity in Somalia culture; this limits the active participation of women in political processes. The four point five (4.5) clan share political formula and cultural believes have also been a hindrance to women's participation in politics because its implementation does not give women room to openly express themselves in public meetings. As a consequence, women are unable to compete with their male counterparts in the politics and the governance of the country in general.

Women in Somalia also face socio-economic and religious barriers in their quest for political leadership. They lack the resources to facilitate their political ambitions, face attacks from militia groups and political opponents, contend with opposition from clan elders and family members, and are made to believe that Islam does not allow them to seek high political positions, such as the presidency.

Fortunately, it is encouraging to note that these barriers have been reducing over the years, and the environment is increasingly conducive to women seeking political leadership. Women, more than men, are more accepted in critical roles in the administration of government business. They are perceived as incorruptable and to deliver services to the population without discrimination and within acceptable timelines. In additon, general societal perceptions of women are gradually changing for the better. Some clan elders are starting to appreciate the role that women play in leadership and have supported them to seek and hold key leadership positions.

These women have successfully delivered and their work has positively impacted the communities they serve.

Policies and legislations that are supportive of women participation in key leadership positions have also been enacted. Unfortunately, given the patriarchal nature of the Somali society, it is not surprising that many men are still opposed to women participation in politics and public decision-making. However, as people get better educated and empowered, there seems to be a gradual shift in perception and the society is exacting pressure on the men to support women seeking leadership positions.

These positive changes need to be supported and seen as an opprunity for women to foster their effective participation in politics. Women can hasten the elimination of barriers to their effective participation in politics. For example, they can closely collaborate with religious leaders in community sensitization about the value of women in leadership, women empowerment and other capacity building initiatives. They can also mobilize funds to support female political candidates and, most importantly, women need to empower each other in order to increase their chances of capturing political leadership.

Going forward, it is evident that women will increasingly get recognition from the government and will have better representation in the political arena. There is also hope that Somali women will have access to better healthcare, education and economic opportunities. This will empower them and give impetus to their quest for higher political positions in government, restoration of peace and stability and equitable participation in re-construction of the Somali society.

Recommendations

There is a need for:

- The government to make constitutional amendments to effectively address gender issues and align the constitution with customary and international law.

- AMISOM, UN in collaboration with the Government of Somalia to elaborate programs aimed at increasing women's awareness on their legal and political rights. This will help to eliminate persistent of discriminatory socio-cultural attitudes, norms and practices as well as lack of accountability at all levels of governance.

- The government in collaboration with CSOs should continue highlighting the achievements of prominent Somali women in order to maximise their influential benefit to upcoming generation of educated youth, and especially vulnerable girls and women. This may have a positive ripple effect of enhancing women's ability to better navigate the political environment.

- The government should develop community sensitization programmes to encourage and support women in leadership roles. The programmes should be implemented through regional, district and local officials in order to maximise their impact on the ground. Some of the programatic activities can include, for example, talk shows, coordination of women groups for economic empowerment and women participation in communal dispute resolution mechanisms (which is currently mainly a male only affair), among others. These initiatives will help change mind-sets and perceptions on women paricipation in politics and goverance in general.

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Highlight of Key Messages in the Issue Briefs

Electoral Violence in East Africa: Exploring Opportunities for Democracy and Peacebuilding in Uganda

- Electoral violence is still prevalent in East Africa and Uganda in particular and it is a major hindrance to democratization in the region.

- The region still exhibits democratic deficits that hinder effective peacebuilding.

- Mismanagement of elections remains a threat to democratization and peace.

- The historical context in terms of socio-economic and political features defines current democratic dynamics in Uganda.

- There are specific democratization challenges associated with governments that emerged from guerrilla armies.

- Politicization of the security sector is a major hindrance to democratization and sustainable peace in Uganda.

- Separation of powers, protection of human rights and respect for constitutional order can provide strong foundations for peace.

- Democracy and peacebuilding can go in tandem with respect to specific economic historical and political context of each country.

- There is immense potential for sustainable peacebuilding in the region with support from development partners.

Women Participation in Electoral Processes in East Africa: The Case of Somalia

- Most of African countries currently recognize the right of women to participate in political processes, but women are still disadvantaged and marginalized in many political settings. Men and women should have equal opportunities to participate in politics including voting in elections, holding political positions, ministries, and in the judiciary or to be heads of the state if they so wish.

- The realization of the effective participation of both women and men in the political and decision-making process in an equal manner is the obligation of the state. Equitable participation in decision-making is vital to achieving equality, development and peace.

- In Somalia, the clan based politics continue to negatively affect women's participation at all levels of politics in the country. Only men can claim clanship and leadership identity in the Somalia culture, which makes it difficult for women to actively participate in political processes.

- The four point five (4.5) formula for clan-based political power sharing as well as cultural believes for example, not allowing women to speak in public meetings, have limited women's participation in politics. As a consequence, women cannot effectively compete with men for public office.

- It is encouraging to note that barriers to women participation in politics in Somalia have decreased over the years and the environment is more conducive for women seeking political leadership. However, women need to develop collective efforts to overcome the remaining barriers that limit their quest for leadership.

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