

WOMEN
IN TOP MANAGEMENT IN
UGANDA

BY

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WOMEN IN TOP MANAGEMENT IN AFRICA: THE UGANDA CASE; FINAL RESEARCH REPORT

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report presents the findings of a study on women in top management in Africa: the Uganda case. The research is a constituent part of a general study by women on women in top management in Africa.

The research was conducted using the arm-chair travelling (desk research), and survey methods. The survey was conducted among 60 women in top management positions from 44 institutions including ministries, parastatals, government departments, financial and educational institutions, and non-governmental organisations. Topics addressed on the institutional profiles included data of establishment of institutions where women in top management worked; size of institution and number of employees; level of operation whether national or international, nature of activity or business, whether profit-making or not, and type of activity (industrial, agricultural etc.). The desk research involved a survey of literature available in Uganda on women and employment, such as from census reports, individuals' research reports and conference papers.

The major aim of the research was to identify the factors obstructing and those that enhance the advancement of women and their upward mobility to top managerial positions. Personal attributes of women who have made it to the top were also investigated as well as the extent to which women are represented in top management in decision making. The study also examined policies, organisation opportunities and affirmative action and strategies that have been put in place to enhance women's presence, participation, equal opportunity and sustainability in top management positions.

The report is organized into five sections as follows.

Section One includes an introduction which puts into perspective the gender issue and how it relates to women's rights and access to production, employment, material and social resources. Major instruments at the international level that have been used to address women's concerns have been outlined, as well as some status of women in Uganda and their access to education and employment.

The statement of the problem rotated around the following questions.

- (i) What is the extent of advancement of women to top management positions in Uganda?
- (ii) What common factors may contribute to the success/failure of

establishment at a given level. This assumes that the rise to top management positions is a function of other people's decisions and policies. In which case appointments and promotions are carried out by either individuals or corporate vetters where both men and women compete on equal footing. But because more appointing bodies are dominated by men, the chances are that very few women would outwit their male counterparts during any given interview, selection or promotion to top management positions.

Section two gives the background to the study area, including the geography, history, social and political economy of the country. Available data and information relevant to the problems are addressed in this section.

In Section three, the research results are presented focusing on, the institutional profile; personal profiles of women in top management in Uganda including age, marital status, type of marriage and age at first marriage, educational attainment, location of residence when young, religious affiliation, reproductive status and age of children, age of spouse and characteristics of parents; women in employment in Uganda; in 1982 and 1987; women in top management spelling out the progress made so far in attaining top positions; critical factors affecting women's advancement to top management positions including recruitment, promotion, and sustenance; educational attainment; participation of women in top management positions and required criteria for promotion; the opportunity cost of reaching the top by women; personal traits in management and leadership styles; strategies of survival at the top; power support; role conflict; stagnation in one position; institutional environment; laws, rules and regulations related to employment of women in Uganda and affirmative action. The last section (4-6) looks at the future of women and chances for positive change in Uganda and the research agenda.

Research results show that women in Uganda, despite government and NGO affirmative action and women's efforts themselves, are still very few and under-represented in top management and decision-making positions. Some critics have argued that affirmative action so far taken has been symbolic or tokenism and political propaganda rather than significant for emancipation of women. However, others argued that women in employment in general and decision-making in particular have reasonable progress in terms of representation especially as a result of affirmative action and the positive response of the women themselves to the challenges facing them.

On the institutional profile, (44 institutions) it was found out that most women in top management worked in government ministries (25%), parastatals and commissions (21%), government departments and financial institutions (18%); NGOs (16%)

- those who have or have not made it?
- (iii) What are the critical factors, whether behavioral, structural, institutional, that have adversely affected women's career advancement and their increased participation in top management?
 - (iv) To what extent have education and training pertaining to advancement of women to top management been put in place and what are the inbuilt weaknesses of such training programmes?
 - (v) What are the social costs of reaching top management positions by women?
 - (vi) What is the effectiveness or ineffectiveness in terms of performance of women in top management? What are their weak and strong points as top managers?
 - (vii) What organizational policies and programmes are in place for enhancing the presence of women in top management positions?
 - (viii) Are there any organisations and institutions that have taken pains to initiate affirmative action programmes geared towards gender equality for positive change?
 - (ix) What is the level of interaction between women in top management and those below them as a means of overcoming individual isolation, sharing of information, collective action and lobbying?

In order to be able to suggest strategies for improving and enhancing performance of women and their upward mobility to top management, all the above questions were addressed and constituted the focus of the study.

The research on women in top management was conceived within the premise that:

- (i) there is paucity of women in top management positions in Uganda despite significant increase in women in high level education in recent years and affirmative action programmes;
- (ii) there is disparity between women's active involvement in development activities and lack of participation in high level managerial and decision-making positions.
- (iii) there is relatively lower perceived effectiveness in performance of women than men in institutions headed by men who are in the majority of cases biased;
- (iv) there is lack of information on women in top management on which to base concrete suggestions or needed strategies for overcoming barriers to women's career mobility and advancement to top management.

In this context, the top manager is conceived as the individual who exercises the ultimate authority and decision making power in a given

educational institutions (7%) and political institutions (5%). Most institutions were established after 1963 with only 18% having been established between 1900 and 1962. This implies that most institutions as they are now were established after independence in 1962. However, 51% of the respondents did not indicate when the institutions they worked for were established, hence the seemingly low figures between 1962 to 1985. On the size of institutions 58% employed more than 200 people, while on the level of operation, 58% operated at national level and 22% operated beyond Africa. On the nature of activity, 30% were profit making while 34% were non-profit making and 13% did not state. As regards the type of activity 7% were industrial; 3% were agricultural; 22% were educational; 18% were services and commercial each; while 3% were skills training. There were no women employed at top management level in religious institutions.

The personal profiles of the respondents were also examined. With regard to age, 33% were between 36-40 years of age; 27% were between 41-45 years; 17% were between 46-50 years, 13% were below 35 years while those above 50 years constituted 12%. There was one respondent who was older than 55 years and 2 did not indicate their age. The majority of women were married (51%) and the never married constituted 22%. The rest were either widowed (8%); separated/divorced (7%), cohabiting (8%) and two did not state their marital status. Monogamous marriages accounted for 48% and polygamous marriages constituted 17% while 35% was not applicable.

Most respondents (47%) married at the age of between 21-25, while 18% married at the age of between 26-30 and 4% married at the age beyond 30. On educational status, 73% had university training, 13% had only "0" level and 5% "A" level while 8% had diplomas as the highest level of education reached. On postgraduate training, 27% had masters degrees, 22% had post-graduate diplomas and the rest did not have any post-graduate training. Only two respondents had a Ph.D. degree. However, the respondents had other types of training in public administration and management, education, banking, legal practice, international relations, chartered secretaries/administrators course, foreign language and journalism, computer science, agriculture and other in-service courses. Most respondents grew up in rural environments (72%) while 27% grew up in the urban area and only one grew up outside Uganda, although she is a Ugandan. On religious affiliation, 62% were protestants; 35% were catholics; there were no Muslims, Seventh Day Adventists or traditional believers. There were 2 women of the Born Again sect. This is indicative of the emphasis put on education of girls/women by the protestants and catholics and the disregard of it by Muslims.

With regard to reproductive status, the majority of the respondents had 3-5 children, below the national fertility rates of 7.3% per women in reproductive age.

Only one had seven and one had eight children. Nine women (15%) had no children while eleven (18%) had one to two children.

Regarding the age of the children, 17% of the respondents had children of less than one year; 9 (15%) had children between 1-10 years; 17% had children between 10-15 years while 32% had children between 15-20 years and 17% had those between 20-25 years. Only two respondents had children of more than 25 years old. This implies that most women had passed the reproductive age and could therefore concentrate on their work.

The characteristics of spouses were also investigated with regard to age. While the majority of the respondents were between the age group of 16-50 years (77%) the majority of their spouses were in the age group 41-60 (58%) indicating that generally women get married to men who were older than them and who may have acquired a status even higher than the respondents themselves. Background factors of women in top management such as age, marital status, education, religious affiliation, reproductive status, may help to explain the characteristics of those women in their transition to top management positions and who can be targeted as potential top managers.

With respect to formal employment, according to the public service census 1987, women accounted for 24% of all posts filled in Uganda. Females filled only 5.4% of the administrative managerial posts and those are not even in top management. Women filled 16.2% of the professional jobs but 35.5% of the technician/semi-professional and semi-skilled jobs. With such small number of women in management occupational category (5.4%) and the professional jobs (16%), we would not expect many women to have filtered through to top management positions.

However, some progress made by women in Uganda in occupying top management and decision-making positions was noted. There are two cabinet ministers including one for Agriculture and one for women in Development, one minister of state and two deputy ministers. There are five district administrators and 41 parliamentarians. There are seven permanent secretaries and 16 under secretaries. The President of the Industrial Court is a woman and there are four female judges, one female child magistrate and one female director of civil affairs as well as two female senior principal state attorneys. In addition, there are five women in the National Executive Council of Cabinet. Even at Makerere University, there are eleven female heads of departments, nineteen heads of administration departments but only one faculty dean. Women are represented on the University council (4) and Appointments Board (1); Women are represented on boards of directors of parastatal bodies and commissions. They are also well represented in the banking profession.

Critical factors effecting and affecting women's advancement to the management positions were explored. Reference was made to factors like access to employment in the first instance, forms of behaviour, leadership styles, access to education, career mobility and other structural characteristics such as effectiveness in performance, gender role conflict, socio-cultural attitudes, political atmosphere and the general administrative and institutional environment, including laws, rules and regulations.

On education, it was noted that women were late starters, in part, due to historical factors and the colonial heritage which favoured men to women's education and earlier marginalisation of women in higher education. With the late start of women we would not expect many women in high level executive jobs or in top management if we consider the requirements for experience which takes time. It was earlier noted that educational attainment especially at professional and graduate level are pre-requisites to getting top management jobs. It was also noted that education and training policy in Uganda is not explicitly discriminative but all the same, women are poorly represented especially at higher levels. Policy issues regarding access to education and training were also investigated and it was found out that there are affirmative action programme to encourage women get access to higher education and in-service training. Constraints were identified as expulsion of girls who get pregnant from schools, fewer institutional facilities for girls than boys, the exorbitant school fees forcing parents to pull girls out of school in favour of sons. Earlier socialization and gender segregation of curricular were also pointed out as constraints. The respondents suggested some corrective measures that would encourage girls to join higher institutions or learning such as an educational loan scheme, retention of girls who become pregnant in schools, counselling, guidance and gender sensitization, and involvement of women in educational policy formulation. Balanced education was also advocated to include emphasis on both formal and informal education; academic and skill-oriented curricula.

On participation of women in top management positions, it was noted that progress was minimal, factors identified as affecting women's participation in the management included merit and professionalism, lack of confidence by women themselves and personal traits, institutional environment, power support and political backing, government policy and affirmative action. It was also pointed out that some men feared sharing power with women and the fact is disguised in aggressiveness or superiority complex. Men would only be willing to share power with women if they (the men) know that the women are not a threat to them in terms of competition. Men support women when they (the men) are lobbying for the women's support.

The opportunity cost of reaching the top by women was investigated. It was pointed out that men could, while fearing competition, frustrate able women in their work. Women are sometimes ridiculed, intimidated and forced to settle for less. When intimidation fails, men use friendship and intimacy to cut the women short and make them comfortable in lower positions. Some women in top management get their families/marriages broken due to misunderstandings with and complexes by their spouses. Personal traits and self-confidence of women in top management were focused on. Women's outlook and attitudes towards managerial jobs was given as a significant impediment to women's holding of top executive managerial jobs. Women rarely lobby for top positions, and they give up when the competition gets rough.

It was noted that personal traits regarded as facilitating advancement and performance of women were those which are regarded as masculine. Women would wish to venture into personality prescribed as masculine and which men would not wish to see women adopt such as competitiveness, decisiveness, aggressive-ness, self-confidence, high intelligence, leadership qualities, steadfastness, rationality and sensitivity to make go to avoid show downs.

Leadership styles that sustain women in top management were identified as single decision after consulting all levels of management; women prefer management by objectives and through meetings. However, all methodologies/styles of management can be adopted depending on the nature and urgency of the problem. Hence, problems that need urgent decisions may be solved without consultation, and the use of memoranda.

One factor that was isolated as a hinderance to women's sustenance in top positions was lack of competitiveness and drive among them. Women argued that competition in performance on the job is a healthy situation. It produces better standards and encourages speed of operation and accuracy. Employees would work hard to show good results and it works as a motivator as workers struggle to acquire new skills to out compete rivals. Competitors also develop initiatives and self-improvement. Competition was however regarded as detrimental when conflicts, antagonism and motivation turn into a wish to discredit and even destroy fellow competitors, into a wish to kill them, when such a situation arises, women give-up the race.

Success and sustenance in top management were attributed to merit, community involvement, political backing, family background, women's networks and socio-economic status. Others included job performance, leadership qualities, retraining, objectivity and strictness and mobilization of support from peers. Because of discrimination against women, power support, political backing,

networking and mobilizing support are necessary to keep women in top positions. However, it was also noted that women rarely support fellow women. Women develop queen bee, grasshopper and dependence syndromes which destroy women's chances to attain top positions, through collective action. It was revealed that most women in top management had the power support of their parents.

On role conflict, while women agreed that it constrains women's performance and concentration on the job, it was pointed out that it should not be exaggerated; that some women because they get enough money, can hire house aids. Others claimed that they were no longer producing children and were therefore concentrating on their office work. The respondents were also requested to comment on women who stagnate in one position. Some respondents noted that people stagnate in one job either because of their own making or because of circumstances beyond their control.

People stagnate when they get jobs which do not match their qualifications. That is, they get better jobs than what their qualifications entail. Such people do not aspire for promotion because of fear to expose their incapability of higher level. Some do not get functional training or retraining and hence rarely get promotions or transfers of promotion. Women also stagnate in positions because of lack of ambition. However, lack of motivation, and discrimination as well as disregard of women were given as contributory factors to stagnation. Remedial action proposed included transfer, in-service training, refresher courses, and fair annual evaluation exercises.

The institutional or work environment was also looked into focusing on laws, rules, regulations, relating to employment of women in Uganda. It was noted that Uganda's policy on employment is that every individual has the right to work and for fair remuneration. However, there are labour bye-laws related to employment such as those related to one's marital status and housing, free medical treatment, transfers and working hours which are sometimes denied women and tailored to their husbands as heads of households.

Affirmative action programmes so far instituted were also outlined including those in education, political and NGO action.

Women's views on affirmative action programmes were sought. Women in top management felt that as much as we advocate for affirmative action, elements of merit, excellence, and hard work are essential; that affirmative action should only be used to address improvement of women's capability through education and training, and welfare programmes geared towards improving women's well-being. Affirmative action should not be used in areas of professionalism and promotion

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Explicit consideration of gender issues and women's rights as well as access to productive resources and the relationship between men and women is a recent development in Uganda. It has been linked to the current debate as to whether or not, the concern is a mere form of western ideological imperialism to pollute the women and instigate them to rebel against men and husbands in particular. Consideration of gender relations revolve around interrelated persistent inequality between the sexes. Interacting with inequalities between nations in the global economy; with inequalities of national, racial, class, and ethnic hierarchies, gender inequality permeates contemporary societies at all levels (WIN 1988; Autrobus 1990; Tinker, 1990).

The principle of equality as enshrined in the United Nations Charter, the majority of national constitutions and numerous international instruments all generally provide for accepted standards of legal equality between sexes. The awareness of these standards among women and men world-wide has been significantly raised by international instruments that have been used to try and enforce the principle of gender equality including inter alia, the United Nations Charter enshrining the principle of equal rights for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion (Article 1, 1945); the commission on the status of women established by the UN to promote women's rights and equality 1946; the UN General Assembly 1972 in its resolution 1010 (xxviii) proclaiming the international women's conference held in Mexico 1975; the UN Decade for women equality, development and Peace 1976-1985; the mid-review and evaluation of the decade held in Copenhagen 1980; the women's decade conference held in Nairobi 1985; all generally provide acceptable standards of legal equality between men and women.

However, regional, cultural, political, social and economic background of the population of both sexes in various countries have greatly affected the degree and effectiveness of infiltration of the awareness as well as the practical response and affirmative action. It is widely recognised that the world is characterized by inequality, between individuals, sexes, within countries and between countries. This inequality is still one of the major root cause of cultural, social, economic, and political instability and ethnic animosities in various countries and in the world at large. The inequality is not only in terms of material aspects but also results in denial of human rights for the majority of the people especially women and children. One of the most important achievement of the women's decade

1976-1985 was the realization of the evils of inequality and the consolidation of the women's movement worldwide to consider gender issues, and to try and fight the evils of inequality. Although globally and at national levels, the principle of equal opportunity of sexes is widely accepted and recognized, when the idea is applied at societal and individual levels, and when women expect the same or similar individual rights as men especially the right to make decisions about their own lives, the difficulty begins.

Women in development (WID) is also a recent concept which refers to recognition of women's contribution and participation in and benefit from the development process. It is not as some people think, a drive to involve women in development because women after all have been sharing the development burden with men, though not always the benefits (Wandira-Kazibwe, 1991).

There are some studies which relate to the economic and social status of women in Africa and their access to employment and education in women have been associated with employment opportunities, increased age at marriage, lower fertility, while poor uneducated women find themselves powerless to protect themselves against poverty. Through education, women attain material welfare and consequently empower themselves. Empowerment of women, especially in employment is a crucial step in the development of the economy and the benefits percolate down to the whole household and to generations. While general education can empower women to get employment, it is higher education, intellectualism and merit that are the spring boards to mobility to top management. Women need specific skills or qualifications or tertiary education to get credible wage employment in the first instance and then go through the promotional ladder to top management.

The problem of gender disparity in education and training is more or less the cornerstone of all other gender disparities including employment, top management, income, status and political positions. This disparity in educational access is inexorably linked to traditional roles of women and reproduction. Mbilinyi and Mbughuni (1991) discussed the issue for Tanzania, of the position of women and their access to education. There has been no tackling of the link between education and carrier mobility to top management.

It is also being argued that when females do succeed in gaining access to education, their attainment seem to be lower than that of males (Appleton 1992), though there is no discernable difference in innate ability. Quality of schooling received, course choice, division of labour along gender lines, biases of women students against the "hard" sciences may all be contributory factors. Other studies (Berhrman 1990) suggests that human resource development as a central factor in generating economic growth adds further urgency to the need to address problems

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of inferior access and attainments of women in education and their subsequent exclusion from position of remunerative employment power, decision-making and top management.

1.1 The Research Problem

In Uganda, women in top decision-making and top management positions still remain negligible despite all official national and international declarations affirming the legal rights and equality of both sexes. There are great disparities in proportions of women in terms of access to all levels of education, employment, remuneration, and empowerment. The incidence of work burdens, the socio-cultural conditions as epitome to the social ills all converge to disadvantage women who may be aspiring to reach the top. Furthermore there is need to survey the extent of effectiveness in performance of those women who may have made it to the top, therefore, the problem of their effectiveness has been questioned. Unlike their male counterparts in similar positions, females seem constrained to make an impact especially the kind of impact that would facilitate policy changes toward gender equality and upward mobility of other women. Women have unique problems as wives and mothers, as well as workers and decision-makers. Their relatively low remuneration in employment because of the low jobs they hold and other sectors impinge on their maternal welfare. The fact that women in top management positions in Uganda remain few is a manifestation of the barriers that block the way to the advancement of women to top decision-making levels.

We have a problem therefore of answering some key questions, namely:

- (i) What is the extent of advancement of women to top management positions in Uganda?
- (ii) What common factors may contribute to the success/failure of those who have or have not made it?
- (iii) What are the critical factors whether behavioural, structural, institutional that have adversely affected women's career advancement and their increased participation in top management?
- (iv) To what extent have educational and training pertaining to

advancement of women to top management been put in place and what are the inherent weaknesses of such training programmes?

- (v) What are the social costs of reaching top management positions by women?
- (vi) What is the effectiveness or ineffectiveness in terms of performance of women in top management; What are their weak and strong points as top managers?
- (vii) What organizational policies and programmes are in place for enhancing the presence of women in top management positions?
- (viii) Are there any organisations and institutions that have taken pains to initiate affirmative action programmes geared towards gender equality for positive change?
- (ix) What is the level of interaction between women in top management and those below them as a means of overcoming individual isolation, sharing of information, collective action and lobbying?

In order to be able to suggest strategies for improving and enhancing performance of women in top management, all the above questions have to be answered. Hence, the focus of the study.

1.2 The Conceptual Framework

The research on women in top management was conceived within the following premises.

- (i) The paucity of women in top management positions in Uganda despite significant increases in women in high level education in recent years.
- (ii) The disparity between women's active involvement in development activities but at the sometime lack of participation in high level managerial decision-making.
- (iii) The relatively lower perceived effectiveness in performance of women than men in institutions headed by men who are in the majority of cases biased.
- (iv) Lack of information on women in top management on which to base concrete suggestions on needed strategies for overcoming barriers to women's career mobility and advancement to top management.

In this context, the top manager is conceived as the individual who

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exercises the ultimate authority and decision-making power in a given establishment at a given level. This assumes that the rise to top management positions is a function of other people's decisions and policies. In which case appointments and promotions are carried out by either individuals or corporate vetters, where both women and men compete on equal footing. But, because most appointing bodies are dominated by men, the chances are that very few women would outwit their male counterparts during any given interview, selection or promotion to top management positions.

1.3 Objectives of the study

1.3.1 Overall Objective

The major focus of the study were to identify and to determine the level of representation of women in top management in Uganda and to explore the critical factors that either obstruct or enhance their mobility to top management positions. Redressive strategies in place and needed affirmative action were also investigated.

1.3.2 Specific objectives

- (i) To make an inventory or profiles of those institutions where we have women in top management.
- (ii) To find out the personal profiles of women in top management positions.
- (iii) To examine the extent to which women have advanced to top managerial positions.
- (iv) To identify the most critical factors such as forms of behaviour, leadership styles, access to education, access to employment and career mobility and other structural characteristics such as effectiveness in performance that may have either adverse or positive effects on women's advancement to top positions.
- (v) To examine the social costs of reaching the top.
- (vi) To identify organizational policies and programmes in place geared towards uplifting the status of women as top managers.
- (vii) To establish the strengths and weaknesses of government policies and programmes, rules and regulations which may influence career advancement of women to top management.
- (viii) To bring attention of those women who have made it to the top to

act as positive role models for other women and girls aspiring to those levels, and to actually ascertain whether top women actually serve as role models and whether they interact with their junior women.

1.4 Literature Review

1.4.1 Women in Management

While there is scarcity of data and information on women in management in Uganda, studies that have been carried out elsewhere, seem to concur that women everywhere still comprise a disproportionately small percentage of those participating in public decision making roles, especially at top management levels. Even in the traditionally female dominated professions, women are in secondary positions relative to men.

Powell (1990) in his historical analysis of women and men in management in the USA, showed that way back in 1970 women's participation rate in labour force compared to that of men was very low.

Labour force Participation Rate - USA

Year	Percentage	Employed
	Women	Men
1870	13	75
1880	15	79
1890	17	79
1900	19	80
1910	23	81
1920	21	78
1930	22	76
1940	25	79
1950	31	80
1960	35	79
1970	42	78
1980	52	77
1987	56	78

Source: Gary N. Powell (1990) Women and Men in Management.

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In USA, from 1870 to 1987, Statistics show that labour force participation was lower for women than men although there were some improvement for women from 11% in 1870 to 56% in 1987. Virginia Willis (1991) in her paper on "Public Life, Women Make a difference", showed that even in highly industrialized countries of the North such as Britain, women make only 7% of the Senior managers in industry, 5% of the under secretaries in the civil service; 3% of university professors and 2% of vice-chancellors in British universities. In Australia, despite significant in-roads made by women in bureaucracy, in 1989, women occupied 5 out of 35 positions in the Australian council of Trade Unions. None of the 80 members of the Business Council of Australia were women (Sawyer, 1990, Eisenstein, H, 1991). In the USA, there are 17% women in the legislatures, only 0.5% on the Boards of Corporations that control much of the country's economy and 9% of the executive committee of the American Federation of Labour. In 1989, only 3% of top American and 8% of top British managers were female.

Although there may have been increases in number of women in male dominated professions, over the past decades, women for the most part remain statistically rarities in top positions. The presentation of women in management, take aside in top management in Africa is particularly disheartening. A few countries where data is available show that picture. The 1986 United Nations Study (UNECA 86/05) showed that by 1986, only 91 women in Egypt held top management jobs, representing less than 1% of females employed in the public sector, and these were in feminized industries such as spinning, and weaving. In Tanzania the study revealed that women managers constituted a very small minority of up to 20% in high and middle level positions. These women were not in top decision-making positions but in lower cadre positions like personnel and marketing managers, and directors of corporate departments, chief accountants and financial controllers. In Kenya by 1988, only 20% of women were in normal employment, the majority of them being concentrated in low pay jobs and unskilled activities such as agriculture, and service sector.

In Uganda, (Ministry of Planning and Economic Development 1988) the situation was not any better despite affirmative action programmes aimed at improving the status of women. In 1982, there was a clear predominance of males in all occupational categories in the public service with only 17% being constituted of women. Areas that were grossly under-represented by women in terms of formal employment include Agriculture and Forestry (3.8%) although

women dominate agricultural work force as an "informal" activity or unpaid labour; audit (5%) local government (6%) police and prisons (4.2%) transport and communications (7.8%) water resources (6.3%) and animal resources (7.3%). In 1987, while a total of 239,528 persons were registered as being on the pay role of the Uganda Civil Service, of these, 179,684 (76%) were male and 56,290 (24%) were female. Administrative and management occupational categories had 16,824 of whom 6% were women.

However, enlightened government policy and affirmative action on employment of women might be, it is possible for certain factors and situations which might not be of government creation or in its power to control, to frustrate its implementation. In Uganda, despite official national and international declarations affirming the legal rights and equality of men and women, women remain deprived of their rights to influence decisions determining their own lives and societal change, women in high and top decisions-making positions still remain few. In 1962, there were only two female parliamentarians while in 1980, there was only one female out of a total of 143. However in 1990 the number rose to 39 women out of a total of 273 parliamentarians constituting 14%. By 1993 the figure had gone up to 41 females out of 273, constituting 16%. This increase was largely due to affirmative action. Women constitute 17% (7 out of 42) of the permanent secretaries there are only a female judge and a female chief magistrate. Even in the academic field, there are only 2 full female professors in the country.

The preceding analysis indicates that the world is characterized by inequalities between individuals, sexes, within countries and between countries. This inequality is still one of the major root causes of household cultural, economic and political instability and ethnic animosities in various countries and the world at large. The inequality is not only in terms of material aspects but also results in denial of human rights for the majority of the people especially women and children.

There are some studies which relate to the economic and social status of women in Africa and their access to employment and education (Sender and Smith 1990). Explicitly high levels of education of women have been associated with employment opportunities increased age at marriage, lower fertility, while poor uneducated women find themselves powerless to protect themselves against poverty. Through education, women attain material welfare and consequently empower themselves. Empowerment of women, especially in employment is a crucial step in the development of the economy and the benefits percolate down

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to the whole household. While general education can empower women to get employment, it is higher education, intellectualism and merit that are the spring board to mobility to top management. Women need specific skills or qualifications or tertiary education to get credible wage employment in the first instance and then go through the promotional ladder and ranks to top management. Mbilinyi and Mbughnni (1991) discussed the issue for Tanzania, of the position of women and their access to education. The problem of gender disparity in education and training is more or less the cornerstone of all other gender disparities in other developmental aspects in third world societies including employment, top management, income, status and political positions. This disparity in educational access is inexorably linked to traditional roles of women and reproduction.

The economic and social returns to education for women are substantial and on the whole, probably greater than those for men. However, many countries, including Uganda invest less in educating women. The "gender" gap in education is widening in Africa, the Middle East and South Asia (Morris Hughes 1991) educated parents have healthier children and mothers have far more influence on children. Educating women also slows population growth as it creates new opportunities for women that compete with child bearing and child care. Thus by educating women, a country can reduce poverty, improve productivity, ease population pressure, and offer its children a better future. These returns justify greater investment in schooling for girls than most developing countries have made so far.

While the evidence of "what works" to increase female education is not definitive, the experience of the two past decades suggests promising approaches. Assuming that policies must always be tailored to each country's circumstances, measures suggested as deserving consideration include inter alia:

- Institution of awareness campaigns on the significance of girls' education;
- Recruitment/training of more female teachers;
- Protection of girls' privacy in co-educational settings by providing separate facilities such as lavatories;
- Offer more flexible school schedules and hours so that girls can combine schooling with chores;
- Allow girls who are mothers or pregnant to remain in or return to school (this is being tried in Nigeria).
- Provide child care at school so that older sisters or young mothers

- can attend class;
- Establish special scholarships;
- Locate schools closer to home
- Cut the direct costs of education for all children;
- Deepen community involvement in the design and implementation of education policies and local schooling;
- Make schooling compulsory, if seen practicable.

1.4.2 Sex-Role socialization

It has been argued that sex roles are not shaped by particular historical events but instead, are simply the result of evolutionary tendencies (Powell 1990). Evolutionary theory suggests that organisms and societies that are best able to adapt to their environment have the best chances of survival. People have used this theory to justify the notion that in-born psychological differences between the sexes complement obvious physical differences, for example the average man is larger in stature and physically dominant over the average woman. Consequently, it has been argued as "natural" that the man assumes the dominant position of manager in work organisations and that women assume the submissive position of subordinate.

The chain of reasoning is that:

- (a) differences exist in the division of labour between women and men, with most management positions held by men;
- (b) the differences evolved out of species development;
- (c) the differences must have some function in ensuring our survival as species;
- (d) therefore the differences are natural and must not be altered.

This kind of reasoning could be used to justify almost every difference between the behaviour and status of men and women that exist in many societies. Ecofeminist theory (Ortner 1974) has also been used to justify the oppression of and discrimination against women. The theory rests on the premise that:

- (a) There are important connections between the domination and oppression of women and the domination and oppression of nature.
- (b) In patriarchal thought, women are identified as being closer to nature and men as being closer to culture. Nature is seen as inferior to culture hence, women are seen as inferior to men.

- (c) Since the domination of women and the domination of nature have gone together, women have a particular stake in ending the domination of nature and domination of women by women.

In ecofeminist argument, the connection between the oppression of women and that of nature is basically seen as ideological, as rooted in a system of ideas and representations, values and beliefs that place women and non-human world hierarchically below men. A woman is seen as closer to nature than a man because a woman's body and its functions are more evolved, most of the time with roots of life (Pregnancy, menstruation) and places her social roles (child bearing, breast feeding) considered of a lower order of the cultural process than of a man. This has led society to believe that in all circumstances women have to be inferior to men.

However, people like King (1981), Merchant (1983), argued that the nature-culture dichotomy is a false one, a patriarchal ideological construct which is used to maintain gender hierarchy, although they agree that women are ideologically constructed as closer to nature because of their biology.

Ecofeminism was regarded as false because;

- (a) It reflects women as a unitary category and fails to differentiate between women by class, ethnicity, race and so on. It ignores forms of domination other than gender which also impinges critically on women's position such as, wars and political economies.
- (b) It locates the domination of women and of nature as almost solely in ideology, neglecting the interrelated material sources of this domination based on economic advantage, political power and environmental and endowment.
- (c) In the area of ideological construct, it says little about the socio-economic and political structures within which these constructs are produced and transformed.

Oppong and Abu (1985) conceptualized the seven roles of women as distinct from those of men to include parental, occupational, conjugal, domestic, kin, community, and individual roles behaviour. Sex-role socialization is well documented in the United Nations Training Manual (1987) for increasing the role of women in public management rather than being swallowed up in the other roles, which are unremunerated but takes a lot of their time. Role conflict has been given as one of the factors which constrains women and stops them from

fully getting involved in public and economic activities. The study notes that through intended and unintended socialization processes, women and men learn stereo-types of women active in home life and men active in public life. These beliefs reinforce the biases of educational institutions, the discriminatory rules and practices of employing organizations and the behaviour of organisation members. Even the curricula used in some schools in some countries portray women in their house keeping and motherhood roles while boys are trained in technical, commercial and marketable skills that prepare them for managerial roles. Women/girls are trained in domestic oriented skills. The media also perpetuates stereotype gender images, as well as other social institutions such as parental attitudes towards male and female children.

Sex-role socialization leads to sex role stereotyping of jobs and professions where male managerial behaviour model typifies the "normative expectations of managerial qualities, characterized by aggressiveness, decisiveness, competitiveness and risk taking while females are depicted as incompetent, lazy, indecisive, shy illogical, inconfident etc. (Broverman, Vogel, 1972). Exclusion of women from the power centre of their professions does not permit the breakdown of myths about professional women, gender stereotypes remain unchallenged (Kaufman and Richardson 1982).

1.4.3 Causes of Constraints

The dominant barrier in almost all African countries to women's upward mobility to top management positions is the socialization process embedded within the socio-cultural beliefs, myths and practices. The sex-stereotype and gender segregation in employment and allocation of roles in the private and public life are a function of the early socialization process and the indoctrination and the demonstration effect of the societal environment.

Secondly, the institutional framework governing gender division of labour, terms and conditions of service contribute a lot to women's slow progress to top management as well as being recruited in marketable professions and managerial jobs. As men dominate the policy making and the institutional structuring it is the male values that are reflected in policy structures and institutions. The patriarchal ideology rests on the premise that women are the weaker sex, best suited for the domestic role of motherhood and house wifely.

Public tasks especially those involving governance and important decision-making are best suited for men who possess the appropriate natural credentials for

leadership tasks, toughness, aggressiveness, decisiveness, risk taking and self-confidence. One of the major requirements to recruitment is relevant higher educational attainment especially to senior professional and managerial positions. Equal access to education irrespective of gender and economic background is fundamental in all levels of education from childhood to high education. Basic education equips men and women with necessary skills and values to take up responsibility in society. While top managerial jobs need skilled personnel, women in the majority of cases fall short of this, and end up in the lower and middle cadre jobs. Consequently, socio-cultural factors link up with economic, political, educational, legal and organizational factors to affect the level of participation of women on decision-making positions and their upward mobility to the top.

1.4.4 Confronting the Constraints

As the women's problems, barriers and constraints are multi-faceted, so should be the strategies to confront those constraints. Murphy and Veilleu (1991) suggested four essential strategies to the advancement of women's positions in management largely addressing institutional, bureaucratic, and policy making levels.

- (a) Affirmative action through, commitment by establishing legislative measures prohibiting discrimination on the basis of sex, either in the society or the place of work, and institution of formal support structures to support the full integration of women in all societal activities.
- (b) Implementation of employment equity programmes by employers, through evaluation of management support of employment equity initiatives.
- (c) Monitoring of systems through which, hiring, promotions and transfers are carried out to ensure non-discrimination and victimization of female employees.
- (d) Creation of favourable working environment through positive gender friendly policies and programmes, career counselling, and education for all.

On the other hand, Mwosa (1991) gives five possible means of enhancing women's participation in management.

- (a) Paving the way to women's access to scientific technical and

- (b) commercial education to enhance their employment opportunities. Providing opportunities for adult literacy and relevant skills training programme for women and tailor them to fit with women's time demand.
- (c) Provide opportunities for professional and management women to network, share their experiences, be role models and mentors for younger women.
- (d) Work with employees on ways of facilitating women with families to work from home, flexible time, job sharing, credit facilities and career break.
- (e) Work with men to improve their awareness of gender issues.

However, all these strategies need gender segregated data to facilitate informed decision making. However, as seen earlier, such information is largely missing, hence the significance of this research on Women in top Management in Africa.

1.5 Hypotheses

From the given available data and information on women and employment, and more so on women in the management in Africa, as well as the conceptual framework given in 1.2 above, the following hypotheses are advanced:

- (1) The more the number of educated women at higher levels the more will there be those in the top management positions.
- (2) The more the affirmative action and goodwill by government towards women, the more likely will the gender equity policies and programmes be implemented.
- (3) The more educational and training programmes on gender issues are in place, the more likely is women's advancement in employment and in decision-making roles.
- (4) The more women in the administrative, managerial and professional occupational categories, the more women will filter through to top management and decision-making positions.
- (5) Women who portray the stereo-typed male characteristics, such as aggressiveness and risk taking, are more likely to rise to top management positions than those who do not.
- (6) Gender role conflict is a major constraint to women's upward mobility to top management positions; such that married women

and those with high fertility are less likely to rise to top management positions.

- (7) The more civic and academic education a woman has, the more likely she is to rise to a top management position.
- (8) The more actively a woman participates in business and professional associations, the more likely she is to be recruited or appointed to top decision-making positions.
- (9) Women with linkages or access to influential persons and political backing are more likely to be appointed to top management positions than those without such access.
- (10) The more women in top management interact and network among each other and with existing women's groups, and organizations, the more likely their effectiveness in influencing policy changes as well as ensuring the implementation of gender equity policies and programmes.

1.6. Research Organisation and Methodology

1.6.1 Introduction

This section presents an outline of the study in terms of sample size, survey area, methodology, key variables and data collection techniques. The research was commissioned by AAPAM to the researcher to carry out a study on women in top management in Uganda. An approved research proposal was provided and the researcher was expected to derive a research instrument appropriate to the country situation. Financial backing was provided by AAPAM.

1.6.2 Research clearance

In Uganda, the national council for science and Technology has the legal mandate to approve all research before it is conducted. Permission was granted and letters of introduction to the respondents were issued to the researcher.

1.6.3 Recruitment of Field Personnel and Training

The researcher involved the use of a self-administered questionnaires and discussions with the respondents. This was necessary because the ladies who were interviewed were very busy and could not find enough time to sit down with interviewers and have the questionnaire administered to them. Therefore research assistants together with the Principal Investigator distributed the questionnaire to

the sampled population. The field personnel, (research assistants) numbering four were selected according to their earlier experience in research activity. They were all graduates from the Faculty of social sciences. A research supervisor was also selected from among the four and all were females.

Prior to their recruitment, copies of the draft questionnaires were availed to the research assistants for study and appraisal and comments. Later in a series of discussions, their input helped to re-cast and review the questionnaire to remove ambiguity. Training of research assistants and the field supervisor took three days. The aims and objectives of the study, the role and responsibilities were carefully explained. Role play and self-administration of the questionnaire was carried out. As the respondents were high-powered women, a diplomatic approach technique was taught to the assistants. They had to be smart, steady, clear, polite but also serious and explained the purpose and objectives of the research.

As the questionnaire was a very long one, the respondents had to be interested in the study. The training also served as the pre-testing of the questionnaire.

1.6.4 The Questionnaire

The questionnaire was self-administered and it had eight sections and each section contained questions on the same themes. The themes were institutional profile, respondents' profiles, leadership styles, access to education and training, access to employment and top positions, laws, rules regulations and programmes related to employment, institutional environment and attitudes to corporate culture.

1.6.5 Data Collection

Data for the study was availed by use of both primary and secondary source. Secondary data was attained from existing documents such as previous research reports, national surveys and monographs. These included the Uganda 1991 Population and Housing Census, the Uganda National Household Budget Survey 1989-1990; the Republic of Uganda Census of Civil Servants (1988), The Women's Decade Report by the Preparatory Committee (1985) on Women and Employment in Uganda; The Uganda Demographic and Health Survey (1989); The Women Headed Household survey 1992 and many others.

Primary data was obtained through the distribution of self-administered questionnaire to 80 sampled women in top management. Unfortunately only 60

questionnaires were received back despite all efforts to retrieve them.

1.6.6 The Sampling Frame

A list of institutions including ministries, the parliament, the judiciary, commissions, banks, the university, parastatals, government departments and some NGOs was drawn. Each listed institution was visited and the total number of workers both men and women was obtained. We then specifically requested for names of those women in those institutions who held top management positions down to three levels. It is from that list that 80 women were purposefully selected, although only 60 answered the questionnaire. This drew our attention to the indifference of women who have already reached the top to research as they do not receive any benefits that may accrue to them from the research results. Appendix I shows the institutions which constituted the sampling frame.

1.6.7 The Sampling Procedure

A purposefully stratified sampling method was employed. It was purposeful in that the selected institutions were those which had women in top management up to level three downwards. It was stratified in that the term "top management is relative depending on the hierarchy in the administration structure. For example, we may have a minister, permanent secretary, under secretary, head of department, etc. These are all top management positions at various hierarchies. For the boards of directors, we have executive directors, we have managing directors and we have policy making directors. These three may be counted as top depending on the criteria for designation. Therefore it was decided that we go to three levels of top management to include all those involved in corporate decision-making as heads/executives of major departments.

1.6.8 Data Analysis

The data processing procedure was in-built within the questionnaire during its preparation. Most questions were pre-coded and data entry started immediately after the field work. However, a number of other questions were open ended. The responses to such questions were captured and later printed out and coded. The range of checks were in-built into the data entry programme and this minimized the time of data cleaning. Data processing and analysis included delivery of frequency tables using the SPSS/PC programme in which the report results are based together with explanations of trends and information derived from the

secondary data sources.

1.6.9 Problems Encountered

Time constraint was the major problem. Secondly, the respondents, being very busy women could neither fill the questionnaire in good time nor agree to be interviewed. So we ended up leaving out some questionnaires after three months waiting. So we analysed the 60 questionnaires that we were able to recover. Another problem was scarcity of secondary data on women in top management in Uganda. Therefore the literature review is not all that comprehensive.

2.0 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY AND STUDY AREA

2.1 Geography, History, the Economy and Politics

Uganda is a small country in the heart of Africa, land-locked and bordered by Kenya in the east, Tanzania in the south, Zaire in the west and Sudan in the north. The country has an area of 241,038 Km², 18% of which is open water and swamp and 12% is forest reserve and game parks. Lake Victoria, the second largest lake in the world makes up the largest area of open water shared with Kenya and Tanzania.

Uganda has a favourable climate because of its relatively high elevation. Temperature ranges between 17oC and 26oC on average. The central west and southwest regions receive heavy rainfall during the months of March through May and light rainfall between September and December. Rainfall diminishes as one approaches the border with Sudan in the north. The soils are relatively fertile in most areas. The regional agricultural potential is determined by the favourable climatic conditions and the land population carrying capacity is closely related to the agricultural potential.

The population of Uganda is 16.7 million (1991) with women constituting 51%. Uganda is made up of many tribal groupings of Bantu, Nilotes, Nilo-Hamites and those of Sudanic origin. Before independence in 1962, Uganda was basically divided into kingdoms or similar political cultural groups consisting mainly of homogenous tribal groups which occupied various parts of the country. This diversity has given rise to a rich cultural heritage although it has also been a source of ethnic animosity and political instability. Because of its landlocked position and its being surrounded by countries with various economic, social and political problems, Uganda finds itself with a problem of refugees from Rwanda, Zaire, Sudan and recently Kenya. These have exhibited internal political instability

that has influenced Uganda for the last thirty years since 1966.

Independence from British colonial rule was secured on October 9th 1962. After achieving sovereignty, Uganda became a member of the Commonwealth, the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity, the African Caribbean Pacific States and the Preferential Trade Area. Uganda is party to the Convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against rights of women regardless of their marital status, in respects of life, political, economic, social or civil. Despite ratification of the Convention, there are still many areas of systematic or de-facto discrimination against women in Uganda.

One of the most persistent feature of Uganda since 1966, has been breaches of human rights and these have persisted whether the regime in power is civilian or military. Uganda is one country in Africa that has broken the record of having had the highest turnover of heads of state, 9 political regimes in a period 1962-1993. (Sir Edward Muteesa; Obote I; Idi Amin; Uganda National Liberation Front; Lule; Binaisa; the Military Commission; Titto Okello and now President Museveni). Many people have lost their lives at every change of government and we have many single parents and orphans. This scenario has been aggravated by the AIDS epidemic.

In terms of the economy, Uganda is an agricultural country with 90% of the population depending on agriculture and agro-based industries. Agriculture contributes 98% of Uganda's exports and the country is basically self-sufficient in food. Thanks to the Ugandan woman. She contributes between 60%-80% of the agricultural output. From 1960-1970 Uganda had an expanding economy with a GDP growth rate of 5% per annum as compared to a population growth rate of 2.6% per annum.

2.2 Available Data and Information on Women and Employment in Uganda.

Like most African countries, Uganda suffers from lack of sufficient gender desegregated data on women and work mainly due to the fact that gender considerations, though spreading rapidly, is a phenomenon of recent development especially so after the 1985 Women's Decade Conference in Nairobi. Despite the deficiency, a number of women and men have carried out researches on various themes on women. Likewise, government has conducted surveys with data relevant to women.

Generally, there is substantial research done on demographic and

population related information generated mainly by Makerere University, the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, and the Population Secretariat under the support of the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA). NGOs and other United Nations agencies that have been active include among others, UNICEF, DANIDA and World Vision International. Local NGOs like ACFODE and FIDA have carried out some researches on women. The population census 1948, 1959, 1969, 1980 and 1991 have generated a loof demographic data from which information on women and employment can be derived. However, some of the research on demographic aspects are recorded in thesis format or research reports and hence inaccessible to the general reader.

There is relatively less research being done on other aspects of women such as those in banking, credit, management, industry, trade and formal employment. This may be explained by the fact that for a long time, few women in Uganda have engaged or participated in these activities. Many women and men are just beginning to get involved but as the available literature shows, those who have done so are very enthusiastic and this has encouraged others (Musoke 1991). Again Musoke (1991) carried out a research on Women in the professions: challenges and prospects of careerism in Uganda since independence. The research surveyed factors that are relevant to women's career progress. However, it did not specifically focus on women in top management.

Ibanda (1983) did a survey of the Demographic aspects of the labour force in urban Uganda, a Case study of South Kampala for his M.A. thesis, University of Ghana Legon. For a long time, empirical knowledge about labour force and manpower (Human resources) utilization in Uganda has been limited. Census data on the economic activities of the population are completely lacking. The only available evidence is the estimates made by the ILO (1971) but still these were outdated and lack reliable benchmarks. Another limited source of information on employment were the annual reports on the enumeration of employees published by the Ministry of Labour. However, the exercise ceased in 1971. Tereka (1989) and Chigudu and Tereka (1989) analysed the Uganda civil Service Census Survey and reported that the civil Service is still dominated by men who constitute 76% of it. Most women are employed in the lower echelons of the civil service. There are few women in the administrative and managerial positions. Most women are employed in semi-professional category. Kulubya (1991) carried out a research on women's career progress and it was reported that there seemed to be progress as women take on more varied professions, even those that were originally dominated

by men. Mutibwa (1986) made a listing of women versus men holding high positions in the political sector, civil service and other bodies. However, the listing did not come out with comprehensive causes, scenarios and strategies for redressing the detected imbalances.

The Women Studies Department, Makerere University is compiling an annotated bibliography of research on women in Uganda and the report should be out any time in 1993. The Bibliography lists researches done so far and where such research reports/publications can be traced. The same department is also compiling a Women in Development Profile for Uganda.

The centre for Basic Research has carried out research on various issues such as structural Adjustment Policies and Programmes. However, no work has been so far done on women in top management as such.

2.3 This Study

From the foregoing, it is evident that despite the various studies on employment of women in the Uganda civil service (Tereka 1989); the Uganda Women in high level decision making (Mutibwa, 1986); a survey of the problems attendant to women's employment outside the home (Jjemba 1986); Women in the Professions (Musoke 1990); The government of Uganda Population and Housing Census (1991); The Republic of Uganda Census of Civil Servants (1988), the Women's Decade Preparatory Committee Report (1985); the Uganda Demographic and Health of Household in the Luwero Triangle (1992), this study has a lot to offer.

It is unique because it specifically addresses the critical issue of women in top management, which is a rare phenomena. Areas focused on include the institutional profile of the places of work where women are on top; the personal profile of the women in top management, their leadership styles, access to education and training; access to employment and top positions, laws, rules and regulations related to employment, the institutional environment and attitudes and corporate culture. This integrated type of analysis is intended to add on the existing body of literature as well as pointing out the major causes, scenarios, consequences and strategies and the needs of women to be more involved in top management activities. Relevant remedial action can only be contemplated when information is available on which informed decision can be based for the emancipation of women. The problem must be currently diagnosed if relevant corrective institutions are to be put in place.

3.0 THE RESEARCH RESULTS

Section 3 presents in detail the research results. In section 3.1, the profile of institutions where women in top management operate is outlined. Section 3.2 presents the personal profiles of women in top management who were interviewed and section 3.3 is on women in employment in Uganda. Section 3.4 looks at the progress so far made by women in occupying top management positions while section 3.5 discusses the critical factors affecting women's advance to top management positions, and section 3.6 looks at socio-cultural and historical factors affecting recruitment and promotion. In section 3.7 we look at educational attainment as it relates to women's holding of key posts and section 3.8 is on factors that sustain women in top positions, as well as those which disadvantage them. Section 3.9 focuses on the opportunity cost of reaching top positions by women and 3.10 looks at personal traits while 3.11 discusses leadership styles and management behavioral models. Power support is discussed in section 3.12, role conflict in 3.13, and employees who stagnate on one job or in one position in 3.14. The institutional environment and laws, rules and regulations related to education and employment are discussed in section 3.15. Lastly, in section 3.16 affirmative action programmes so far in place are examined as well as how women perceive affirmative action programmes. Section 4.0 addresses the future and prospects for positive change as far as women's employment in top management positions is concerned, including proposals for a research agenda.

3.1 The Institutional Profiles

This section examines the institutional profiles of the various places of work where women in top management operated at various levels. It spells out the nature of the institution, whether it is public, parastatal, NGO, educational, parliamentary or district headquarters. Table 3.1 shows the types of institutions that were sampled. Appendix 1 shows the details.

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Table 3.1: Types of Institutions Sampled N = 44

Type	Frequency	Percentage
Government Ministries	11	25.00
Commissions	6	13.64
Parastatals	7	15.90
Government Departments	2	4.55
Educational Institutions	3	6.82
Financial Institutions	6	13.64
NGOs	7	15.91
Parliament	1	2.27
District Headquarters	1	2.27
Total	44	100.00

As it can be noted, 60 women were interviewed from 44 institutions indicating that in some institutions more than one woman were interviewed, that is, there were more than one woman in top management. This was especially true where we had Executive Directors and Directors of Boards who in both cases are top management and decision-making positions.

Table 3.2: Dates of Establishment of Institutions where Women worked
N = 60

Date of Establishment	Frequency	Percentage
1900-1962	5	8.33
1963-1971	9	15.00
1972-1980	2	3.33
1981-1985	2	3.33
1986-1993	16	26.67
Not stated	26	43.33
	60	100.00

Table 3.3: Size of Institutions: Number of Employees

Size (No. of Workers)	Frequency	Percentage
Less than 49	9	15.00
50 - 94	4	6.67
100 - 149	2	3.33
150 - 199	5	8.33
200+	35	58.33
Not stated	5	8.33
	60	100.00

Table 3.4: Level of Operation

Level	Frequency	Percentage
National	41	68.33
Continental	0	00.00
Beyond Africa	14	22.33
Not stated	5	8.33
	60	100

Table 3.5: Nature of Activity/Business

Activity	Frequency	Percentage
Profit Making	18	30.00
Non-Profit Making	34	56.66
Not stated	8	13.33
	60	100.00

Table 3.6: Level of Operation

Type	Frequency	Percentage
Industrial	4	6.67
Agricultural	2	3.33
Educational	13	21.67
Religious	0	0.00
Skills Training	3	3.00
Services	20	33.33
Commercial	18	30.00
	60	100

On the type of Institutions (Table 3.1) most women in top management worked in government ministries (25%); Parastatals and NGOs (16%); Commissions and Financial Institutions (14% each) followed by educational institutions (7%) and other government departments. This may be due to government efforts to integrate women in management positions, especially those who qualify for the jobs. It is currently mandatory in Uganda for every parastatal body to have at least a non-executive female member on the Board of directors. However, executive directors are strictly recruited on merit and professionalism, while non-executive directorships are political appointments.

A number of women parliamentarians were interviewed but they answered the questionnaires in their capacities as employees at their official places of work because being a member of parliament in Uganda is not a full-time job. Hence only one respondent answered in her capacity as a parliamentarian.

Table 3.2 shows the dates when the various institutions were established. Out of the 44 institutions that were sampled, only 5 existed before independence in 1962. The majority of women worked in institutions which were established after 1963 and 1986. This is a reflection of the few women who occupied high positions before 1986. When the National Resistance Movement (NRM) came into power in 1986, there were very few institutions established between 1972-1985 and these did not employ women mainly due to civil wars and unfavourable working environment, especially for women. However, 1963 to 1972 was reasonably progressive with 9 institutions established between those dates, employing women.

On the size of the institution, (Table 3.3) in terms of employment, the majority of women worked in places with more than 200 workers, and with regard to the level of operation (Table 3.4) most institutions headed by women are at national level and only 14 operated beyond Africa. However, this was not a bad figure. Table 3.5 shows that most of the institutions women worked for were non-profit making, implying that they were in top management mainly in government ministries; departments, commissions and parastatals as seen in Table 3.1. However, examining the data further in Table 3.6, the type of activity in the places where most women were in top management included service oriented institutions (33%); educational (22%) and commercial (30%). This confirms earlier observations of the stereo-typing of women's working experience in the educational and service sectors rather than the directly productive and industrial ones. This also reflects their training.

It can be noted that in all the Tables from 3.1 to 3.6, a number of respondents did not answer some questions (indicated not stated) in the tables. This implies that some women did not have the facts about their places of work and they never bothered to find out or the question was not clear. They just left the sections blank. For example most respondents did not know when their institutions were started, the number of employees under them and which of those were females. This is an area where women in top management positions can be sensitized on the virtue of having facts about their work places to enhance good management and the making of decisions that are informed. They also need to know the fellow women below them in order to consider lending each other a hand whenever necessity arises for support.

3.2 The Personal Profiles of Women in Top Management in Uganda

This section analyses the personal profiles or the background characteristics of women in top management positions in various institutions. It is being assumed that such characteristics may have influence on presence and performance of women in top management.

Table 3.7: Age of Respondents

Characteristic	Frequency	Percentage
Age		
Less than 35	08	13.33
36 - 40	20	33.33
41 - 45	16	26.67
46 - 50	10	16.67
51 - 56	03	5.00
Older than 56	01	1.67
Not stated	02	3.33

Table 3.8

Marital Status	Frequency	Percentage
Married	31	51.7
Living together (cohabiting)	4	6.7
Widowed	5	8.3
Separated/divorced	4	6.6
Not now living together	1	1.7
Never married	13	21.7
Not Stated	2	3.3

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Table 3.9

Type of Marriage	Frequency	Percentage
Monogamous	29	48.3
Polygamous	11	16.7
Not applicable	20	35.0

Table 3.10

Age at First Marriage	Frequency	Percentage
Less than 20 years	1	1.67
21 - 25	28	46.67
26 - 30	13	18.33
31 - 35	2	1.67
36 - 40	2	1.67
Older than 40	1	1.67
Never married (not applicable)	13	28.33

Table 3.11

Educational Status, School and Frequency Percentage Undergraduate Highest Level Reached

Secondary "O" Level	8	13.33
Secondary "O" & "A" Level	3	5.00
University "O" & "A" Level	44	73.33
Diploma "O" & "A" Level	5	8.33
	60	100

Table 3.12

Post-graduate Training	Frequency	Percentage
Masters degree	16	26.70
Ph.D degree	2	3.33
Diploma (not postgrad)	13	21.67
No Post-graduate training	13	21.67
Not applicable	16	26.67

Table 3.13

Other Type of Training	Frequency	Percentage
Diploma Public Administration and Management	13	21.67
Diploma Education	8	13.33
Banking Course	4	6.67
Legal Practice Course	2	3.33
Chartered Secretaries/Administrators	1	1.67
Foreign Language/Journalism	3	5.00
Computer Literacy	1	1.67
Research Methods	1	1.67
Agriculture	2	3.33
In-Service Training	22	36.67

Table 3.14

Location of Residence When Young	Frequency	Percentage
Urban	16	26.67
Rural	43	71.67
Outside Uganda	1	1.67

Table 3.15

Religious Affiliation	Frequency	Percentage
Catholic	21	35.00
Protestant	37	61.67
Muslim	00	00.00
Seventh Day Adventist	00	00.00
Traditional	00	00.00
Other (Born Again)	2	3.33

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Table 3.16: Reproductive Status

Number of Children	Frequency	Percentage
No Child	9	15.00
Child	4	6.70
2 Children	7	11.70
3 Children	14	23.33
4 Children	14	23.33
5 Children	8	13.33
6 Children	1	1.67
7 Children	2	3.30
8 Children	1	1.67

Table 3.17

Ages of Children	Frequency	Percentage
Less than 1 year	10	16.67
1 - 5 years	2	3.33
5 - 10 years	7	11.67
10 - 15 years	10	16.67
15 - 20 years	19	31.67
20 - 25 years	10	16.67
More than 25 years	2	3.33

Table 3.18 Characteristics of Spouses

Age of Spouses	Frequency	Percentage
Less than 30 years	10	16.67
30 - 35 years	2	3.33
36 - 40 years	2	3.33
41 - 45 years	11	18.33
46 - 50 years	9	15.00
51 - 55 years	11	18.33
56 - 60 years	3	5.00
More than 60 years	1	1.67
Not applicable	31	35.00
	60	100.00

Table 3.7 Indicates the ages of the respondents

The youngest woman was 30 years old while the oldest was 56 years. The majority of women were in the age group 16-50 (77%). It should be noted that in Uganda, most institutions specify the minimum age required for one to acquire a top management job and usually people should not be below the age of 35. Then, except for those people on contract terms, the retirement age is 55, so, it is not surprising that the ages of women ranged between 36-50. It was hypothesized (hypothesis 6) that role conflict is a major constraint to women's upward mobility to top management positions, such that married women with high fertility are less likely to rise to top management positions. The hypothesis is investigated in this section by looking at the personal profiles of women in top management.

Table 3.8 shows the marital status of women with 52% of the women being currently married, and 22% had never (not yet) married. However, quite a number (7%) were cohabiting and another 7% had divorced or separated. The fact that 52% were currently married, and except for the 8% who were widowed, may imply that women in top management may get pre-occupied with their careers and forego their marriage. There had been also a belief that men do not want to marry very highly educated women.

On the type of marriage, (table 3.9) 48% were in monogamous union and 17% were in polygamous union, while 35% were not in union. This may imply that women in top management positions can afford to stay on their own though they may have a spouse for socialization. This defeats the argument that women go in polygamous union because of problems of subsistence. When interviewed some single parents indicated that they got a spouse because they wanted to have a child not because they wanted assistance from the men.

On the age at first marriage (Table 3.10) most women got married at the age of above 21, while the majority got married at the age of between 21-30 (65%). While in Uganda, women get married as early as at age 15, women in management may have got married late as table 3.10 shows because they stay long in school. This is well supported by the evidence in Table 3.11 on the education status of the respondents where 73% had university education at undergraduate level and 52% had postgraduate training. This fact also confirms the suggestion that education contributes to delayed marriage which in turn may affect women's fertility. Women in top management, as seen in Table 3.12 and 3.13 also engage in other type of training in terms of short courses. These may include Masters

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and Ph.D. degrees, public administration and management, education, banking, legal practice, international relations, and other in-service training courses. These are very instrumental in the provision of access to promotion and appointment to top executive positions; and hence competition with men.

Another related aspect is reproductive status of the respondents. While the fertility rate in Uganda is 7.3 children per woman in reproductive age (Uganda Demographic and Health Survey 1989), Table 3.16 the majority of the respondents had 3-5 children. Only two women had seven and one had eight children. So 78% had had less than the national fertility rate of 7.3. Nine women indicated they had no children.

Table 3.17 shows the ages of the children. There is a spread from those with babies of less than one year (17%) to those with older children of 16-25 years (65%). While it has been said that reproduction is a constraint to women's concentration on their occupations and higher education, most women interviewed indicated that, it is true reproduction interrupts their work but that they get support from house girls whom they pay. So, it is mainly the unemployed women who cannot afford to get a house help and who may find problems with the up-keep of children. Other respondents said that they take their children to boarding schools, while others said that the children were big enough to look after themselves.

We also investigated the age of the spouses (Table 3.18) of the respondents. While the majority of the respondents were between the age groups of 36-50 years (77%), the majority of the spouses were in the age groups 41-60 (58%). This indicates that generally women get married to men who are older than them and who may have acquired a status even higher than the respondents themselves.

Another interesting result was on religious affiliation (Table 3.15). While the protestants had the largest number of respondents (62%) and 35% were catholics, there was no muslim respondent among the sampled women. Either it was because there are very few muslim women in top management positions or it was accidental that none was among those that were interviewed. On the other hand, most women in top management positions had their education in missionary Christian schools where muslim girls were not readily accepted, and there were very few schools for muslim girls at the time. However, with the liberalization of entry to secondary schools on merit, there may be more muslim girls in the middle cadre of management. This is yet to be investigated.

Background factors of women in top management, such as age, marital status, age at first marriage, educational status, both academic and vocational, religious affiliation, reproductive status may help to explain the characteristics of those women in their transition to top management positions and who can be targeted as potential top managers.

3.3 Women in Employment in Uganda

Before we are able to specifically examine the women in top management in Uganda, we have to note that the number of such women in top management will depend on the number of women employed in various occupational categories to begin with. (Hypothesis 4). The hypothesis here is that the fewer the women working in a particular occupational category, the fewer will be the number that can filter through to top management positions.

Therefore, in order to understand the current status of employment in Uganda by gender, it is in order to first trace the historical pattern of women in employment and their places of work.

According to the 1991 Population and Housing Census, it was observed that the population of Uganda is largely rural with 89% of the people residing in the country side. This situation reflects the basically agricultural nature of the national economy (Population Census report 1991). Women contribute 80% from labour in the agricultural sector. In Uganda, agriculture accounts for 70% of the GDP, 95% of export earning; 80% of employment and 80% of government internal revenue.

Therefore, when considering women in top management in Uganda, we have to bear in mind the fact that very few women in Uganda work outside the home. Table 3.19 shows the women employees in the public service in 1982.

Table 3.19 Women Employees in Uganda Public Service, 1992*

MINISTRY/DEPARTMENT	TOTAL NO. EMPLOYED	NO. OF WOMEN	% WOMEN
1. President's Office	947	141	14.9
2. Judiciary	983	149	15.2
3. National Assembly	61	25	41.0
4. Audit	177	9	5.1
5. Public Service and Cabinet Affairs	205	52	25.4

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6. Foreign Affairs	289	91	31.5
7. Justice	203	66	32.5
8. Finance	1,183	255	21.6
9. Commerce	246	49	19.9
10. Agriculture and Forestry	3,319	147	3.8
11. Animal Resources	2,066	151	7.3
12. Lands, Minerals and Water Resources	882	57	6.5
13. Education	731	129	17.6
14. Health	7,912	4,147	52.4
15. Culture & Community Development	1,002	267	26.6
16. Works & Housing	413	59	14.3
17. Transport & Communication	727	57	7.8
18. Information	741	57	7.7
19. Industry and Power	41	10	21.3
20. Labour	327	66	20.2
21. Defence/Office of the VP	348	203	58.3
22. Internal Affairs	170	39	22.9
23. Police	13,112	553	4.2

MINISTRY/DEPARTMENT	TOTAL NO EMPLOYED	NO. OF WOMEN	% WOMEN
24. Prisons	3,787	368	9.7
25. Local Government	313	19	6.1
26. Planning & Econ. Dev.	205	45	22.0
27. Co-op. and Marketing	1,181	113	9.6
28. Tourism and Wildlife	73	11	15.1
29. Regional Co-operation	376	46	12.2

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30. Power, Posts and Tel.	40	8	20.0
31. Rehabilitation	148	32	21.6
32. Supplies	10	4	40.0
33. Consolidated Fund Services	19	-	-
	43,330	7,424	17.1

Source: Uganda Public Service Commission, Kampala, Uganda,
*All women in established posts.

The table clearly shows the predominance of males in all occupational categories. Areas that were grossly under-represented by women in terms of formal employment include Agriculture and Forestry, (3.8%) although women dominate agricultural work force as an "informal" activity or unpaid labour; Audit (5%); Local government (6%); Police and Prisons (4.2%) and (9.7%) respectively, Cooperatives and Marketing (9.6%); Transport and Communication (7.8%) Information (7.7%) Water Resources (6.5%) and Animal Resources (7.3%) However, such departments like the National Assembly (51%) Defence/Office of the Vice-President (58%); Ministry of Health (52%); Supplies (40%) Justice (32%) and Foreign Affairs (32%) had a reasonable number of women employed.

As table 3.19 shows though female participation was 17%, it had been increasing from 2600 in 1967 to 7424 in 1982 (International Decade Report 1985). The increase was represented by an annual rate of about 12.0% between the two dates. A total of 239,528 persons were registered as being on the pay role of the Uganda Civil Service as of 13/7/1987. Of these, 179,684 (76%) were male and 56,290 (24%) were female. Administrative and management occupational category had 16,824 (6%) women.

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Table 3.20: Employed Persons in the Civil Service by Ministry/Institution, Sex and Occupational Category July 1987

	ADMINISTRATIVE AND MATERIAL OCCUPATIONS				PROFESSIONAL			
	M	F	TOT AL	F %	M	F %	TOT AL	F %
Office of the President	378	53	431	12.3	26	8	34	23.5
Judiciary	23	1	24	4.2	113	14	127	11
National Assembly	5	3	8	37.5	2	1	3	33.3
Audit	8	1	9	11	1	0	0	11.1
Public Service & Cabinet Affairs	143	34	177	19.2	26	9	35	25.7
Foreign Affairs	65	11	76	14.5	0	1	1	100
Justice	96	24	120	20	297	36	333	10.8
Finance	508	59	567	10.4	184	28	212	13.2
Commerce	52	6	58	10.3	52	6	58	10.3
Agriculture & Forestry	206	31	237	13.1	345	60	405	14.8
Animal Industry & Fisheries	128	16	144	11.1	385	54	439	12.3
Lands and Surveys	78	8	86	9.3	202	26	228	11.4
Education (including Makerere University)	1705	264	1969	13.4	1900	542	2442	22.2
Health	184	54	238	22.7	664	151	815	18.5
Youth, Culture & Sports	43	11	54	20.4	50	19	69	27.5
Works	111	6	117	5.1	113	5	118	4.2
Transport and Communication	43	6	49	12.2	33	1	34	2.9
Information and broadcasting	32	6	38	15.8	313	104	417	24.9
Industry and Technology	29	1	30	3.3	19	5	24	20.8
Labour	108	13	121	10.7	90	15	105	14.3
Defence	17	3	20	15.0	22	1	23	4.3

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Internal Affairs	471	41	51	8.0	53	4	57	7
Police Force	555	28	58	5.2	4	3	7	42.9
Prison Service	105	6	111	5.4	8	0	8	-
ADMINISTRATIVE AND MATERIAL OCCUPATIONS					PROFESSIONAL			
	M	F	TOTAL	F %	M	F %	TOTAL	F %
Local Government	10212	210	10422	2	338	47	385	12.2
Planning & Economic Development	28	3	31	9.7	41	11	52	21.2
Cooperative & Marketing	225	37	262	14.1	245	31	276	11.2
Tourism and Wildlife	40	5	45	11.1	19	5	24	20.8
Regional Cooperation	38	4	42	9.5	69	6	75	8.0
Prime Minister's Office	15	3	18	16.7	1	2	3	66.7
Environment Protection	41	1	42	2.4	159	6	165	3.6
Rehabilitation	31	12	43	27.9	8	2	10	20.0
Energy	8	1	9	11.1	6	0	6	-
Mulago Hospital Complex	5	3	8	37.5	33	16	49	32.7
Housing & Urban Dev.	55	5	60	8.3	81	5	86	5.8
Water & Mineral Dev.	47	5	52	9.8	118	2	120	1.7
Not Stated	10	1	11	9.1	1	0	1	-
	15848	976	16824	5.8	6021	1226	7247	16.9

Source: Republic of Uganda (1988) Census of Civil Service. Manpower Planning Department, Ministry of Planning and Economic Development.

Table 3.20 shows the employed persons in the Civil Service by Ministries/Institutions/departments by sex and occupational category of administrative management and the professions by 1987.

A quick glimpse of table 3.20 reveals a pattern of male dominance in all occupational categories, be it administration, managerial or professional. Women filled 17% of the professional jobs 6% of the administrative and managerial, and

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35.5% of the technician/semi-professional jobs and machine operation. Assembling areas employed 53%, clerical work and service work constituted 27% while elementary occupations constituted 19% and 3.5% was in crafts and related activities. On the whole, women are concentrated in stereo-type traditionally perceived as women's jobs such as nursing, teaching, secretarial work and service provision. The main interest here are the functions performed by workers of both sexes in the course of producing goods and services in the economy. They are thus indicators of both skills content of the human resource as well as the occupational needs of different stages of economic development. The administrative, executive and managerial workers constitute the decision-making category in the production system. Society therefore requires equal participation of both men and women for balanced development. However, this is never the case. With such small numbers of women in the management occupational category (6%) and the professional jobs (17%), we would not expect many women to have filtered through to top management positions. Women in to management 1987/1988 constituted 0.05% of the civil and public service.

3.4 Women in Top Management in Uganda

Hypothesis (2) suggested that the more the affirmative action, and goodwill by the government towards women the more likely will the gender equity policies and programmes be implemented. However enlightened government policy and affirmative action on employment of women might be, it is possible for certain factors and situations which might not be of government's creation or in its power to control to frustrate its implementation. Despite all official national and international declarations determining their own lives and societal change. In Uganda, women in high and top decision making positions still remain few despite the increase in affirmative action through legislation, and efforts by NGOs, and International agencies.

3.4.1 Progress made by women in Uganda in occupying top management and decision making positions

The women's movement has existed in Uganda way back in 1910 when efforts were made in organizing women for joint useful action by religious groups with a major objective of enlightening them in their belief and to develop stable families (Matembe, 1991). This movement continued to grow in strength through the 1960s to the present time. However, the trend of this movement has changed tremendously after the Nairobi conference in 1985 and the advent of the National

Resistance Movement in 1986. This is mainly because, while the global concern for women was developing in the 1970s and 1980s, Uganda's civil strife precluded any meaningful advancement in this field. However, since 1986, a lot has been done towards advancement of women to management positions because the current government (1986-1993), is totally committed to the advancement and integration of women in the mainstream of the development process of the country. For the first time in the history of Uganda, the women's issue is being explicitly addressed at the national level and the government has embraced an open policy of promoting women who qualify and protecting their rightful interests as well as their human rights.

Table 3.21 Women in Executive, Policy and Decision Making Positions by 1993 (June)

POSITION	Appointing Authority	TOTAL	FEMALES	% FEMALES
Cabinet Minister	Political	22	2	9
Minister of State	Political	10	1	10
Deputy Minister	Political	11	2	18
Parliamentarians	Affirmative	273	41	16
District Administrators	Political	39	5	13
Permanent Secretary	Executive	42	7	17
Under Secretary	Executive	61	10	16

Table 3.22; The NRM Secretariat

		Total	Female	% Female
Directors	Political	6	1	17
Deputy Directors	Political	8	3	38
Assistant Directors	Political	22	5	23

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Table 3.23: The NRM Secretariat

Human Rights	6	1	16
Constitutional	20	2	10
Education Policy Review	28	3	11
Public Service Review	9	2	22
AIDS	21	3	14
Teaching Service	11	3	27
UNESCO National Commission	10	1	10
Population Policy Drafting	28	7	25

Table 3.24: Makerere University

Council	Political	23	4	12
Appointments Board	Political	5	1	20
Faculty Deans	Electoral	11	1	9
Institute Directors	Electoral	5	1	20
Deputy Directors	Electoral	5	3	60
Academic Heads of Department	Electoral	74	11	15
Heads of Dept Administration	Executive	129	19	15

Table 3.25: Institute of Teacher Education Kyambogo

Council	Political	24	4	17
Appointments Board	Political	12	2	17
Faculty Deans	Electoral	4	1	25
Teacher Education Inspectors	Executive	45	15	33
District Education Officers	Executive	38	3	8

Table 3.26: PARASTATALS (Political)

POSITION	TOTAL NO.	FEMALES	% FEMALES
Board of Directors:			
Uganda Development Corporation	6	2	33
Republic Motors	5	2	40
National Water & Sewerage Corp	8	1	13
Uganda Railways Corporation	8	1	13
Schweppes	5	1	13
National Insurance Corporation	6	1	16
Uganda Electricity Board	7	1	14
Foods and Beverages	7	1	14
Uganda Coffee Dev. Authority	6	1	16
Lint Marketing Board	6	2	33
Produce Marketing Board	6	1	16
Uganda General Merchandise Ltd.	7	1	14
Uganda Transport Company	7	1	14
New Vision	9	1	11
Uganda Hotels	8	2	25
Uganda National Parks	10	1	10
Uganda Pharmaceuticals Ltd	7	2	28
Uganda Commercial Bank	12	2	15

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Table 3.27 BANKS OF UGANDA (Executive)

Assistant Chief Manager	27	3	11
Senior Manager	18	3	17
Manager	47	9	19
Assistant Managers	56	12	21
Sub-Manager	117	26	22

Table 3.28 UGANDA COMMERCIAL BANK (Executive)

Branch Heads	193	11	6
Division Heads	48	6	13
Assistant General managers	15	3	20
Regional Offices Heads	12	1	8

Table 3.29: OTHER BANKS - EXECUTIVE POSITIONS HELD BY WOMEN

POSITION HELD BY WOMEN

Barclays: main Branch	Manager
Barclays: Embassy House Branch	Manager
Barclays: Embassy House Branch	Accountant
Barclays: Luwum Street Branch	Manager
Luwum Street Branch	Accountant
Grindlays Bank	Manager

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Grindlays Bank	Manager - Clearing
Cooperative Bank (Main)	Manager
Cooperative Bank - Wandegeya	Manager
Cooperative Bank (Main)	Chief Manager
Cooperative Bank - City Branch	Accountant
Bank of Baroda (Main)	Training Officer
Bank of Baroda	(1) member - Board of Directors
Greenland Bank	Head, Foreign Exchange Dept
Teefe Trust Bank (Main) of 12 (25%)	(3) Members - Board of Directors Out
Greenland Bank	Head of Current Accounts
Teefe Trust Bank (Main)	Director (Board) - Head, Current Account - Senior Banking Officer - Banking Officer
Housing Finance	NO FEMALE
Arab/Libyan Bank (Main)	Head - Computer Services Manager - Pensions and Insurance
Arab-Libyan bank - Other Branches Jinja Masaka	- Assistant Manager Head - Current Accounts
Uganda Development Bank	Manager - Accounts Manager - Finance

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	No Female Director
East African Development Bank	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Director of Finance - Assistant Counsel
Gold Trust Bank Ltd	- 1 Board Director out of 5 Assistant Managers
Luweru Branch	Manager
Standard Chartered Bank	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Manager - Foreign Service - Customers Services - Out of 12 officers in charge
Nile Bank	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Assistant Directors (2) - Head, Computer Division - Head, Operations Division

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SOME MINISTRIES, PARASTATALS & NGO	POSITION HELD BY WOMEN
Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Commissioner for Development - Principal Economist (2) - Senior Economist (1)
Ministry of Agriculture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Minister - Deputy commissioner - Under Secretary - Finance - Under Secretary - Planning - Principal Personnel Officer - Principal Economist
Ministry of health	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Deputy Director, Maternal and Child Health/Family Planning
World Health Organisation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Epidemiologist - Sociologist - Economist - Administrator
Uganda Airlines Corporation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Head of International Relations Department - Market Research - Development and Corporate Planning Manager - Principled Sales Reservations Officer - Senior Industry Affairs and Tariffs Officer
National Water and Sewerage Corporation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Engineer in Charge of Operations - Senior Personnel Officer - Senior Accounts Officers (2) - Personnel Officers (2)
World Bank Project Coordination Unit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Administrator
Uganda Railways Corporations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Chief Signals and - Telecommunication Engineer - Principal Public Relations Officer - Assistant Corporation Secretary - Principal Legal Officer - Training Officer

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Uganda Electricity Board	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Principal Corporate Planner - Principal Internal Auditor - principal Protection Engineer
Uganda Posts and Telecommunications	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Legal Secretary - manpower Planning Officer - Welfare Officer
Foods and Beverages	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Administrative Manager - Zonal Manager
Uganda Transport Company	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Legal officer - Public Relations Officer - Office Superintendent
Uganda Hotels Ltd	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Legal Officer - Managers (7) - Assistant Managers (3)
Uganda National Parks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Programme Officer - Research Officer
Wildlife club of uganda	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Secretary General
National Enterprise Corporation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Deputy Legal Officer
Uganda Export Promotion Council	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Documentalist - Public Relations Officer
Uganda Virus Research Institute	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Head of Immunology - Director of Medical Research Council - Anthropologist
Bata (U) Ltd	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Deputy Industrial/Personnel Officer - Deputy Technical Designer (2)
Transocean (U) Ltd	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Senior Operations officer - Branch Manager, Malaba
Uganda Development Bank	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Manager - Accounts Manager - Finance No Female Director
Produce Marketing Board	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Managing Director
Schweppes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Production manager

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National Insurance Corporation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Assistant General manager Insurance - Training Manager - Assistant Legal Secretary
Standard Chartered Bank	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Manager - Foreign Service - Customers Services - Out of 12 Officers in charge
Nile Bank	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Assistant Directors (2) - Head, Computer Division - Head, Operations Division

In spite of the fact that in Africa, Uganda ranks high in terms of its performance and affirmative action on gender, in 1962 there were only two female parliamentarians while in 1980 there was only one female parliamentarian out of a total of 143. However, in 1990 the number rose to 19 women out of a total of 273 parliamentarians constituting 14%. At the present (1993), there are 41 female parliamentarians out of a total of 273 constituting 16%. The increase has been largely due to government policy of affirmative action where in each county, Resistance councils are expected by law to include a secretary for women affairs, among its membership, and this must be a woman. Representation in the Resistance committees range between 1% to 30% and this is still low given the fact that women in addition to their one mandatory seat out of the 9 seats, they are eligible to contest any of the other 8 posts including the chairmanship, vice-chairmanship, secretary for defence, secretary for information, secretary for the youth, and secretary for mobilization.

Hence, the road to full participation of women in leadership in the highest level of policy formulation and decision making is not an easy one. The present NRM government is sympathetic to the women's cause and should a new one come and has a contrary view, women will have to fight it alone as elected members in parliament. Currently, (1993) only 2 women went through the elections on their own vote. Areas where women have fared well on their own accord include district administration (5 women out of a total of 39). The district administrator is the political head of the district administration. Women constitute 17% (7 out of 42) of the permanent secretaries and 26% (16 out of 61) of the under secretaries in ministries. The permanent and under secretaries constitute the cream of the civil service. The secretary to the Public Service Commission by 1992 was a female. Even in the judiciary, women are represented though in small

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numbers. The President of the Industrial Court of Uganda is female. There are 4 female judges, one female chief Magistrate, one female director of civil affairs and two female senior principal state attorneys. In addition, there are five women on the National Executive Council. In the National Resistance Movement Secretariat (the movement in power) women are also represented. There is one director out of 38 and 22 Assistant Directors out of 23. With regard to the commissions, it is mandatory in Uganda that on each commission there is a woman. As Table 3.23 on all commissions, there are women although in less representation than men in all cases.

However, for Makerere University, (Table 3.24) recruitment and promotion are purely on merit. Women and men compete for promotion to advertised jobs on equal footing. For posts like that of the Dean of a faculty the faculty boards elect from their ranks. Hence the Dean of the Faculty of Arts was just elected after competing with 3 men who were nominated. Other 10 faculties are headed by men. The same will be true for the Institute of Teacher Education Kyambogo (Table 3.25).

Table 3.26 shows some parastatal bodies with women being represented on the Boards of Directors. Again, it is government policy that women be represented on all boards of directors although such women must be of proven competence, professionally relevant and of integrity. In fact some parastatals are chaired by women such as Uganda General Merchandise Limited, and the Uganda Aviation Authority. In others, women hold vice-chairpersonship, such as the Makerere University Appointments Board, and the Uganda Public Service Commission.

Banking institutions are the ones where women are well represented in top management positions. Tables 3.27 and 3.28 give the details of the banking institutions where women hold top executive/management positions. This is a reflection of women who have trained up to university level in relevant subjects like commerce, economics, statistics and law and with some postgraduate/in-service training.

Table 3.29 shows some ministries and parastatal bodies where women occupy top management positions. For example, the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry, Animal Resources and Fisheries has a female minister. This is a very big ministry comprising four big departments, namely Agriculture, forestry, Animal Resources and Fisheries. Uganda is basically an agricultural country with

90% of the population directly dependent on the land and agro-based industries. Women constitute a large percentage of the agricultural labour force, therefore the presence of a female minister of agriculture was a good placement. The Ministry of Women, Youth and Culture is also headed by a woman who is also a medical doctor, while the Deputy Minister of Labour and Social Affairs is also a woman.

We can conclude that although there are very few women at the top most level, there are quite many in the second and third levels. Secondly, other than the parliament, (National Resistance Council), and Boards of Directors where we get elected women on affirmative action, women get their jobs and promotions on merit and through stiff competition with men. There are jobs that need professionalism, and administrative capability. For such jobs men and women are exposed to the same rubrics and interviews.

3.4.2 Critical Factors Effecting and Affecting Women's Advancement to Top Management Positions.

This section examines the identified critical factors that have affected the advancement of women to managerial and decision-making jobs. Reference has been made to critical factors like access to employment in the first instance, forms of behaviour, leadership styles, access to education, career mobility and other structural characteristics such as effectiveness in performance, gender role conflict, socio-cultural attitudes, political atmosphere, and the general administrative environment including laws, rules and regulations. These factors are discussed one by one and where they are interrelated the cause and effect of the interrelationships are also examined.

3.4.2.1 Access to employment and recruitment of women to senior professional and managerial and decision making positions

The determinants of women's participation in top management and corporate decision making hinge on a number of variables including those that are social, economic, cultural, environmental, and institutional in nature.

In the first instance, women's participation or non-participation in development are determined by their status as defined by their degree of access to and control over material resources including income and social resources, education, knowledge, power and prestige. Control of material resources and income mainly affect women in the informal and private sectors. However, women in the civil and public service are mainly affected by education and

professionalism and background of their parents who were able to pay for their daughters education.

Recruitment of women in the labour market in the civil and public service is mainly determined by social resources such as education, and knowledge. As the recruitment to senior professional and managerial positions have to be decided by other people, women, just like men who aspire for recruitment to certain jobs have to fulfil certain conditions. First and foremost, they must have the required qualifications to enable them favourably compete with men and other women aspiring for a similar position. Secondly, they must have access to the knowledge that particular jobs exist and must face the challenge to compete openly in the labour market. Thirdly, they must have the power support of the appointing body. The women should be able to convince the appointing body beyond reasonable doubt that she has the qualifications, is self-confident, has practical experience, alert and intelligent as well as being able to work amicably with others. Fourthly, a woman must be in conformity to government and institutional policies on employment, or to specific labour laws of a particular corporate body. Some institutions have varying regulation for men and women as we shall be seeing later in this report.

3.4.2.2 **The Socio-Cultural and Historical Perspective and Recruitment**

Historians and anthropologists have explored both the underlying patterns and the tremendous diversity of women's experiences in African society. (Brooke Grundfest Schoept 1971). The Ugandan woman today is not merely a member of her indigenous primary group but is also a citizen of a nationwide state which has undergone change as a result of its incorporation into the world economic, social and political system.

Hypothesis one focused on education, that the more women are educated at higher levels, the more will there be those in management positions. The aspect on women's education is investigated from a historical perspective. The introduction of the money economy through colonization and the emergence of the British Empire and the Commonwealth, brought in paid employment outside the home for the men. So men had earlier involvement in the labour market. Cash crops like cotton, coffee, tobacco, etc. for the "mother country" industrial development were introduced to feed the factories abroad. Uganda as a protectorate was used as a source of raw materials and also as market for industrial goods. Although women had always been active as agricultural

producers, men were singled out by the colonial administration for the introduction of cash crops and the "modern" techniques of cultivation. This triggered off male control of women's labour at household level as men were the heads of households and the overall/final decision makers. Also, because of women's traditional roles of providing for the family's food requirements, women got involved both in the production of cash crops as well as food crops, increasing their labour burden. So women were late starters in the money economy and labour market.

The colonial administration needed cheap and lower level of the bureaucracy as clerks, typists, policemen, field officers, and males at times were preferred and therefore trained. It was mainly after independence in 1962 that women started taking over or joined such lower level jobs as men took over from the colonial executives and administration in higher level decision-making, where again males were preferred and trained. As opportunities for formal education developed, men were singled out for technical subjects and roles of administration while women were trained in home-making, crafts, and service giving jobs such as nursing, teaching, subjects that geared women to their roles as wives and mothers. Many girls would drop out of school to play their roles and where there was a choice, the male child would be given the opportunity of education. This attitude, though gradually changing, has persisted even up to today. Many girls and women have been socialized to choose arts rather than science based subjects denying themselves access to many scientifically based and technical fields.

Industrial development after independence provided more paid jobs but because of women's lower levels of education, functional skills and professionalism, women were relegated to lower paid jobs and often exploited because of their relatively cheap labour. Women who were educated to deserve appointment were still hindered from certain jobs such as administration and policy formulation because they did not possess the required administrative qualifications and experience at the time, when women were conceived as always the ruled rather than rulers. Women could only rule through traditional institutions such as being queen mothers, princesses, wives of chiefs and the clergy.

At the dawn of independence in 1962, women were given the vote but again this was undermined by educational inequality, cultural prejudices, and women's economic dependence on men. The majority of Uganda families are

basically patrilineal and existing customs and traditions are male oriented, a dominant feature of the patrilineal family system. This invariably disadvantages the female gender which is generally relegated to an inferior position in most family as well as work relations. Such disadvantages have spilled over to the work place where again men are in control especially in the appointing system.

The respondents were requested to indicate the years when they completed their primary, secondary, "O" level and "A" level, Bachelors degree, Masters degree, Ph.D. and other training. The purpose of this question was to ascertain when actually women in top management now entered the education system. Tables 3.30 to 3.35 demonstrate the progression:.

Table 3.30: Year when completed various Levels of Education

Level	Year Completed	Frequency	Percentage
Primary: 1-8	1945-1950	8	13.33
	1951-1955	3	5.00
	1956-1960	15	25.00
	1961-1965	13	21.67
	1966-1970	14	23.33
	1971-1975	7	11.67
	1976-1980	-	0.00
		60	100.00

Table 3.31:

Level	Year Completed	Frequency	Percentage
Junior Secondary	1945-1950	0	0.00
	1951-1955	2	3.33
	1956-1960	9	15.00
	1961-1965	16	26.67
	1966-1970	01	1.67
	1971-1975	01	1.67
	1976-1980	0	0.00
	Not applicable	31	51.67
		60	100.00

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Table 3.32:

Level	Year Completed	Frequency	Percentage
Secondary	1951-1955	2	3.33
	1956-1960	3	5.00
	1961-1965	9	15.00
	1966-1970	21	35.00
	1971-1975	14	23.33
	1976-1980	7	11.67
	1981-1985	0	0.0
	Not applicable	4	6.47
		60	100.00

Table 3.33:

Level	Year Completed	Frequency	Percentage
Bachelors Degree	1960-1965	1	1.67
	1966-1970	9	15.00
	1971-1975	17	28.33
	1976-1980	13	21.67
	1981-1985	7	11.67
	Not applicable	13	21.67
		60	100.00

Table 3.34:

Level	Year Completed	Frequency	Percentage
Masters Degree	1965-1970	2	3.33
	1971-1975	2	3.33
	1976-1985	2	3.33
	1981-1985	1	1.67
	1986-1990	8	13.33
	1991-1992	1	1.67
	Not applicable	44	73.33
		60	100.00

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Table 3.35:

Level	Year Completed	Frequency	Percentage
Ph.D.	1973	1	1.67
	1975	1	1.67
	Not applicable	58	96.67
		60	100.00

While some men started their primary education way back in the 1920s, or even earlier, among the women who were interviewed, the first woman to complete her primary education did so in 1947. The majority of the respondents (70%) completed their primary education between 1956 and 1970. Some completed as late as 1975.

At the time, there was Junior Secondary school and the first woman of those interviewed, got the junior certificate in 1951. When it comes to senior secondary, most respondents (73%) completed between 1961 and 1975.

The bachelor degree is one of the pre-requisites to recruitment into executive jobs. However, as Table 3.3 indicates, among the interviewed women, the first woman to get her bachelors degree got it in 1964. Masters level training in the majority of cases entails one to appointment or promotion to higher level executive jobs. The earliest woman to get a masters, among those interviewed got it in 1967, and only 16 women actually have a masters degree, and 44 did not have a masters degree although they had some other sort of training like Diplomas and in-service training short courses. Only 2 women had Ph.Ds.

The purpose of this historical analysis is to demonstrate that actually at all levels women were late starters, just because of the historical background of the education system and earlier marginalisation of women to undertake higher education. With such a gap, we would not expect many women in high level executive jobs, or in top management if we consider the requirement for experience which takes time. Of course things are improving with women taking on postgraduate studies as Tables 3.34 and 3.35 show. This calls for a gender research where comparison is made between men and women rather than focusing on women alone. It will give a more complete picture as to whether the historical trends of men in top management is different from that of women, in terms of when they entered school whether they have post-graduate training and the like.

Perhaps there may be other factors other than history of the educational system.

3.4.2.3 Educational Attainment and Recruitment

One of the major requirements for recruitment is relevant higher educational attainment especially to senior professional and managerial positions. We have just gone through the history and how it may disadvantage women to travel the long journey to top management, through education. Equal access to education, irrespective of gender and economic background is fundamental in all levels of education from childhood to higher education. Basic education equips men and women with necessary skills and values to take up responsibility in society. There are two corner-stones to basic education. Firstly, the right of every person to acquire basic skills necessary for gainful employment and the duty to every person to practice basic human values and secondly, programmes of basic education both within and outside school that would help impart skills and values necessary for the survival and development of the human person. Education is the key to human development and knowledge is power as hypotheses one and seven suggest.

In Uganda, the education system and training policy are not discriminative, girls and boys, women and men have equal rights to attend school and to get training at all levels. The school curricular is open to all regardless of sex. However, the enrolment of girls and women to schools and colleges is relatively lower compared to that of boys and men.

Table 3.36: University Graduates 1982 and 1992 by Course and Sex

FACULTY	1982				1992			
	Total	Male	Female	% Female	Total	Male	Female	% Female
Arts	157	113	87	28	118	87	31	26.3
Social Sc.	318	259	59	18.6	369	287	82	22.2
Fine Art	6	6	0	0	26	16	10	38.5
SWSA	30	17	13	43.3	40	24	16	40.0
Commerce	92	77	15	16.3	75	69	6	15.0
Law	56	46	10	17.9	54	40	14	26.0

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B.Sc.	239	219	20	8.4	283	242	41	14.0
Agriculture	67	47	20	29.9	97	67	30	31.0
Technology	57	55	2	3.5	45	43	2	4.4
Forestry	26	24	2	7.7	33	28	5	15.2
Statistics	32	28	4	12.5	37	31	6	16.2
Medicine	88	72	16	18.2	58	47	11	19.0
Veterinary Medicine	28	24	4	14.3	28	25	3	10.7

Source: Graduation Records, 1982 and 1992

Table 3.37 Total Number of Student Enrolment 1st-5st Year in Various Faculties/Institutes 1990

	DDEGREE	TOTAL ADMITTED	MALE	FEMALE	% FEMALE
1	Medicine (MBCHB)	390	303	87	22.3
2	Dental Surgery	50	39	11	22.0
3	Pharmacy	28	19	9	32.1
4	Vet. Medicine	190	175	15	7.9
5	Agriculture	268	198	70	26.1
6	Forestry	99	81	18	18.1
7	Food Science & Tech	42	32	10	23.0
8	Agric. Engineering	17	14	3	17.6
9	Engineering	202	188	14	6.9
10	Architecture	18	17	1	5.5
11	Survey	13	13	-	0
12	Statistics	165	148	17	10.3
13	SWSA	135	89	46	34.0
14	Commerce	272	221	51	18.8
15	Law	172	116	56	32.6
16	B.A./Education	511	269	242	47.3
17	B.Sc./Education	304	273	31	10.2

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18	Science	916	776	140	15.3
19	Arts	568	390	178	31.3
20	Mass Communication	53	33	20	37.7
21	Social Science	1167	870	297	25.4
22	Fine Art	88	54	34	38.6
23	Librarianship	74	49	25	33.8
	TOTAL	5742	4367	1375	24.0

Table 3.38 Diploma Courses

24	M.D.D./Music, Dance, Drama	84	52	32	38
25	Dip. Adult Studies	66	57	9	13.6
26	Cert. in Librarianship	17	10	7	41
	Total	167	119	48	28.7

Table 3.39 Higher Degrees/Diplomas

Higher Degrees	Total Admitted	Male	Female	% Female
Arts	37	34	3	8
Science - M.A.	49	44	5	10
Ph.D	3	2	1	33
Medicine - M.MED.	61	44	17	28
M.Sc.	2	2	-	0
M.D	1	1	-	0
Ph.D	1	1	-	0
Education - Ph.D	1	1	-	0
M.ED	126	86	40	32
ISAE - M.A. (Dem.)	26	18	8	31
M.Stat	3	3	-	0
Vet. Medicine - Ph.D.	-	-	-	0
M.Sc.	3	1	2	67
Fine Art - Ph.D.	1	1	-	0
M.A	7	4	3	49

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Social Science - Ph.D	1 3	1 2	- 1	0 33
IPA - HRM	15	9	6	40
Pub.A.	22	7	15	68
B.Ad.	3	3	10	77
ISAE - PGD (Stat)	4	4	-	0
Science - PGD (Comp.Sc)	6	6	-	18
Education	257	211	46	18
	317	240	77	24
	641	484	157	23
Grand Total	6551	4971	1580	24

Tables 3.36, 3.37, 3.38 and 3.39 demonstrate the lower level of representation of females of Makerere University in nearly all areas. Educational standards of women have a lot to do with their involvement in the modern economy as well as their eligibility to recruitment in professional and management positions. Tables 3.11 to 3.13 showed the educational attainment of some women in top management in Uganda. It is observed that the majority of women in top management are graduates. Some have post graduate training. This signifies the necessity for higher education for women in Uganda if one is to aspire for a top management post in the first instance as stated by Hypotheses one and seven.

3.4.2.4 Access to in-Service and Training: Policy Issues

Hypothesis (3) stipulated that the more the educational and training programmes on gender issues, the more likely is women's advancement in employment and decision making roles.

In order to probe further the aspects of education and training, the respondents were requested to give their opinions on the factors that facilitate or those that hinder women's access to higher education and in-service training. In the first instance, they were requested to indicate whether there were training programmes in their respective places of work. Seventy-five percent indicated that there were training programmes while 25% said there were no training programmes at their places of work. On whether the programmes were gender sensitive or not, 77% had training programme but such programmes were gender blind and just developed specific skills. However, 25% indicated that their places

of work had effected a gender dimension and integrated gender oriented seminars. The respondents were asked what they thought were the major policies which facilitated women's access to higher education and training institutions.

Most women (45%) cited the recently introduced 1.5 additional points given to girls for entry into university. The existence of purely girls' secondary schools was also given as a facilitating policy. Again, in mixed secondary schools, girls are admitted at a lower mark than boys. Although the Draft Constitution 1993 asserts (Article 26) equal rights, opportunities and access to education, it goes on to state that (Article 61(3)) . . ."women shall have the right to affirmative action for purposes of redressing the imbalances created by history and traditional customs ..." Article 61(4) states that..."Laws, cultures and customs or traditions which are against the dignity, welfare or interest of women or which undermine their status are prohibited by this constitution...". Hence the 1.5 point topping up is not intended to further marginalise women but to correct gender imbalances created by history. Other policies that have facilitated women's access to education and training according to the women, included those that allowed women to join professions which were limited to men such as churches and the armed forces. Regularization of the school curricula syllabi such that there are no specific courses for boys and girls have also facilitated women's entry into formally designated male's occupations. Hence females can become veterinary doctors, engineers, army and police officers, while males can do home economics, catering, tailoring, nursing etc. which were originally designated as purely women's occupations. The introduction of boys to such courses like secretarial work, home economics and catering was perceived as a good means of encouraging attitudinal change of boys from earlier gender-based perceptions and socialization. Other policies that have facilitated women's access to education and training is enrolment of married women in tertiary educational institutions, introduction of evening classes and introduction of correspondence courses (part-time or open degree) at Makerere University. Girl secondary schools and colleges have been expanded and hence more intake. The creation of the Department of Women Studies at Makerere University was also interpreted as a programme that would encourage gender sensitization of both men and women on the rationale for integration of women in all aspects of life and in the main stream of development.

The respondents were also requested to specify the major policies which limit women's access to higher education and training. It was pointed out that the so-called traditional courses for women receive very little sponsorship from the

international organisations as well as the national budget. Furthermore, sometimes, the age usually specified as the limit for one to qualify for a scholarship is 45 years and below. Yet, that is the age when women are free to read, after going through child bearing and child rearing period. Hence women lose twice. Below the age of 45, women are constrained by role conflict while when they would be freer at the age above 45, there are policy prohibitions. Another policy that was given as hindering women's access to education and training is the expulsion of girls from schools and colleges in cases of pregnancies. While the boy or man responsible for the pregnancy is left at large to complete his studies, girls are usually chased out of the school on religious and moral grounds. At the same time, there is neither policy on compulsory education or on the fate of girls who get pregnant while in school. Lack of consciousness of what's to be attained at the end of higher training also discourages girls. The problem of neutrality of policies which do not take into account factors affecting girls education as compared to boys was also given as a major constraint. It was pointed out that institutional facilities for girls are usually limited.

There are inadequate residential accommodation facilities for girls/women at the majority of mixed boys/men and girls/women's institutions of learning. This results into limited female intakes compared to males.

The sky rocketing school dues is another problem. There is no streamlined policy on education charges and each institution is free to charge any amount. When parents cannot afford tuition fees especially where there are both boys and girls, boys are usually given priority and hence girls may be pre-maturely pulled out of school or taken for low cadre jobs training. This reduces the potential female clientele for professional and managerial jobs that need higher training.

A committee on gender oriented policy development of the Ministry of Education and Sports was set up to review existing policy with view to making policies gender sensitive with close guidance by the Ministry of Women in Development, Youth and culture. This was after observing that the social set-up of male dominated higher administrative cadre, sometimes prejudiced against women's development; lack of confidence by the women themselves to challenge their competitors, and the stereo-typed social hurdles, were not conducive to women's educational progress.

Major problems identified by the committee included low enrolment of girls/women, low achievement in performance, that males perform better in class

than females, higher dropping out of school by females than males, stereo-typed curricula, inadequate facilities for girls in school, lack of leadership models, lack of proper identification of problems in education at all levels and lack of career guidance and counselling at all levels. The committee also revealed that in the absence of compulsory or universal free education in Uganda, parents have biased attitudes towards girls education especially now that education has become very expensive; parents prefer taking their boys for higher education. The girls are considered as marriagable and therefore as not anticipating many family problems and obligations in their future lives; that their future husbands would provide for their future needs.

It was also pointed out by the committee that there was lack of policy on disaggregation of educational data by gender. Since data on girls/women's education is not readily available, and due to the fact that the information collected/recorded is not appropriately analysed, planning for specific concerns for girls/women cannot be implemented effectively. Policy makers have always assumed that existing policies addressing both females and males equally whereas it is not the case. Even if they had planned equally for males and females, the latter have special problems that need specific redress, like the case of what to do with girls who get pregnant while in school/ colleges. It was also noted that that curriculum per se does not discriminate against females, but it is during implementation that the imbalances come out mainly due to other factors such as socio-cultural biases and stereo-typing.

3.4.2.5 **Socio-Cultural Attitudes and Access to Higher Education**

Socio-cultural beliefs, myths and practices were also cited as being important barriers to female access to education and training. Socio-cultural beliefs and practices form an integral part of the socialization process and the gender education and training most men and women receive and are exposed to from early childhood. The stereo-type and gender education and training most men and women receive and are exposed to from early childhood. The stereo-type and gender education and training most men and women must receive and are exposed to from early childhood. The stereo-type and gender segregation in employment and allocation of roles in the private and public life are a product of early socialization process. Most women in Uganda have been conditioned by society to want or demand less in life than men; to be content with service-giving type of work and activities. Discrimination barriers against women, limiting the

chances of having a choice in life other than marriage and motherhood exist in nearly all cultural groups in Uganda. A case was cited where girls are removed from school and married off especially in the case of muslim societies and the poor, who see females as a source of wealth. In Uganda, women marry early, as early as the age of 15; and parents have liberty to arrange early marriages for their daughters instead of pursuing education. The legal age of marriage in Uganda is 16 for females and 18 for males. Definitely, where there are financial constraints, girls would be legally married off and boys would continue with their education. Hence cultural practices are reinforced by the law with regard to the marriage of girls. The minimum age at first marriage is under review.

3.4.2.6 Corrective Institutions

The respondents were requested to indicate what they felt should be done to improve the status of education of girls/women in Uganda as a pre-requisite to attaining job opportunities in the labour market and top management ultimately.

Many ideas were floated concerning what can be done to improve on the status of education of women:

(i) Loan Scheme:

It was suggested that an education loan scheme should be established where both female and male students who are economically disadvantaged can get loans and be bonded so that after training, they can repay the loan. This would assist students, both male and female who would wish to pursue their education, and are academically sound but are constrained by the poverty of their parents/guardians.

(ii) Girls who become pregnant while in school/college

It was argued that we have to balance the moral rationale and the future life of girls when deciding on their fate when they conceive while still in school or college. It was suggested that girls should be allowed to continue with their education even when they become pregnant, as long as their parents or someone is able to look after the child. This was after consideration that moral issues may be reasonable in the short-run but would be a sacrifice to the girl and the child to be born. It was argued that such a move would reduce catastrophic abortions which are sometimes supported by the parents, who feel that their children should continue with their education. Married women, it was suggested, should be allowed to enrol in all tertiary level institutions as long as they possess the basic minimum qualifications for entry.

(iii) Counselling, Guidance and Sensitization:

Many students, both boys and girls are not given sufficient counselling and guidance on future careers and the purpose of education. It was proposed therefore that both male and female teachers must be sensitized enough to avoid biasing students into educational sex categories, and syllabus/curriculum must apply equally to both girls and boys, women and men. Sensitization of society, including the children themselves about the importance of education of all sexes was also suggested. Because of the cultural and socialization process, some women themselves do not envisage the value of education of women due to the dependency syndrome. Girls should be encouraged right from lower classes to make themselves feel they are part of society and can do as well (or even better) than boys. Confidence building is essential.

(iv) Women's Involvement in Decision making and Positive Role Modelling

It was also noted that males dominate the higher administrative cadre and these are sometimes prejudiced against women's development. This calls for more involvement of women in decision-making positions who would play the role of advocacy and positive role modelling to encourage the education of women.

(v) Affirmative Action:

Although affirmative action in education is supported and recognized as a necessity, (included in the constitution in Article 61), it should be taken as a temporary measure to let women catch-up with the men. Otherwise, it has been interpreted by some women and men as a means of reinforcing women's laziness and dependence on external assistance; that affirmative action is a justification of women's secondary importance in the society. Merit should therefore be emphasized as much as possible and affirmative action should be a last resort; though others argued that merit cannot work as women are already disadvantaged and therefore cannot compete adequately with men. However, current trends show that in the long run, women may catch up with men. In 1992, Advanced Level Examinations, four girls secondary schools were the best, namely Nabisunsa Girls Senior Secondary School; St. Mary's College, Namagunga, Gayaza High School and Nabbingo Senior Secondary School. In the faculty of Technology, Makerere University in 1991/1992, and 1992/1993 academic years, girls performed best with first class grade degrees in Science and Technology. With more emphasis on

women's education and the equipping of women with adequate education facilities, affirmative action will become less necessary.

(vi) **Balanced Education**

It was also pointed out by the respondents that there was need for balanced education. It was noted earlier that while basic education equips men and women with necessary skills and values to take up responsibility in society, and to acquire gainful employment, education outside school is also necessary to help impart skills and values necessary for survival and development of the individual in society. Therefore non-formal and informal education are as important as formal and basic education.

In order to find out whether there was balanced education in Uganda, the respondents were requested to give their perceptions of the type of training provided, whether it was purely academic, skills-oriented, or prepares a person for later responsibilities. Table 3.40 shows the results.

Table 3.40: Education and Training provided is largely:

Type of Education	Frequency	Percentage
Academic	32	53.0
Skill oriented	3	5.0-
Both	16	27.0
Prepares for later responsibility	9	15.0
	60	100

Table 3.41: Education and Training are:

Type of Education	Frequency	Percentage
- A means to job	11	18.3
- Helps Career development	7	11.7-
- Both	34	56.7
- Development of life skills	3	5.0
- Helps to adopt into given situations and environment	5	8.3
	60	100

According to the respondents, education in Uganda is basically academic although some indicated that it was both academic and skills-oriented. Education and training were perceived as a means of getting a job (18%) while the majority (57%) regard it as both a means to getting a job as well as helping in career development. Others (8%) indicated that education and training help the individual to adapt into given situations and environment.

It can be observed that education in Uganda is basically academic with 53% of the respondents saying so and it involves very little skills training (only 5%). The education system rarely prepares women for later responsibilities and this may explain the low level of women in top management positions which need academic and skills training as well as preparation for later responsibilities and being able to adapt oneself to new situations and environments.

3.5 Sustainability of Women in Top Management

Hypothesis (5) stipulates that women who portray the stereotyped male characteristics such as aggressiveness and risk bearing, are more likely to rise to top management positions than those who do not. It is tested in this section.

3.5.1 Participation in Top Management Position

It was noted that progress made by Ugandan women in occupying top management and decision-making positions was minimal. This section looks at the factors, whether positive or negative, that affect women's career advancement and increased participation and sustainability in top management positions. It was also noted that the number of women in managerial positions is fewer than it should be in relation to the total number of female employees. It was further noted that in 1987, females filled only 5.4% of administrative management posts and these are not even in top management. Women filled 16.2% of the professional jobs and 35.5% of the semi-skilled technical jobs. Even in areas with predominately female staff like education and health, very few women are managers.

Women's advance up the corporate ladder is very slow. The determinants of women's participation or non-participation in top management rests on a number of variables including those which are socio-economic, cultural, environmental and institutional. Educational attainment has already been discussed.

Table 3.42 shows some of the factors that were given as significant.

Table 3.42: Factors Affecting Women's participation in Top Management by Rank Order N - 60

Factor	Frequency	Percentage
- Merit/professionalism	53	87
- Lack of Confidence in Women	48	80
- Role Conflict	44	73
- Lack of Self-Confidence by women and Personal traits	33	55
- Institutional Environment	22	37
- Power support/Political Backing	11	18.3
- Government Policy	09	15
- Affirmative Action	06	100

3.5.2 Merit/Professionalism

The respondents, (87%) pointed out that recruitment and promotion in government departments is strictly on merit. Because women are fewer at entry point, they cannot be expected to be many at middle and top levels. The respondents were requested to indicate whether promotion to top positions should be based on merit, affirmative action or both.

Table 3.43 depicts the responses:

Promotion should be based on:

Criteria	Frequency	Percentage
Merit	45	75.0
Affirmative Action	1	1.67
Both	14	23.3
Other	0	0.0
	60	100

Most respondents (75%) indicated that promotion should be based on merit. Only one person indicated the sole use of affirmative action. This was because merit may be influenced by a number of factors and women are exposed to so many constraints that are likely to affect their performance. So all depends

on what one considers in aiming at the top position. It was in one respondent's opinion that whatever a women does, she is expected to do it twice as well as a man to be considered half as good. However, other opinions were that although women in general are constrained by lack of functional education and professionalism, those women who are currently in top-management positions still felt that merit should be the yardstick for promotion to very sensitive positions. They felt that affirmative action should be for social welfare programmes to address other socio-cultural and economic problems faced by women but not in the area of management. Success of corporations depends on sound management and therefore selection of managers should be purely based on capability rather than because one is a female who may mess up the administration because of inefficiency and ineffectiveness. This implies that women will continue to score low representation in top management positions because of their lack of competitive professionalism and functional training compared to men, in the absence of affirmative action.

3.5.3 Lack of Confidence in Women by Society

History, socio-cultural attitudes towards women, however, competitive and professionally trained women may be, and lack of awareness on gender issues were given as significant in making the whole employment system gender biased in favour of men. Eighty percent (80%) of the respondents indicated that lack of confidence in women was a major issue, in the absence of gender positive policies in all fields especially in employment at the top.

Women's potential is not recognized especially by policy-makers who expect few women to hold top decision-making positions. Women observed that there is usually sectarian allocation of jobs to men who usually lobby for those jobs from peers and club mates. Because there are few women in influential positions, they cannot promote others through networking. Usually men as well as fellow women look down at women aspiring for top management positions. In order to stay in certain positions or to be promoted, women may have to withstand hostility from male counterparts and female juniors. For a long time, men have held high positions and they would rather not risk women to such top positions in the name of tradition. One respondent noted that men have for long set rules for women to follow and they fear any change and challenges by women, and in addition, men as well as fellow women do not trust women's ability as managers or top executives. The respondents went on to say that this is a male

dominated world, whereby even women themselves still think a "man" and not a "woman" should be at the top but rather women should always follow the footsteps of men. Another woman asserted that there is a mentality in society that women cannot hold responsible places and this has contributed to the fact that women cannot be recommended to higher level positions when there are men around with the same qualifications. Yet another woman pointed out that a decision or resolution by a group of women is likely to be ignored or sometimes re-examined before implementation whereas if it comes from men, it would be implemented first before pre-examination. This lack of confidence hinders women from applying for so-called male jobs and from being ambitious and aiming high in life. Women suffer from apathy because they lack support of the general public, including their own parents, children and husbands. In the technical field, men believe that a woman cannot manage since a lot of bodily energy is required; much as the assertion is usually untrue. The fact is that, according to one respondent, men do not want to work under female managers. This is a major barrier because due to socialization from early age, women also believe that they are a weaker sex.

3.5.4 Sharing Power

The respondents were also requested to give their opinion on whether men feared sharing power with women. The majority (90%) of women who were interviewed agreed that men fear sharing power with women, especially where the women are qualified, experienced and more capable. It was pointed out that in most cases, the fear is disguised in aggressiveness or superiority complex; the thinking that a woman always knows less than a man. No man would want to think that a woman can be his equal and as a result, men have feared to recognize women's efforts and potential and to accept them as partners and instead, they would rather prefer women to be their subordinates. One woman agreed that men hate knowledgeable assertive women, and such men would hate to share power with women especially if they have a belief that they are "heads" which they count as equivalent to "rulers" over women and they use all sorts of tricks and behaviour to discourage women.

Men were also said to be frightened by able women because it would expose the men's weaknesses as men and make the tasks they have always assumed to be possible by only men to be done by women. Another woman said that men fear sharing power with women because of superiority complex resulting

from the poor background and socialization based on socio-cultural attitudes. Other men do not want able women near them for fear of competition with women and the fear that women can take over the men's positions, which to men will be demoralizing.

One respondent also pointed out that men fear powerful women who might outshine them in their work or expose the men's weaknesses or incompetence or their negative aspects; that a ruler will never wish to share his power with anybody else, and men have ruled over women for centuries, powerful women would threaten their (the men's) dominance. It was also pointed out that women have a lot of latent energy and when given the opportunity can easily overpower men. Men say that women at the top are very aggressive but they also know that such women reach there on merit or are very capable. Men believe themselves to be inheritors of power over women so that they cannot think of sharing it out, and after all, it was a "God given" gift; from God and by God. Men feel, if they shared power with women, they will look weaker or stupid. So, the best way is to assume superior positions always and to maintain it. However, 10% of the women indicated that to some extent, men want to share power with women and they would try as much as possible to involve or work with women without bias. This would be especially true if the women are highly qualified and the men know that they would benefit from associating with such women. Such men would be lobbying for the women's support. Men would also want to share power with women whom they think are not a threat to their integrity and not a threat to them in terms of competition. However, one woman said that men do not simply fear but they think that women are not meant to be powerful. Men reason that this is simply not one of the women's roles. It was also argued that they do not fear but that they are not just used to the principle of sharing power as it is a new idea to them, and hence they fail to handle the situation and instead become aggressive against competitive women. Another respondent said that she would not call it fear but men just feel that it is not easy to "boss" around a powerful woman and would not wish to be challenged by such women in public. It was also put in another way, that men just do not want to be challenged by women and hence always try to frustrate them. It is not fear but a response to an assumption that organisations should be run by men and hence, men become uncomfortable if they are expected to work with women superiors.

3.5.5 The Opportunity cost of Reaching the Top by Women

The respondents were also requested to indicate what would be the effects on women's careers and advancement if men feared sharing power with them. It was pointed out that men could (while fearing competition) frustrate able women in their work. Women are always ridiculed, intimidated and made to settle for less. When intimidation fails, men can use friendship and intimacy to cut the women short and make them comfortable in lower positions. However, another respondent argued that it depends on how women react to the situation. They become defensive and this makes things worse and men take advantage by pushing women into making silly mistakes through panic.

It was also said that women have less chances of being appointed or promoted to higher positions or positions of authority. Women have to work harder to overcome numerous barriers in various stages of advancement and they have to demonstrate and prove their worth, which is not usually the case for men. As it is always men in top management positions, and they are the decision-makers, they make sure that women are deprived of the privileges and advancement to the top. Men always try not to fix women in responsible places and positions. Another woman pointed out that men do not want to offer women chances for career advancement by denying them training opportunities. Men want to look at women as sexual rather than business partners. It was pointed out that women tend to seek marriage before careers are established and by the time they think of their careers, they are too far off the truck while men in the same age group would be far ahead. Women are just coming up and can easily be blocked by men who would be already established. Advancement by women to top positions can only be achieved through aggressiveness, assertiveness and through triple efforts.

3.5.6 Personal Traits: Self-Confidence

Personal traits, such as lack of self confidence was also given as an important factor influencing women in top management with 55% of respondents saying so.

The respondents were requested to indicate what they thought are the personality trait that can hinder the advancement and performance of women in top management. Women's outlook and attitudes towards managerial jobs was also given as a significant impediment to women's holding of top executive managerial jobs. The first aspect as already noted was lack of networking and

lobbying for top positions, women are not daring enough to assert themselves even where opportunities arise. Some women, though capable are not aggressive enough like men and they therefore tend to give up the competition when the going gets rough. Therefore lack of self confidence, fear of competition and lack of support by superiors all get compounded and block women's upward mobility and sustainability to top positions. It was also pointed out that women fear competition and this reduces their chances for promotion. Even when a challenging job is advertised, there are usually fewer female applicants than males.

Another respondent pointed out that women tend to be too defensive, apologetic, submissive, lack seriousness and devotion at work, keep themselves in the back door, are unnecessarily quiet, show aggressiveness that breeds hostility, indecisive, lack self-respect, timid, shy, unable to listen to other's view or ideas, too self-pitying, arrogant, lazy, dependent, complacent, emotionally immature, insecure, gossips, want free things, incompetent, give up/in easily, carry problems from home to office etc.

The respondents were then required to indicate what they thought are the personality traits that can facilitate the advancement and performance of women to top management. Various answers were given including assertiveness, competitiveness, decisiveness, exposure to knowledge, self-confidence, respect of work mates, hard work, high intelligence, good leadership and display of leadership qualities, honesty, steadfastness, being able to take advice with good conscious judgement, objectivity, ambition, standing by one's decision, ability to listen, acting rationally, respectability, impartiality, intellectual alertness, clear-headedness, simplicity, commitment and sensitivity to male ego to avoid unnecessary show-downs etc.

We should note that the list of personality traits as being facilitators to advancement and performance of women in top management positions contradicts the traditional stereo-type definition of masculine and feminine types of personality. Women would wish to venture into personality prescribed as masculine and which men would not wish to see women adopt. Table 3.44 shows the characteristics of the masculine and feminine stereo-types. Stereo-typed feminine personality are what women regarded as detrimental to their advancement while so-called masculine characteristics are those which a good manager is expected to have. However, such dichotomy of personality traits may not be very useful as a mixture of them may be required if women have to strike

a balance between their own expectations on the one hand and what is expected of them by society on the other.

Table 3.44: Characteristics of the Masculine and Feminine Stereo-Types

Feminine Stereo-Type Incompetence	Masculine stereo-type competence
Not at all aggressive	Very aggressive
Not at all independent	Very independent
Very emotional	Not at all emotional
Does not hide emotions at all	Almost always hides emotions
Very subjective	Very objective
Very easily influenced	Dominant
Dislikes maths and sciences very much	Likes maths and sciences
Very excitable in minor crisis	Not at all excitable in a minor crisis
Very passive	Very active
Not at all competitive	Very competitive
Very illogical	Very logical
Very home-oriented	Very worldly
Not at all skilled in business	Very skilled in business
Very sneaky	Very direct
Does not know the ways of the world	Knows the ways of the world
Feelings easily hurt	Feelings not easily hurt
Not at all adventurous	Very adventurous
Has difficulty making decisions	Can make decisions easily
Cries very easily	Never cries
Almost never acts as a leader	Almost always acts as a leader

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Not at all self-confident	Very self-confident
Very uncomfortable about being aggressive	Comfortable about being aggressive
Not at all ambitious	Very ambitious
Unable to separate feelings from ideas	Easily able to separate feelings from ideas

Feminine Stereo-Type	Masculine stereo-type
Very dependent	Not at all dependent
Very conceited about appearance	Never conceited about appearance
Thinks women are always inferior	Thinks men are always superior to women
Does not talk freely about sex with men	Talks freely about sex with men

WARMTH/EXPRESSIONS	DISTANCE/INEXPERIENCEDNESS
Doesn't use harsh language	Uses very harsh language
Very talkative	Not at all talkative
Very tactful	Very blunt
Very gentle	Very rough
Very aware of feelings about others	Not at all aware of feelings of others
Very religious	Not at all religious
Very interested in own appearance	Not at all interested in own appearance

Very neat in habits	Very sloppy in habits
Very quiet	Very loud
Very strong need for security	Very little need for security
Enjoys Art and Literature	Does not enjoy Art and Literature
Easily expresses tender feelings	Does not express tender feeling at all

Source: Powell, G.M. (1990) Women and Man in Management. Sage Publications, London

3.5.7 Leadership Styles

In order to probe further into the important issue of personal traits, the research went further into looking at leadership styles women employ to sustain themselves in top management positions. Leadership styles was one of those elements considered important especially in sustaining women after they have attained top positions. Various leadership styles were given. Respondents were required to indicate what they thought was the appropriate or best leadership style. Table 3.45 gives the responses.

Table 3.45 Appropriate Leadership styles

Style	Frequency	Percentage
Single decision after consultation	17	28.3
Single decision but responsibility relies on the leader	1	1.7
Collective decision by leaders who matter	4	6.7
Collective decision after consulting all levels of management, lower, middle and top ranks	33	55.0
It depends	5	8.3
	60	100

It was revealed that the most appropriate (55%) leadership/management style was through collective decision-making after consultation with all levels of management, lower middle and top ranks through an appropriate chain of

command. However, all women agreed that single decision but where responsibility lies on the leader was the most inappropriate (1.7%). Women said that such scenario creates dictatorship which may boil into discontent and strikes by the disgruntled, never consulted workers. It was also noted that women prefer management by objectives (53%) and management through meetings (37%) (Table 3.46). Management through memoranda was interpreted as another dictatorial mode of management and therefore not appropriate.

However, 8% of respondents indicated that it depends on the nature of the case and of the decision required. Therefore it is not possible to use only one style. Each issue at stake which is to be addressed can call for a different reaction. Some problems call for immediate action and there may be no time to consult. Therefore top management should be able to make a single decision. For example if an employee is found stealing, top management has an obligation to take such a person to prison pending investigations. Waiting to call a meeting may delay execution of the case and the culprit can disappear. Hence all methodologies can be adopted depending on the nature of the question and the expected best results from the implementation of the decision. It does not mean that when objectives are set, one does not call meetings or write memos. Meetings and memos are the means such that even where one is managing by objectives, meetings and memos can be used for efficiency of operations.

Table 3.46 What matters is

Style	Frequency	Percentage
Management by objectives	32	53.33
Management through meetings	22	36.7
Management memoranda	1	1.7
It depends	5	8.3
	60	100

3.5.8 Competition

One factor that was also isolated as a hinderance to women's sustenance in top positions was lack of competition and drive among women. So, the respondents were requested to give their views on how competition affects performance on the job. The general answers rotated around four major aspects.

Table 3.47 Competition and Performance

Performance	Frequency	Percentage
Motivates good and capable workers	17	28
Induces hard work and performance	10	17
Creates antagonism	19	32
Highlights weak and poor performers (demonstrates)	<u>14</u>	<u>23</u>
	60	100

Women argued that competition in performance on the job is a healthy situation. It produces better standards and encourages speed of operation and accuracy. Employees would work hard to show good results and it works as a motivator as workers struggle to acquire new skills to out compete rivals. Employees also develop initiative and self-improvement. It was also pointed out that competition increases and highlights those who are gifted, efficient and capable from those who are weak or poor performers. So competition was perceived as the best filter of the successful from the failure and from those who qualify from the unsuccessful. One woman pointed out that competition may be the best yard stick for selection. As Table 3.47 shows, 17 women (28%) indicated that competition motivates good and capable workers and induces hard work and performance.

However, there was another school of thought that competition may not be all that good as far as women are concerned. Some respondents indicated that where stiff competition becomes the yardstick for selection, it creates conflicts and antagonism. Motivation can thus turn into a wish to discredit or even destroy fellow competitors to the extent of wanting to kill them. Seniors may become malicious of their juniors and juniors who are aspiring for promotion may conspire to remove the seniors who are perceived as blocking promotional avenues. Sometimes such seniors are regarded as "deadwood". Such situations arise when men compete with women and even with fellow men for the same post.

Competition may also discourage those who cannot match with men and even where women may be qualified but because of their inferiority complex, they easily give up the race. In case of unfair assessment as it usually the case when women are being assessed, the competitors especially the good ones may lose morale and end up in despair. So, competition may end up in malicious sabotage by rivals and may have negative effects on concentration and productivity. In Table 3.47 statistics show that 32% of the respondents believed that competition can create antagonism while 23% indicated that competition highlights the weak and poor performers and can demotivate those who are out-competed. Because women give up easily even where they may be better performers, and where there is a belief that men are always better, the competition game may not be the best yardstick for selection as there may be a lot of politicking. Because of the divergent views on management styles and behavioural models that create or enhance women's behaviour and sustenance in top positions, the respondents were requested to indicate those aspects that are barriers or promoters of women to and in top management. Table 3.48 indicates the results.

Table 3.48 Management Behaviour Models creating Barriers/Enhancing Women's Advance to Top Management

Management Behaviour	Total	Creates Barrier		Enhances Advance	
		Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Aggressiveness	60	27	45	13	55
Decisiveness	60	00	00	60	100
Competitiveness	60	9	15	51	85
Submissiveness	60	54	90	6	10
Consultativeness	60	9	15	51	85
Assertiveness	60	6	10	54	90
Femininity	60	54	90	6	10

Table 3.49: Success After Reaching the Top

Management Behaviour	Total	Creates Barrier		Enhances Advance	
		Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Aggressiveness	60	24	40	36	60
Decisiveness	60	1	2	59	98
Competitiveness	60	0	0	60	100
Submissiveness	60	60	100	0	0
Consultativeness	60	0	0	60	100
Assertiveness	60	2	3	58	97
Femininity	60	45	75	15	25

Clear factors that were singled out as creating barriers to women's advancement as far as behavioural management styles were concerned included femininity (90%); submissiveness (90%) and aggressiveness (45%). However, factors like decisiveness (100%), assertiveness (90%), consultativeness (85%) competitiveness (85%) and aggressiveness (53%) were singled out as enhancing women's advance through the promotional ranks to top management.

On the issue of success and sustenance in top management, it could be seen (Table 3.49) that consultativeness (100%); competitiveness (100%); decisiveness (98%), assertiveness (97%) and aggressiveness (60%) were regarded as significant in propelling women to and sustaining them in top management positions. However, again submissiveness (100%) and femininity (78%) were seen as detrimental to women's performance and rise to top management positions. However, 40% of the respondents indicated that aggressiveness can be a barrier to women's success after attaining top positions as it may entail creation of enemies among competitors. On the other hand, women asserted that aggression is necessary (60%) so that men do not misinterpret simplicity as incapability; that due to socio-cultural beliefs and practices, men need aggressive women to make them (the men) understand that women can equally be aggressive and good performers, just like men.

The respondents were also requested to specify how women achieve top positions and the strategies of survival at the top. Hypothesis (9) stipulated that women with linkage or access to influential persons and political backing are more likely to be appointed to top management than those without such access. Hypothesis (8) stated that active women in NGO activities and community involvement are likely to acquire top positions.

Table 3.50 How women Achieve Top Positions

Achievement through	Total	Freq.	%
Merit	60	55	92
Community involvement	60	22	37
Political backing	60	21	35
Family background	60	07	12
Women's networks	60	07	12
Socio-economic status	60	06	10
Other	60	02	03

Table 3.51 Strategies of Survival at the top

Survival through	Total	Freq.	%
Job performance	60	51	85
Leadership qualities	60	48	80
Political backing	60	23	38
Re-training	60	11	18
Community involvement	60	5	08
Socio-economic status	60	1	2
Objectivity and Strictness	60	4	7

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Mobilizing Support from peers	60	2	4
Mobilizing support from juniors	60	1	2
Other	60	3	5

On how women achieve top positions, most women agreed that merit (92%) was very significant followed by community involvement (37%) and political backing (35%). However, other factors like family background (12%); women's networks (12%); socio-economic status (10%) were not given as much importance. However, one woman indicated that some women get top positions by crisis if there is no replacement, say when one dies. Family background has little to do with women's achievement of top positions and it only happens in exceptional cases where nepotism is applied to job allocation. Women's networks were not regarded as significant. This implies that Ugandan women rarely lobby for each other with regard to acquiring top positions. A woman has to be excellent, and politically and communally involved if she is to achieve top positions.

With regard to strategies of survival at the top, job performance was scored highly (85%). Leadership qualities were also regarded as significant with 80% of the respondents in agreement. Political backing was also indicated as essential (38%) if one is to survive at the top. Surprisingly, retraining was not regarded as significant (1.8%). This may imply that Ugandan women do not take retraining as a strong requirement for achieving and retaining top position. Lack of access to retraining programmes may account for the slow climb to top positions and the paucity of women in top management and professional positions.

Community involvement was not regarded as significant for survival at the top (8%) although it was considered significant (37%) for women to climb to the top. This implies that community involvement can be used as a lobbying tool while climbing up but not a prerequisite for survival at the top. Once the top is reached, it is job performance, leadership qualities and political backing. Another surprising response was on objectivity and strictness. While women agreed that management by objectives was an appropriate management style (53%), it was not ranked high (7%) as a strategy to survive at the top. This implies that once one

has reached the top and in order to remain there one has to exercise restraint, not to be very strict and create enemies. There is need for balancing the expected with the environmental circumstances through which and by which businesses operate. In the final analysis, merit, leadership qualities, political backing and community involvement were indicated as most essential in rank order for women to achieve top positions and to survive at the top. On the other hand, mobilizing support of juniors, mobilizing support of peers, objectivity and strictness; socio-economic status and family background were respectively considered as marginal.

3.5.9 Power Support and Background

Hypothesis 10 stipulated that the more women in top management interact and network among each other, and with existing women's groups, and organisations, the more likely their effectiveness in influencing policy changes as well as ensuring the implementation of gender equity policies and programmes. Furthermore on the aspects of power support, political backing, networking and mobilizing support, women in Uganda have rarely used such channels, like men do to get into top positions. Lack of power support of women's superiors and communication between male superiors and female subordinates was given as having a lot to do with women's promotion. This point is related to male attitudes towards females in top positions. Some women pointed out that in some cases, male superiors attach strings to possibilities of promotion of female juniors or even equals. When women refuse to submit to sexual advances by male superiors, women sometimes are victimized either through demotion, transfer, stagnation or even into forced leave. However, it was also pointed out that some women do submit to sexual advances by men in order to get into particular places of work especially where promotion becomes an issue.

It was also pointed out that women rarely support fellow women. Some women who reach the top develop a queen bee syndrome whereby on reaching the top, they consider themselves as very important and do not give support to their juniors or other counterparts aspiring for similar positions. They adopt a superiority complex and repel any promotion of women for fear of competition from them. While men assist each other through lobbying and networking among themselves, women sometimes gang-up with men against fellow women. Because of the queen-bee syndrome tendency, the juniors also develop a 'grass-hopper syndrome' and hate the seniors by labelling them all such names as the unapproachable, the proud, conceited, men in skirts, etc. Hence, a big gap is

always created between them and superiors rarely lend a hand to the juniors.

In order to gauge whether actually women assist one another or not, the respondents were requested to indicate the impact they made or intend to make on policies and programmes that are sensitive to men and women as protection, welfare, to improve the working environment of other women.

One respondent said that she would not call it impact but efforts. She said she uses every forum available to her to show people that women are after all, are not inferior; that they can be as intelligent, productive and have leadership qualities as men. The impact may be negligible but if all women who can, tried to show it and sensitize men and women, the impact can be felt. Another woman said she advocates for better welfare facilities such as more days of maternity leave, crenches at places of work, and monitoring discriminatory laws affecting women at work. She tries to instil a spirit of dedication and hard work among the female members of society that anybody who does not enjoy her work should quit.

One parliamentarian said that, female parliamentarians have a lobby group intended to make sure that the laws and resolutions that oppress women are removed from the constitution and favourable ones introduced. She gave the example of a bill on rape which was introduced in the parliament. In Uganda any man who rapes a woman faces a punishment of life imprisonment or the death penalty. Female parliamentarians are also pushing hard to have maternity leave increased from 45 to 90 days. Paternity leave is also being considered.

Another respondent said that the best way to support women should be through sensitization of both men and women about their rights, especially those of women and children about which the laws and regulations have either been silent or detrimental. She said that there is a big difference between what the law states and what is being done in practice. Where some laws are not discriminatory in practice, because of prejudices against women, there is implicit discrimination based on culture. Such laws are very difficult to change and sensitization for behavioural change is the best answer. It was also pointed out that exposure rather than protection of women was more important; that the promotion of women should be a right and not a privilege. It was also emphasized that women must as much as possible be availed training opportunities as they qualify instead of sidelining them simply because they are mothers. Whatever responsibility or job a woman does, she has to do it better than the men because this is the only way to convince everybody that a women can be relied on to do any job as long as she has her qualification. Women in top positions

should provide examples to other women; that the only way to encourage other women is through positive role modelling.

However, there were some ladies who did not see the need for giving special support to women. One categorically stated that she has done nothing and intends to do nothing to help fellow women. She said she sees a lot of grouping among women based on what their husbands are or what their fathers are, with little say on what the women themselves are; that women take more pride in their husbands' or fathers' achievements rather than their own. As long as women do not see their own achievements as important, and as long as they do not work towards excellence, affirmative action will be a wasted venture. Affirmative action and so-called support to women just spoon-feeds them to make them even lazier and always take dependency for granted. Support of weaker women sometimes destroys women's progress, kills self-improvement and fosters the dependency syndrome.

It is surprising that women who have reached the top feel that as much as we advocate for affirmative action, elements of merit, excellence, and hard work are essential; that affirmative action should only be used to address improvement of women's capacity through education and training and welfare programmes towards helping the low class group. Affirmative action should not be used in areas where management is a crucial issue.

The research probed further into the aspect of power support of women in top management by looking at characteristics of their parents, and spouses. In hypothesis 9, it was stipulated that women with linkages or access to influential persons and political backing are more likely to be appointed to top management positions than those without such access.

Table 3.52: Power-Support: Occupation of Parents (Hypothesis 9)

Occupation	Father	%	Mother	%
Civil, public servants	38	63	35	58
Peasant farmer	13	22	21	35
Businessman/woman	3	5	4	7
Traditional chief	2	3	-	-
Clergyman	2	3	-	-
Driver	1	2	-	-
Carpenter	1	2	-	-
	60	100	60	100

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Although women in top management may not receive power support at their places of work or in their career mobility, Table 3.52 indicates that at least they had the strong support of their parents. As the table shows, 63% of the respondents were from civil or public servants' homes and 22% were from peasant farmers' homes. Fifty eight percent were born by civil/public servant mothers. At least the parents of the respondents were in the working category who were able to support them through their education. If the parents of the respondents had decided to pay school fees for only boys, then the women (respondents) would not have been where they are now.

Family size would be a factor that can affect power support in terms of education. It is usually assumed that parents prefer taking their male children to school than the females and this has been suggested as contributing to the low level of education of women. The study looked at family size to see how it reflects the education of women.

Table 3.53: Family Size and Power Support

Family Size	Sisters	%	Brothers	%
None	2	3.33	3	5.0
1 - 3	23	38.33	24	40.0
4 - 6	25	41.67	25	41.67
7 - 9	6	10.00	4	6.67
10 - 12	3	5.00	3	5.0
13 - 15	0	-	-	-
16 - 18	1	1.67	1	1.67

Table 3.53 shows clearly that the respondents had brothers and sisters. Even if the parents had sons, they were able to pay school dues for the respondents. It is also interesting to note that the majority of the respondents family sizes were between 1-3 sisters and brothers; 38% had sisters; 40% had brothers; and 4-6 (42%) had sisters and 42% had brothers. Parents with a family size of 1-6 children were able to pay fees for their children which enabled them get good education and ultimately get into top management jobs. However, there were fewer respondents coming from large families 7-9 sisters (7%); 7-9 brothers (5%); 10-12 sisters (3%); and 10-12 brothers (5%). There was only one respondent from a large family of 16-18 sisters and 16-18 brothers.

Hence family size may have affected the ability of the parents to take their children to school. There were more respondents in top management positions who came from smaller families, than those who came from large families. This is an area that can be researched further to establish the relationship between family size and the ability of parents to take their children through school, the professional or higher training.

3.5.10 Role Conflicts

It was stated in Hypothesis 6 that gender role conflict is a major constraint to women's upward mobility to top management positions such that married women and those with high fertility are less likely to rise to top management positions.

Role conflict was also given as a major factor that limits women's access to top management positions. Of the 60 women who were interviewed, 24(40%) gave it as a significant factor that stands in the way of women to top management positions. Social and family obligations tend to eat into women's time as they concentrate on domestic chores and neglect their public participation. Hence, parental, conjugal, domestic, kin, community and individual role conflict with occupational roles and depending on role expectation, some women workers over-concentrate on any of the roles in the household at the cost of their jobs. Women sacrifice their own careers so as to support and advance those of their spouses. This happens for example when a husband/spouse is transferred to a station where vacancies for their wives may not exist. In this case, the woman abandons her job to join her husband. In the absence of a policy where there would be automatic placement of the wife of a transferred officer, the woman would be in a disadvantaged position. This affects continuity in employment and hence promotion which demands long stay and experience on the job.

The same would be true when a woman is transferred sometimes on promotion, to another station and where it may entail her separation from the husband. Some women have turned down transfer on promotion for fear that their husbands will get other women in their absence when they leave the men behind, and for real, homes/marriages have been broken due to temporary separation and transfers. Hence women may prefer either to lose the job and keep the home or lose the home to keep the job.

Some employees, it was pointed out by the respondents do not want to employ women even if the latter have better paper qualifications because the

women claim maternity leave. Originally, in such occupations like the police and prisons service, women could not reach top management positions because, they were required to retire on marriage grounds and on conception even before they had attained the age of 45 or served for 20 years continuously. Although every woman on delivery of a child irrespective of the grade or rank is entitled to 6 weeks maternity leave and although this would safeguard her job, some institutions just do not promote women to sensitive top positions on grounds of claimed absenteeism on maternity leave. For foreign services, a female career diplomat will not work in the same mission where her husband is head of the mission. So female officers are forced to break their services and this limits their opportunities for promotion because of time lost. It was also pointed out that others become more pre-occupied with family issues and this causes them to miss duty very often. Consequently, they earn poor reports and stagnate in one position. Women do not have an outlook that takes national issues seriously as many are concerned with immediate self and family. It was also pointed out that women over-concentrate on domestic affairs, neglecting public participation which is a pre-requisite to top management positions which are political in the majority of cases.

The aspect of women having heavy workload in the home which tended to distract them from official work was also seen for another perspective. Some respondents indicated that overwork because of heavy work load does not apply as far as they were concerned. This was because they were able to hire house maids and houseboys who perform all household chores including feeding the babies. Some claimed that they were no longer producing children and were therefore concentrating on their official work. When the age of the respondents is examined (Table 3.7) 32 women (53%) were more than 40 years old, implying that the majority were beyond reproductive age. Table 3.17 showing the age of the children indicated that 41 women (68%) had children with more than 10 years old. Such would be of school going age and therefore may not need continuous mother care like would be the case with breast feeding mothers. Even on the number of children per woman (Table 3.16 most women had less than the national fertility rate of 7.3 children (UDHS 1989). Only three women (5%) had more than 7 children, and twelve women (20%) had five children and more. With the hardening financial conditions, chances are that women will continue producing fewer children, and hence may be able to concentrate more on their official rather than house work. Some respondents therefore concluded that role conflict with

regard to women in top management should not be over exaggerated. However, role conflict can greatly constrain women from attaining top management positions through promotion as familial activities may distract women from their official work, affect their performance and efficiency and ultimately block their promotional outlets and chances.

3.5.11 Employees Who Stagnate in One Position (Hypothesis 8)

The issue of employees who stagnate in one position was also addressed. Respondents were requested to give their opinion about those employees, especially the females who stay in one position/job for too long. Responses ranged from those relating to why they stagnate to consequences of stagnation and what should be done to workers/employees who stagnate.

Why do employees stagnate in one place? Some respondents noted that people stagnate in one job either because of their own making or because of circumstances beyond their control.

With regard to stagnation due to own creation, it was pointed out that some people get jobs that do not match their qualification, that is, they get better jobs than they had expected given their relatively low qualifications. Such people do not usually go higher because of the benefits in the positions they hold. Such people do not aspire for promotion because they fear to expose their incapability at higher levels. Some employees who do not get functional training or retraining rarely get promoted. Perhaps that is why lack of training or re-training by women slows down their upward mobility. It was also pointed out that people who stagnate in one position either lack drive and ambition or are usually not progressive; they are unresourceful and inactive. They are not capable of improving or solving problems. Poor performance was also given as a very significant contribution to stagnation. Some employees outlive their purpose at the job and this leads to low productivity and degeneration instead of development. Other employees, especially the women rarely have the knowledge about other opportunities and they shy away from venturing into new fields. They take things for granted and remain conservatives, satisfied with the little they have. Some workers tend to be quiet and dormant and therefore their presence is rarely felt or goes unnoticed.

On stagnation attributed to circumstances beyond the control of the employee, some respondents pointed out that such employees who stagnate are usually not motivated to perform better and they, therefore take their work as

routine. Women especially, may not be promoted because of malice and prejudices of superiors, and thus their performance is not correctly appraised. So, they are not given the chance to demonstrate their worth.

It was also pointed out that because of the low levels of professional attainment by women, there are certain levels they cannot go beyond. There is very little career guidance so that from the very beginning, women get to know very little beyond their immediate work environment. Women's potential, talent and skills are usually not fully tapped. Some female workers are not necessarily inefficient but just unfortunate. They are in some cases victims of sexual harassment and discrimination.

Some job types do not have sufficient promotional avenues and others need long exposure to gain experience. Others may have reached the top of their scale and therefore cannot climb higher. When there are no vacancies at higher levels to which they can be promoted, they remain where they are or they change jobs.

What can be observed here is that whether it is a man or woman, promotion is a difficult procedure. However, it is more difficult for women than men due to discriminatory tendencies, disregard of women, lower professionalism and functional training as well as indifference of some women towards career mobility and promotion.

Some respondents address the consequences of stagnation to the employee and employer. The consequences of stagnation included loss of morale, becoming stale, and administration/performance become wanting, they feel cheated, sit back and pity themselves. Consequences to the employer included poor performance and loss, especially in income generating enterprises, and decreasing productivity over time; slackness in work and failure to deliver the right goods at the right time. They become stubborn and indifferent to work and become obstacles to development initiatives.

Some respondents went as far as **prescribing some remedial action** for such people who stagnate in one position for too long. It was suggested that it was better to find out the causes of the stagnation and then redress the problem or take action. The immediate supervisor/superior can be contacted. However, this assumes that the stagnation is not attributed to the immediate supervisor/superior who may be in conflict with his/her subordinate. Transfer was also given as a good way of observing and following up stagnant people. Change of work environment may improve on transfer, then one can easily conclude that the employee had problem at his/her previous place of work. However, if

performance does not improve even after transfer, then one can also conclude that the blame is with the employee herself. It was also suggested that non-performers and those who stagnate should be removed to permit those below them who are fit to do the work. Otherwise, non-performers usually block the way of the younger but prosperous workers. Transfer again was perceived as better than removal as far as women are concerned because in the majority of cases their stagnation may be caused by factors beyond their control. Role conflict was cited as another reason for non-performance. Transfer to nearer places or more appropriate jobs may be good because inefficient workers may become obstacles to development and such people need to be moved around to make them appreciate other areas of the organisation/institution and to enable them get experience and exposure. Efforts should always be made to put stagnant workers in inappropriate places renders them non-performers.

Stagnation of employees was also interpreted as a reflection of failure on the part of the employer and a sign of poor leadership and disregard of the interests and development of the employees. Hence respondents suggested that employers should as much as possible institute in-service training programmes to enable improved performance of employees and open up their career development channels. Through annual evaluation-exercises, employees should be assisted to improve on their shortcomings and their problems should be identified. Leaders/employers should always endeavor to assist all employees, men and women to move vertically, and horizontally if it can make a difference. Proper policies should be instituted on gender balance especially where there is a large pool of qualified women.

Refresher courses should always be organized in the absence of professional or functional training leading to certificates, diplomas or degrees. Observance of the retirement age was also suggested as some workers become too old to be of any use at their places of work. One respondent categorically stated that institutions which keep stagnating unwanted people are equally to blame. If they (the employers) have nothing to offer to stagnating employees, it is better to advise such people to look for alternative employment which they can manage. It should be noted however, that the researcher did not believe in all what the respondents suggested.

2.5.12 Institutional Environment

Institutional environment was considered as an important issue especially

with regard to attainment of top positions. Institutional environment may constitute those aspects that are either deliberately addressed to enhance the advancement of women; those which are in-built in the laws, rules, regulations related to employment and those which are completely gender blind. Affirmative action is usually intended to create a favourable working environment for women and their attainment of equal opportunities in recruitment, promotion and address of their special problems arising from role conflict.

Hypothesis 2 stated that the more the affirmative action and goodwill by government towards women, the more likely will be gender equity policies and programmes be implemented. This issue is investigated in section 3.5.12 and 3.6.

3.5.12 (i) **Some laws, rules and regulations related to employment of women in Uganda (Hypothesis 2)**

Uganda's policy on employment is that every individual has the right to work and for a fair remuneration. It is based on the philosophy and practice of equal pay for work of equal value regardless of sex. There is expected to be equality of opportunity to and equal treatment in employment. Article 67(1) of the draft constitution of Uganda 1993 on economic rights stipulates that.... "Every person has the right to work under satisfactory, safe and healthy conditions, and shall receive equal pay for equal work without discrimination. It continues in 67(2) that ...Every worker shall be accorded rest and reasonable working hours and periods of holiday with pay as well as remuneration for public holidays. There are no rules or regulations designed for the discrimination of women in the employment relationship within the Uganda Public Civil Service. Women can become ministers, permanent secretaries, heads of departments, members of parliament etc.

Despite these provisions, there are labour bye-laws related to employment that are detrimental to women's progress to top management positions. However, while it was accepted that there are laws and regulations which are unfavourable to women in employment and development, it was also noted that many women do not know the laws, rules and regulations related to employment in Uganda or even specifically at their respective places of work. This was exemplified by failure of some respondents to answer questions relating to the issue. Many left the section blank because they did not know. Of the 60 questionnaires that were analysed, twenty did not have any information given on the rules and regulations governing employment. Because of ignorance and lack of knowledge, women fail

to demand their rights and hence remain disadvantaged.

Respondents were requested to indicate some laws, rules and regulations related to women's rights as employees especially concerning equity with men with regard to access to employment opportunities and facilities such as child care, and other issues relevant to employment of persons responsible for children and of families. It was pointed out that all working women are entitled to maternity leave of at least 6 weeks. Because there are no day-care centres at most places of work, 6 weeks maternity leave is usually not enough. This forces women to go for unpaid maternity leave. When women go for frequent and long maternity leave due to the need to breast-feed, sometimes they miss promotion chances due to alleged absenteeism. Reproductive roles are counted as a woman's concern, when a mother finds it difficult to leave a baby of 6 weeks unattended to. Employers do not want to employ women in responsible and top-management positions on the pretext that women are usually interrupted by their multiple roles conflict. Women who take maternity leave and leave without pay for long periods are considered inactive and lazy and this affects their career advancement.

Although it was noted that women who have already attained top positions did not rate role-conflict as a significant constraint because most of them had passed reproductive age, such women had fewer children, an indication that they were able to reach the top because they controlled their fertility. However, those still in reproductive age indicated that role conflict was an important constraint to their concentration on the job. The time spent by women while taking children to hospital or attending to sick relatives may be interpreted as absenteeism and therefore reduce the chances of concentration and promotion.

An example that was given by one respondent was on the salient/implicit discrimination of a pregnant woman who was denied appointment after an interview. She was the best candidate but she could not be considered for the job. The panel preferred the second man as they would know that he would not apply for leave immediately. So the woman was implicitly discriminated against. Another man stopped his wife from working reasoning that by virtue of their being married in church, he had power to decide on what the woman has to do or not to do. She lost the job on production of the marriage certificate by the man. With regard to the foreign service, most of the barriers which existed in the old Uganda Government standing orders and which mostly affected women have been rectified by the current standing orders 1990. However, husband and wife in the foreign service, may not work together in a boss-subordinate relationship. This

can affect women's promotion while serving in the same mission with her husband abroad because otherwise there would be need for transfer of one of them. Certain jobs in the foreign service cannot allow wives of diplomats to be employed even if highly qualified. Certain positions among NGOs, parastatals are only offered to married women. Another element of the foreign service is that a woman stands a better chance on transfer of her husband. This is because once the husband is transferred she too has to follow although she might not be assured of a work place. In cases of where the wife has been transferred the husband cannot plead for his transfer to the wife's destination. In the teaching service, single or unmarried mothers are not accepted in the "respected" schools, on religious ground; that they are not role-models. Single women are rarely promoted to the level of headmistress and females are not appointed headmistresses to boys schools but men are appointed headmasters to girls schools. One of the teaching service requirements before promotion is that a lady must be properly married before she heads a school. Lack of appreciation of the credentials of a female teacher - single mother is an unrealistic legislation.

3.5.12 (ii) **On Working Hours**

The respondents were requested to comment on policies, rules and regulations that may affect women in top management with regard to working hours. It was pointed out that some employers are reluctant to employ women where they would be required to work outside normal hours. Often some jobs demand work for longer hours, beyond working hours such as weekends and public holidays. However, in managerial positions nobody sets working hours. It is the responsibility and devotion to work that keeps one on the desk. Because working hours for both men and women are the same and no time allowance is given to women to fulfil their familial obligations employers feel that there is no way women can devote their attention to work full time. This is given as a reason for not giving top positions to women especially in very demanding and sensitive jobs.

3.5.12 (iii) **On the Issue of Medical Care**

Although the Constitution accords equal rights to medical care to all citizens of Uganda, it is only male staff who are entitled to free medical treatment together with their families. Married women's medical care is pegged to that of their husbands as members of the family. This has implications for female single

parents. Free medical treatment is for only themselves and not for members of their families. While working husbands and their families are entitled to free medical treatment a wife with a non-working husband only gets medical treatment for herself. In this case, single mothers and wives of non-working husbands are disadvantaged.

3.5.12 (iv) **Housing**

Married working women in the public and civil service are not entitled to housing or housing allowances as long as both parties are working for government and are staying together, or are not legally divorced. Eligibility to housing is forfeited upon marriage. On separation with the husband rather than divorce, married women cannot be given housing or house allowance. So, housing entitlement, like medical treatment is pegged to the husband. However, unlike in the case of medical treatment, unmarried women are entitled to housing together with their families. When a man lives in his wife's house, he gets his housing allowances from his employer. However, when a woman stays with her husband, her housing entitlement is forfeited. This may be a disadvantage to some females who are in polygamous union, but who would not wish to share residence with their co-wives in their husbands' houses. In some circumstances female top-managers are entitled to executive housing. However, some men do not resent being housed by their wives. So, a top female manager may forfeit her executive house to stay in her husband's poorer house. To make it worse, she cannot claim her housing allowance. This is discriminatory.

A new phenomena at the work place is emerging in some institutions in Uganda. While the debate is still going on to increase maternity leave from 45 to 90 days, men are also clamouring for paternity leave. Already the Sugar Corporation of Uganda (SCOUL) has given a paternity leave of seven days to its employees whenever their wives give birth (New vision Vol. 7, No.234, Daily Friday, October 2, 1992).

3.6 **Affirmative Action (Hypothesis 2)**

Murphy and Veilleux (1991) suggested four essential strategies to the advancement of women's position in management. Such strategies would address the socio-cultural attitudes, institutional and policy issues, support services and professional networking. Hypothesis (2) stipulated that the more affirmative action and goodwill by government towards women, the more likely will the

gender equity policies and programmes be implemented. Legislation of measures prohibiting discrimination on the basis of sex, either in the society or an employment practice, and institution of formal structures to support the full integration of women throughout the society, accompanied by commitment of successive governments were given as essential for the liberation of women. Implementation of employment equity programmes and initiatives through evaluation of managers and supervisors at all levels who support employment equity initiatives was also suggested. It was also suggested that employment equity and managing diversity modules should be integrated into management and supervisory courses. Training should take place at all levels of management.

Attitudes and corporate culture were also suggested by Murphy as worth being focused on. Surveys of attitudes of women and men, at staff levels and management were suggested as possible means of identifying perceived barriers to women's career advancement. Development of a working climate which is both realistic and supportive was seen as an essential affirmative action. Policies and supportive information should be established to inform women on how to deal with difficult situations, biases and outright harassment, and managers should be sensitized on how to recognize and deal with cases of sexual harassment. Governments can also develop policy guidelines on the elimination of sexism in written documents and audio visual materials related to areas such as training.

While the above strategies address institutional, bureaucratic and policy issues, Mwosa (1991) suggested the following.

- Improvement of women's access to scientific, technical and commercial education to enhance their employment opportunities;
- Provision of opportunities for adult literacy and relevant skills training programmes for women and tailor them to fit in with women's time demands.
- Provision of opportunities for professional and managerial women to network, share their experiences be role models and mentors for younger women.
- Working with employers on ways of facilitating women with families to work at home, to have flexible time, share jobs, obtain, credit facilities and career break and work with men to improve their awareness of gender issues.

However, it was also suggested that the problem can be tackled from micro- and macro- levels. Increasing female education, though not definitive,

would result into promising results. Macroeconomic policies can also increase returns to schooling, thus complementing education policies. These include, removing policy distortions affecting the sectors in which women predominate; ease barriers to female labour force participation; improving access to information, credit and resources for self-employed women; provision of wood and water supplies, childcare, and public transport. In poor societies where women's economic prospects are severely limited, it may be especially important to show that women can earn more by instituting policies and programmes to improve their access to labour markets, information and resources. Such programmes if they increase women's productivity would promote female education.

Because of the multiple role conflict between parental, (occupational, conjugal, domestic, kin, community and individual roles) women, of whatever rank are jacks of all trades and masters of none. At the same time women's contribution to national development cannot be underrated. Therefore, some authorities have advocated for affirmative action to assist women to cope with their extra responsibilities at home and at the work places, and to enable them compete and become better performers.

The draft constitution of the Republic of Uganda 1993 addresses a number of issues on women in relation to men. On fundamental human rights and freedom, Article 50(4) states that no person shall be discriminated against on grounds of sex, race, colour, ethnic origin, tribe, creed or religion or social, economic standing or political opinion. Under Article 6.1 it is stated that 61(1) women shall be accorded full and equal dignity of the person with men and Article 61(2) stated that women shall have the right to equal treatment with men and that right shall include equal opportunity in political, economic and social activities. However, Article 61(3) states that women shall have the right to affirmative action for the purpose of redressing the imbalances created by history and traditional customs and 61(4) says that laws, cultures and customs which are against the dignity, welfare or interest of women or which undermine their status are prohibited by the constitution. Article 10 on national unity and stability, (10(5) stipulates that the state shall eliminate and discourage all laws, policies, and practices which promote and encourage discrimination and prejudice on grounds of place of origin, circumstances of birth, race, ethnic origin, language, sex, religion, political opinion, creed, or colour. However Article 10(4) states that everything shall be done to promote a culture of cooperation, understanding, appreciation, tolerance and respect for others customs, traditions and beliefs but

Article 10(3) spells it out clearly that all the people of Uganda are entitled to their cultural values and practices as long as they do not disturb the unity and cohesion of the state. Article 14(1) recognizes the significant role of women in society and the recognition will entail provision of facilities and opportunities necessary to enhance their welfare to enable them realise full potential and advancement.

As exemplified in the draft constitution, women's issues are being explicitly addressed at the national level and government has embraced an open policy of promoting and protecting the interest and cause of women.

Most important was the formation of the Ministry of Women in Development, Youth and Culture. The ministry was first established in 1988, as the ministry of women in Development under the President's Office, and later was merged with Youth and Culture in 1991. The objectives and functions of the ministry include inter alia:

- To attain equal rights for women by taking appropriate action with regard to laws, institutional arrangements, cultural practices and attitudes which discriminate and disadvantage women.
- To foster personal development and advancement of women by action which expand women's opportunities to contribute to and benefit from national development policies and programmes;
- To attain economic self-reliance of women by increasing the range and fostering the success of women's money-generating activities and enterprises through action which encourages economic activity and increase access to economic resources and support structures.
- To achieve full participation of women in decision-making by actions which promote the participation of women in political and development processes, leadership and policy formation levels.

Among the activities it has carried out are: the training of women leaders from all over the country in gender issues and the education of women on the constitutional making exercise as a result of which a very comprehensive and detailed memorandum encompassing all the views of the women of Uganda was submitted to the Uganda Constitutional Commission. The views were integrated into the new constitution in the making.

The Directorate for Women's Affairs in the National Resistance Movement (NRM) Secretariat is another structure of affirmative action. It was formed in 1986 as a women's desk within the Secretariat and was upgraded to a full directorate in 1989. Currently it has been merged with the Directorate of Youth

and Culture. The directorate is responsible for political mobilization and education of women on all issues of development with emphasis on their need to participate in the politics of the country. Through seminars, workshops, music and drama competitions, tremendous awareness among women and men on women's rights and responsibilities have been created.

Women from all districts in Uganda are now represented in the National Resistance Council (parliament). A special position for women representing each district of Uganda in the parliament was established in 1989. This, coupled with the deliberate policy of government to appoint women ministers has increased women's political participation.

Quite a number of women have risen to high positions in government structures due to affirmative action programmes as well as recognition of women's professional organizational and managerial potential. It is mandatory in Uganda that any parastatal body must have at least a woman on its board of directors. All commissions must have a woman. These are usually political appointments. Of course, such women are always selected from those who are highly qualified for such appointments and are competitive with their male counterparts. In the majority of cases such as graduates with relevant professional training for the type of activity. Some have postgraduate training up to masters and Ph.D. levels, as well as postgraduate diplomas. However, for posts of executive directors and managing directors, such posts are usually advertised and women and men apply and attend interview with other applicants. Even for promotion vetting is open but of course, due to implicit discrimination, sometimes women get a raw deal.

Government has also come up with affirmative action programmes in education. This involves the weighing of marks in points for women entering the university. Qualifying women with the minimum requirements for entry to university are given as extra 1.5 points to enable them enter the university. Although the weighing system has caused much controversy between and among men and women as unfair and as a system that marginalised women even the more it has contributed to more girls entering the university. The impact is yet to be assessed and is beyond the mandate of this analysis. Some authorities have suggested that this should be a temporary measure to allow women to catch-up with higher education; that the root cause of the problem, namely marginalization of women's education from grassroots level should be the one to be addressed. Otherwise the 1.5 points award is just treating the symptom rather than the real cure.

A department of women studies has been opened in Makerere University in the Faculty of Social Sciences (1991). It offers an M.A. course in women studies focussing on various issues such as Gender, Population and Development; Feminism, Social Theory and Social Reform; Gender and the Law; Women and Health and Environment, Women in Different Socio-economic Systems, Research Methods, Project Design, Appraisal and Evaluation etc. It is the first one of its kind in Africa. Chances are that it will develop into a big programme with international reputation. Already, it is networking with international centres with similar objectives and activities. It also works in close collaboration with the Ministry of Women in Development, Youth and Culture, and the National Association for Women's Organisation of Uganda (NAWOU), as well as other women's NGOs in the country.

Non-governmental organizations have also been a driving force in the mobilization of women in Uganda. Worth mentioning among the many are Action For Development (ACFODE), the Uganda Association of University Women (UAUW); the Uganda Women Lawyers Association (FIDA), the Uganda Women's Finance and Credit Trust (UWFCT), the Uganda Women Doctors Association; and the Uganda Media Women Association. Of course, not to forget the religious associations, such as the Young Women's Christian Association, the Uganda Muslim Women League and the Uganda Catholic Women Association as well as Uganda Neddagala Lyayo Women's Association.

Action for Development (ACFODE) was the first women's organization that was formed in Uganda in 1986 as a result of the Nairobi Women's conference to mark the women's decade. Through its networking programme, it has done a lot by way of legal education and it has been able to reach the rural women in educating them about their rights. It has conducted research on women and their project and needs.

The Uganda Association of University Women (UAUW) mainly focusses on education opportunities for women and careers presents awards to women excelling in their academic work at university every year. This is intended to provide positive role-modelling to the youths who are aspiring for excellence in the academia. The UAUW is affiliated to the International Federation of University Women (IFUW).

The Uganda Women Lawyers Association (FIDA) is an affiliate of the International Federation of Women Lawyers. FIDA has done tremendous work through its extensive legal education programme which covers publication and

simplification and dissemination of the laws of Uganda. It established a Legal Aid Clinic in 1988 and the clinic received 197 cases. In 1989, 250 cases were registered while by 1990, the figure had risen to 534. The role played by the legal clinic include counselling of clients, preparing papers, and representing women in courts of law when need arises (Matembe, 1991).

It is also involved in cases relating to formation, and registering of firms, partnership, cooperatives and other forms of trading transactions. In about 80% of the cases handled by the clinic, clients have obtained some form of remedy like letters of administration/probate for the management of the estates involved. It has been able to secure custody of children to their mothers and to re-instate women in their matrimonial homes.

The Uganda women's finance and credit trust is an affiliate of the women's World Bank and was established in Uganda in 1984 but became operational in 1986. The trust facilitates the integration of women into the economic activities of the nation by assisting them with banking facilities, The target group for the trust is women of low income and the disadvantaged. It offers loans to women at slightly lower interest rates than commercial banks and with character as collateral.

Many other women's organizations are offering invaluable services depending on their objectives and functions. Women's groups whether economic, social, political, religious or legal have been used as proof of female power in Ugandan society as evidence of strong feminine consciousness. They have provided some sort of sisterhood and solidarity against oppression and discrimination. They have provided avenues through which women's special problems can be identified and efforts for solution implemented. Women's groups have been made more effective by capacity building through various aspects such as training, skills development, community mobilization, identification, planning, decision-making, implementation, monitoring and evaluation and sustenance. In the process, women have acquired a sense of ownership, leadership and sharing of responsibilities for a common purpose or goal. This has trained them to practice democracy among themselves.

From the foregoing, it is quite evident that women in Uganda have benefitted from affirmative action programmes and women's community participation. However, some men and women have taken it with mixed feelings, that it addresses the symptoms rather than the actual causes of the problem. It has been argued, affirmative action may be dangerous to women's progress in the long

run. The 1.5 extra points given to women on entry into Makerere University was interpreted as demotion of women to more dependency, and that it is not a democratic means to access to higher education. However, the Draft Constitution of Uganda spells out clearly in Article 61(3) that women shall have the right to affirmative action for the purpose of redressing the imbalances created by history and traditional customs. Therefore affirmative action, it was argued, should not be interpreted as a favour but as a corrective institution. However, it should also be noted that most affirmative action programmes address problems of the grassroots and middle class women rather than women in top management implying that women in top management are left to fight it out on their own. Perhaps women in top management can form a lobby group/association to enable them make collective efforts to solve their problems.

4.0 THE FUTURE OF WOMEN PROSPECTS FOR AND POSITIVE CHANGE IN UGANDA: THE RESEARCH AGENDA

From the foregoing, it is evident that women in Uganda have made reasonable strides in their emancipation and participation in top management and decision-making. Although they are still very few, the future is bright, with regard to their integration in the mainstream of development, education and training.

However, when the problem is looked at from a global perspective, structural adjustment policies and programmes may reverse the trend. Employees, both men and women are being prematurely retired in the name of creating a well remunerated, efficient work force. Ministries are being merged and whole departments are being phased out. This may reduce management positions as well as the number of women in top management positions. Therefore, there is need to investigate the effects of structural adjustment programmes (SAP) namely the retrenchment exercise, on women in management positions. We also need to investigate those women in the middle cadre who will constitute the managers of tomorrow. Future strategies can only be made if the trend in the employment of women is well documented, whether the potential women in the middle cadre aspiring for promotion are actually there or whether the number is coming down. There is also need to investigate the impact of affirmative action programmes on the development of women and their integration in the mainstream of development. Major areas of investigation could therefore include any of the following:

Africa Association of Public Administration and Management (AAPAM)

1. Effects of SAP on women in management.
2. The potential pool of women managers in Uganda, is it increasing or decreasing?
3. The impact of affirmative action programmes on the integration of women into the main stream of development in Uganda, is it real or tokenism? Can it be sustained or is it a short-lived strategy?
4. The impact of affirmative action programmes on higher education of women in Uganda.
5. Women in management and role conflict.
6. A comparative study of women and men in top management; scenarios and trends and management styles and changing organisational cultures.
7. Attitudes of women towards fellow women in top management.

It is only after investigating some of these areas mentioned that one can predict with some degree of confidence whether the future of women in Uganda as managers or top managers is bright, dim, or dark.

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APPENDIX I

List of Institutions/Organisations that were Sampled

Ministries

1. Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries
2. Education and Sports
3. Finance and Economic Planning
4. Foreign Affairs
5. Health
6. Information and Broadcasting
7. Justice and Constitutional Affairs
8. Labour and Social Affairs
9. Public Service and Cabinet Affairs
10. Water, Energy, Minerals and Environmental protection
11. Women in Development, Culture and Youth

Commissions

1. Constitutional
2. Law Reform
3. Public Service
4. Teaching Service
5. Human Rights
6. Aids

Government Parastatal Bodies

1. Uganda Airlines Corporation
2. Uganda Cement Industries Ltd.
3. National Water and Sewerage Corporation
4. National Social Security Fund
5. Uganda Bata Shoe Company
6. Uganda Dairy Corporation

Women in Top Management in Uganda

Government Departments

1. Uganda Police Force
2. Kampala City Council

Educational Institutions

1. Institute of Teacher Education (ITEK)
2. Makerere University
3. School of Postgraduate Studies, Makerere University

Financial Institutions

1. Bank of Uganda
2. Uganda Commercial Bank
3. Bank of Baroda Ltd.
4. Uganda Development Bank
5. Cooperative Bank
6. Standard Chartered Bank
7. Grindlays International Forex Bureau Ltd.
8. Mpigi Women Development Trust

Non-Governmental Organisations

1. OXFAM (International)
2. Uganda Institute of Bankers
3. Kampala Bottlers (Scweppes)
4. Agip (Uganda) Ltd.
5. Management International Ltd (International)
6. Action for Development (ACFODE)
7. Uganda Educational and Careers Consultancy

Districts (Headed by Women)

1. Mpigi
2. Kasese
3. Mubende
4. Mukono