

EISA
TECHNICAL ASSESSMENT TEAM REPORT
UGANDA

THE UGANDAN PRESIDENTIAL AND
PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS OF
18 FEBRUARY 2011

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EISA strives for excellence in the promotion of credible elections, participatory democracy, human rights culture, and the strengthening of governance institutions for the consolidation of democracy in Africa.

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Acronyms and Abbreviations

CSO	Civil society organisation
DFID	Department for International Development
EC	Electoral Commission
ECF	Electoral Commissions Forum
EISA	Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa
EOM	Election observer mission
EPP	Elections and Political Processes (department)
ETRDS	Electronic Results Transmission and Dissemination System
FPTP	First-past-the-post
MP	Member of parliament
NRA	National Resistance Army
NRM	National Resistance Movement
NVR	National Voters' Register
PEMMO	Principles for Election Management, Monitoring and Observation
PPOA	Political Parties and Organisations Act
RO	Returning officer
SADC	Southern African Development Community
TRS	Two-round system
UHRC	Uganda Human Rights Commission
UK	United Kingdom
UNLA	Uganda National Liberation Army
UPC	Uganda People's Congress
UPDF	Ugandan People's Defence Force
UPF	Uganda Police Force

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In advancing its mission of promoting credible elections, citizen participation and the strengthening of political institutions for sustainable democracy in Africa, the Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa (EISA) deployed a technical assessment team to the Ugandan presidential and parliamentary elections, which were held on Friday, 18 February 2011. The team was in Uganda at the invitation of the Electoral Commission of Uganda.

The Technical Assessment Team comprised eight members drawn primarily from EISA core staff at its head office in Johannesburg and field offices, as well as from partner civil society organisations (CSOs). Members of the team arrived in Kampala on 11 February and remained in the country until 22 February 2011. During this period the team met with key stakeholders in the electoral process, and observed the polling and counting processes in Kampala and surrounding areas, particularly Entebbe and Jinja.

The team used the Principles for Election Management, Monitoring and Observation (PEMMO) in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Region as the basis for its assessment of the Ugandan presidential and parliamentary elections. PEMMO was developed by EISA and the Electoral Commissions Forum (ECF) of SADC countries. It outlines standards and best practices for the conduct and assessment of elections in the SADC region. The Declaration of International Principles for Election Observation and the Code of Conduct for International Observers were also used as references.

The team made its assessment of the electoral process in Uganda on the basis of the information gathered during meetings with relevant stakeholders and observation of the process. The team's findings and recommendations are presented in this report, which provides an analysis of the electoral process.

TERMS OF REFERENCE OF THE EISA TECHNICAL ASSESSMENT TEAM

These Terms of Reference of the EISA Technical Assessment Team describe the role and responsibilities of the team members during their field deployment for the 2011 presidential and parliamentary elections in Uganda. They provide a summary of the technical team's objectives and outline the activities to be carried out by its members.

The Terms of Reference provide guidance on how members of the Technical Assessment Team should behave, as well as their roles and responsibilities. The team members were invited guests of the Ugandan Government. The election and related processes were for the people of Uganda to conduct. As observers, the EISA Technical Team members were expected to support and assess these processes, but not interfere with them in any way.

EISA believes that international observers can play a critically important supportive role by helping enhance the credibility of elections, reinforcing the work of domestic observer groups and increasing public confidence in the entire electoral process.

The overall objective of the mission is in line with EISA's vision of promoting credible elections and democratic governance in Africa. Specifically, the mission was established in order to:

- undertake a detailed documentation of the electoral process to ascertain if the process was organised and conducted in compliance with internationally accepted standards for credible elections;
- assess and determine whether the elections were conducted in accordance with the constitutional and legal framework for elections in Uganda;
- determine whether the final results of the electoral process as a whole reflected the wishes of the people of Uganda; and
- assess whether the elections met the benchmarks set out in the African Union Declaration on Principles Governing Democratic

Elections, the East African Community Protocol on Good Governance, as well as the Principles for Election Management, Monitoring and Observation (PEMMO) developed under the auspices of EISA and the Electoral Commissions Forum of SADC countries.

Specific instruments used by the Technical Team to assess the elections in Uganda included the following:

- The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948, which is accepted by all member states of the United Nations
- The African Union Declaration on Principles Governing Democratic Elections, 2002
- The EISA / ECF Principles for Election Management, Monitoring and Observation in the SADC Region (PEMMO), 2003
- The Declaration of Principles for International Election Observation, 2005
- The East African Community Protocol on Good Governance.

METHODOLOGY OF THE TECHNICAL ASSESSMENT TEAM

The EISA Technical Assessment Team adopted a holistic approach to the documentation and assessment of the electoral process in Uganda. It undertook various activities covering the pre-election, polling and immediate post-polling operations. The documentation and assessment methodology encompassed the following activities:

- Obtain information on the electoral process from the Electoral Commission of Uganda through the briefing sessions organised by the commission.
- Meetings with political parties, CSOs, security agencies and other stakeholders to acquaint itself with the electoral environment.
- Attendance at political campaign rallies.
- Election day observation.
- Assessment of the team's observations.
- Presentation of a final report.

THE EISA APPROACH TO ELECTION OBSERVATION

EISA seeks to realise effective and sustainable democratic governance in Africa through strengthening electoral processes, good governance, human rights and democratic values. In this regard, EISA undertakes applied research, capacity building, advocacy and other targeted interventions. It is within this broad context that EISA deploys election observer missions to assess the context and conduct of elections in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region. EISA established a seven-member technical team to assess the 18 February 2011 parliamentary and presidential elections in Uganda.

The technical team conducted a range of activities, including but not limited to desktop research, structured and open interviews with electoral stakeholders, attendance of observer briefings, political party rallies, and preparation activities by the Electoral Commission of Uganda (EC). The election day, counting and announcement of results were observed directly by the technical team. Documents reviewed included the legal framework of Uganda, national policy documents, past election reports and analyses, and media coverage.

Through these activities all phases of election preparation, including the pre-election, election and post-election phases, could be covered.

Stakeholder meetings and observer briefings

The EISA Technical Assessment Team arrived in Kampala on 11 February 2011, eight days before the election. The main objective of the technical team was to assess the level of preparedness and readiness of all domestic stakeholders, as well as the environment in which the elections were to take place.

During this time the technical team held meetings with the following electoral stakeholders: officials of the EC; the media; academia; CSOs; political party representatives; and other international election observer missions (EOMs). The team attended the rallies of the two major political parties, as well as the observers' briefing organised by the EC.

Observation of voting and counting

On 18 February 2011, the EISA Technical Assessment Team deployed three groups to observe the voting process in Kampala, Jinja and Entebbe. The team visited 24 polling centres in these districts.

This report presents the findings of the EISA Technical Assessment Team to the 2011 parliamentary and presidential elections in Uganda.



1

Historical and Political Overview



- I.1 Historical background
- I.2 Political and electoral background
- I.3 Elections in Uganda

I.1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Several African kingdoms had been in place for centuries when the first Arab traders moved inland in the 1830s into what is now Uganda. British explorers, searching for the source of the Nile, arrived in the 1860s. Protestant and Catholic missionaries first entered the country in the late 1870s. In 1888, Britain assigned control of its emerging central African ‘sphere of interest’ to the Imperial British East Africa Company. In 1890, an Anglo-German agreement confirmed British dominion over Uganda and neighbouring Kenya. By 1893 the company abandoned the territory, which became a formal British protectorate in 1894. It was not until 1955 that the terms of the protectorate were expanded to include constitutional changes that would eventually lead to Uganda’s independence.

Uganda’s first general elections were held in 1961, and internal self-government was granted on 1 March 1962 with Benedicto Kiwanuka as prime minister. When Uganda attained independence on 9 October 1962, Kiwanuka had been succeeded by Dr Milton Obote, leader of the Uganda People’s Congress (UPC).

At the time of independence the country comprised four regions, including the Kingdom of Buganda – traditionally among the most powerful political entities in the area. In 1963, Uganda became a republic and Mutesa II, the king of Buganda, was named president. Executive power, however, remained with the cabinet and Prime Minister Obote.

After several years of conflict between those who favoured a centralised state and those who preferred a loose federation with strong roles for tribally based kingdoms, Obote led a coup against the king in February 1966. He suspended the constitution and assumed all government powers as executive president in April 1966.

In 1967, Obote promulgated a new constitution, which granted the president vast powers, proclaimed Uganda a republic and abolished the traditional kingdoms. All opposition parties were banned in 1969. In January 1971, Obote was overthrown by the army, led by Major General Idi Amin Dada, who assumed full executive powers. In February, Amin dissolved the National Assembly, assumed legislative power, suspended the constitution and declared himself head of state.

In an 'economic war' intended to free Uganda from foreign domination, Amin expelled all Asians, many of whom were engaged in trade and small industry. The next seven years were characterised by brutality virtually unmatched in history, with the ruthless extermination of any suspected opposition, and an army which was allowed to trample on civil and human rights with impunity.

Relations with nations around the world, and especially with the East African community, deteriorated steadily throughout the 1970s, leading to a total collapse in 1977. In November 1978, Amin annexed the Kagera Province from Tanzania, which provoked the 1979 joint invasion of Uganda by Tanzanian troops and the Uganda National Liberation Army (UNLA), an umbrella organisation of rebel forces. The invasion force quickly gained control of much of the southern region of Uganda, and Amin's troops capitulated. In April 1979, a Tanzanian assault force entered Kampala. Idi Amin fled to Libya and later to Saudi Arabia.

Elections held in 1980 were won by the UPC, and Milton Obote became president for the second time. Obote's second term was marked by increasing guerrilla activity, to which he responded with repression and violence. Obote was overthrown in a military coup in July 1985. Over the next several months, agreement was reached between exiled opposition groups and the interim government. These talks were opposed by the National Resistance Movement

(NRM) and its military wing, the National Resistance Army (NRA), led by Yoweri Kaguta Museveni. Museveni assumed the presidency when the NRA took over the capital in January 1986.

1.2 POLITICAL AND ELECTORAL BACKGROUND

Uganda is a presidential republic in which the president of Uganda is both head of state and head of government; it currently has a multi-party system. Executive power is exercised by the government. Legislative power is vested in both the government and the National Assembly. The system is based on a democratic parliamentary system with universal suffrage for all citizens over 18 years of age.

The head of state in Uganda is the president, who is elected by popular vote to a five-year term. This is currently Yoweri Museveni (NRM, 26 January 1986), who is also the head of the armed forces. The vice president is Gilbert Bukenya (NRM, 23 March 2003). The cabinet is appointed by the president from among the elected legislators. The prime minister, currently Apollo Nsibambi (NRM, 5 April 1999), assists the president in the supervision of the cabinet.

The cabinet of Uganda, according to the Constitution of Uganda, 'shall consist of the President, the Vice President and such number of Ministers as may appear to the President to be reasonably necessary for the efficient running of the State.'

The National Assembly should have, in principle, 319 members, including 215 members elected directly through universal adult suffrage in single-seat constituencies. In addition, each of Uganda's 80 districts elects a female representative via direct vote, and 25 members of parliament (MPs) are selected from so-called 'special interest' groups via a regional electoral college system. These special interest MPs include 10 representatives of the Ugandan People's Defence Force (UPDF), five youth representatives, five representatives of people with disabilities and five representatives from trade unions.

Uganda is divided into 80 districts, spread across four administrative regions: Northern; Eastern; Central (Kingdom of Buganda); and Western. The districts

are subdivided into counties. A number of districts have been added in the past few years, and eight others were added on 1 July 2006. Most districts are named after their main commercial and administrative towns. Each district is divided into sub-districts, counties, sub-counties, parishes and villages.

Parallel with the state administration, six traditional Bantu kingdoms have remained, and enjoy some degree of mainly cultural autonomy. The kingdoms are Toro, Ankole, Busoga, Bunyoro, Buganda and Rwenzururu.

1.3 ELECTIONS IN UGANDA

The first national elections in Uganda were the National Assembly elections held in 1962. An alliance between the UPC and *Kabaka Yekka* won the majority of parliamentary seats and formed Uganda's first post-independence government, with Milton Obote as executive prime minister.

A period of dictatorship and political strife – including the tenures of Idi Amin, Yusuf Lule and Godfrey Binaisa – meant that no elections were held until the presidential election of December 1980. In that election, Obote was proclaimed the winner amid bitter dispute and allegations of electoral fraud. Yoweri Museveni, one of the presidential aspirants, initiated an armed rebellion and waged a guerrilla war (the Ugandan Bush War) against the government of Obote. Museveni's NRA took power in January 1986 from the government of General Tito Okello Lutwa, who had toppled Obote's UPC government in a bloodless military coup on 27 July 1985.

Museveni and his NRM created a form of 'no-party democracy', banning political parties and prohibiting them from fielding candidates directly in elections. In the 'no-party' presidential election of 1996, Museveni defeated Paul Ssemogerere and Mohamed Mayanja by a landslide victory.

In the following presidential election held in March 2001, Museveni won by a substantial majority, with Kizza Besigye as the only real challenger. Despite a protest against the results, citing massive voter intimidation and rigging, the outcome was confirmed by the Supreme Court of Uganda.

Table 1: Uganda presidential elections, March 2001

Candidate	Number of votes	%
Yoweri museveni	5,123,360	69.4
Kizza besigye	2,055,795	27.7
Aggrey awori	103,915	1.4
Muhammad kibirige mayanja	73,790	1.0
Francis bwengye	22,751	0.3
Karuhunga chapaa	10,080	0.1
Turnout	7,511,606	69.7

Source: The Electoral Commission of Uganda

Uganda: Multi-party referendum of July 2005

The Ugandan parliament resolved to conduct a referendum on multi-party politics in May 2005. It is worth mentioning that five years earlier, in a similar referendum, Ugandans chose to keep the restrictions on political parties. On 28 July 2005, however, the majority of Ugandans opted for the restoration of a multi-party political system in the country, lifting the 19-year ban on the activities of political parties. See Table 2 for the official results.

Table 2: Results of the 28 July 2005 multi-party referendum

Option	Number of votes	%
Yes	3,643,223	92.4
No	297,865	7.6
Turnout	3,941,088	47.3

Source: Electoral Commission of Uganda

The 2006 constitutional review

The legal framework for the conduct of elections in Uganda is based on the Constitution of Uganda. It is important to mention the constitutional review process that took place in 2005, which was widely criticised by civil society groups for the non-participatory procedures adopted by parliament.

The most significant amendment to the constitution was the removal of limits for presidential tenure. This paved the way for President Museveni to contest for a third term in office in 2006 and a fourth term in the 2011 elections.

Uganda: The 2006 presidential and parliamentary elections

The Ugandan presidential and parliamentary elections held on 23 February 2006 were the first multi-party elections to be held in 25 years. Museveni won 59% of the presidential vote, and his NRM party won the majority of parliamentary seats.

Table 3: Summary of the 23 February 2006 Ugandan presidential election results

Candidates - Nominating parties	Votes	%
Yoweri Museveni, National Resistance Movement	4,109,449	59.26
Kizza Besigye, Forum for Democratic Change	2,592,954	37.39
John Ssebaana Kizito, Democratic Party	109,583	1.58
Abed Bwanika, Independent	65,874	0.95
Miria Obote, Uganda People's Congress	57,071	0.82
Total	6,934,931	100.00

Source: Electoral Commission of Uganda

Table 4: Summary of the 23 February 2006 Ugandan National Assembly election results

Parties	Constituency seats	Women's seats	Indirect seats	Total
National Resistance Movement	142	49	14	205
Forum for Democratic Change	27	10		37
Uganda People's Congress	9			9
Democratic Party	8			8
Conservative Party	1			1
Justice Forum	1			1
Independents	26	10	1	37
Vacant	1			1
Ugandan People's Defence Force Representatives				10
Ex-officio Members				10
Total (turnout 72 %)	215	69	15	319

Source: Inter-Parliamentary Union

2

Constitutional, Legal & Institutional Framework



- 2.1 Constitutional and legal framework
- 2.2 Electoral framework
- 2.3 The Electoral Commission of Uganda
- 2.4 Other institutions involved in elections
- 2.5 The Electoral System
- 2.6 Challenges

2.1 CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL FRAMEWORK

Elections in Uganda are regulated by a legal framework that is founded upon the Constitution of Uganda. The current constitution, which was adopted on 8 October 1995, provides for a republican form of government with a powerful president. Constitutional amendments included in 2005 removed presidential term limits and authorised the return of multi-party politics in the country.

The president is the head of state, the head government and the commander in chief of the UPDF. The president is elected for a five-year tenure that is without limits. Chapter 7 of the Constitution of Uganda provides for the exercise of executive powers by the president, presentation of presidential addresses, absence of the president, election of the president, tenure of office of the president and the removal of the president. The Presidential Elections Act provides further details for the conduct of elections for the office of the president.

The executive

Executive power is vested in the president, who appoints the vice president and the prime minister. The vice president deputises for the president when the need arises. The office of the prime minister was created in 2005 with the amendment of Chapter 7 of the constitution. The prime minister, who is appointed by the president subject to the approval of parliament by simple

majority, serves as the leader of government business in parliament and oversees the implementation of policies and programmes across ministries and other government agencies. The constitution also provides for the appointment of a maximum of 21 cabinet ministers by the president from among MPs or other persons qualified to serve as MPs.

The legislature

Chapter 6 of the constitution vests legislative power in a unicameral parliament that is elected by universal adult suffrage by secret ballot for a five-year term. After the 2006 elections, parliament consisted of 319 members, of which 215 are directly elected in single-member constituencies, 79 female MPs are elected by direct vote to represent each district, and 25 special interest representatives are elected by regional electoral colleges.

The special interest seats are reserved for the following groups: the UPDF; workers; youths; and persons living with disability. The UPDF has 10 representatives in parliament, of which two are female; workers have five representatives, of which one is female; the youth have five representatives, of which one is female; and persons with disability have five representatives, of which one is female. The prime minister and other cabinet ministers also sit in parliament as ex-officio members.

After the 2006 elections, electoral districts were re-demarcated. The number increased to 113 districts and 238 constituencies, bringing the total number of directly elected MPs to 238 and the total number of female representatives to 113, while the number of special interest seats remained the same. The total number of parliamentary seats in the 2011 elections was therefore 376.

The 2005 constitutional amendment provided for the office of the leader of the opposition in parliament. The leader of the opposition is elected by the opposition party with the highest number of seats in parliament. S/he serves as the voice of the opposition parties in parliament; s/he also serves as a member of the Parliamentary Commission.

The judiciary

Uganda has an independent judiciary that comprises the Supreme Court as the highest court, the Court of Appeal as the appellate court and the High

Court. The Supreme Court is headed by the chief justice, who is also the head of the judiciary. The Court of Appeal is headed by the deputy chief justice, who serves as the head of the Court of Appeal and deputises for the chief justice when the need arises. The Court of Appeal sits as a constitutional court in cases requiring an interpretation of the constitution. The High Court is headed by a principal judge and it has original jurisdiction on all matters, including election petitions.

Judicial officers are appointed by the president on the advice of the Judicial Service Commission and with the approval of parliament. Judicial officers can be removed from office by the president, acting on the advice of a tribunal set up to investigate allegations of misbehaviour and incompetence. Judges of the Supreme Court and the Court of Appeal are allowed to serve their tenure of office until age 70, while principal judges and judges of the High Court are allowed to serve until age 65.

Local government

Governance in Uganda is guided by the principles of decentralisation and devolution, as stated in the principles guiding local government in Chapter 11 of the 2006 Constitution of Uganda. The district is established as the highest level of local government. Under the districts are several local administrative units.

Beyond the districts, the constitution also provides for the establishment of regional governments that are administrated by regional assemblies. It also makes provision for two or more districts to merge, forming a regional government. Local governments are headed by local councils that are elected for a five-year tenure through universal adult suffrage.

2.2 ELECTORAL FRAMEWORK

The Constitution of Uganda sets the legal framework for the conduct of elections. It guarantees fundamental freedoms and human rights as it provides for freedom of information, freedom of association and freedom of assembly. The right to form political associations and parties was further guaranteed after the 2006 referendum. With regard to the formation of political parties, a Political Parties and Organisations Act was passed in 2005 to repeal the 2002 Act.

Affirmative action for the rights of women, youth and persons with disability is also enshrined in the Ugandan constitution. Specifically, there are special interest seats established within parliament to ensure the participation of women, youth, persons with disability, the labour union and the UPDF. It is also significant to note that with regard to women's representation and participation, the constitution provides double affirmative action as it provides for one female representative to be elected from each of the 80 districts, and it further mandates that two of the 10 UPDF representatives and one of the other special interest representatives be women.

The constitution also provides for the establishment of the EC as the legally mandated body responsible for the conduct of elections, the management of the voters' register, the delimitation of electoral districts and the registration of political parties.

Constitutional amendments

Since its promulgation, the 1995 constitution has been amended three times – in 2000, September 2005 and December 2005. The 2011 elections were regulated by the constitution as amended in December 2005. It is important to highlight two central elements of the amended constitution that have bearing on the electoral process.

The September 2005 amendment to the constitution addressed the very contentious issue of presidential tenure with the repeal of Article 105(2) of the constitution. The amended constitution therefore lifted the limits on the tenure of the president by providing that: 'A person may be elected under this Constitution to hold office as President for one or more terms as prescribed by this article.' The amended constitution thus paved the way for President Museveni to contest the 2011 elections after 25 years in power.

Article 255 of the constitution was also amended to provide details for referenda to be conducted by the EC, as demanded by the government or citizens. Following the presidential assent of the amended constitution, the government submitted a proposal for a national referendum on the issue of change in the political system. Ugandans went to the polls on 28 July 2006 to determine whether the country would continue with the movement system or adopt a multi-party system. 'Yes' votes received 92.5% of the total votes cast

and 'No' votes received 7.5%. Based on the outcome of the 2006 referendum, Uganda adopted a multi-party political system, and multi-party elections were held in 2006 after a 19-year ban on political parties.

The September 2005 constitutional amendments also provided the following:

- Establishing Kampala as the capital city.
- Swahili as the second official language of Uganda.
- Seat of the leader of opposition in parliament.
- Offices of prime minister and deputy attorney general.
- Independence of the auditor general.
- Creation of special courts to handle corruption-related offences.
- Establishment of a Leadership Code Tribunal.
- Control of minerals and petroleum.
- Holding of referenda generally.
- Transitional provisions.

The December 2005 constitutional amendments provided the following:

- Creation of new districts.
- Establishment of districts as administrative units of local government.
- Establishment of regional governments as the highest political authority in the region with executive, legislative and administrative functions.
- Grants for districts that are not regional governments.

In line with these constitutional amendments, other related electoral legislation was amended.

Election-related legislation

As provided in the Constitution of Uganda, the National Assembly has the power to pass legislation to regulate the conduct of elections. Elections at the national and local levels are regulated by a set of laws that are based on the principles enshrined in the constitution, namely the:

- Electoral Commission Act;
- Local Government Act;

- Presidential Elections Act;
- Parliamentary Elections Act; and
- Political Parties and Organisations Act.

The Electoral Commission Act

In line with Article 60 of the constitution, which provides for the establishment of the EC, the Electoral Commission Act (Cap 140) of 1997 sets out the mandate and responsibilities of the EC. The Electoral Commission Act makes miscellaneous provisions relating to the operations of the EC and the conduct of elections. The Electoral Commission Act provides for the establishment of the EC as a body corporate, its funding and its functions. The Act addresses the following issues:

- Part I of the Act makes general provisions that address issues relating to the office of the secretary of the EC and staff of the EC, procedure of the EC, funds and expenses of the EC, and the seal of the EC.
- Part II provides for the functions of the EC. This part addresses issues such as its power to regulate ballot papers, its independence, power to resolve complaints, power to accredit observers and its right to bring legal action.
- Part III provides for the compilation and maintenance of the national voters' register and voters' rolls. It also provides for the appointment of registrars and other registration staff.
- Part IV provides for the appointment and functions of returning officers and other election officers.
- Part V provides for the appointment and functions of the Boundary Demarcation Appeal Tribunal, and the right to appeal the decisions of the tribunal.
- Part VI of the Act includes miscellaneous provisions that address the application of the Act to referenda, the special powers of the EC and its exemption from liability.

The Electoral Commission Act was amended in June 2010 to: provide for the tenure of the office of the secretary; empower the EC to accredit observers; make it mandatory for the EC to transmit the voters' register to political parties; provide for the establishment of parish tribunals to hear complaints

from the registration process; provide for a 10-day period for the display of the tribunal's recommendations and for objections to be filed; provide for a 90-day limit before elections, within which duplicate voters' cards can be issued by the EC.

The establishment and operations of the EC will be discussed in further detail in the next section.

The Local Government Act

The Local Government Act (Cap 243) of 1997 regulates the conduct of elections in local government councils. The Act was amended in 2005 in line with the amendment of the constitution, and it was further amended in 2010. The 2011 local government elections held on 23 February to 7 March 2011 were therefore regulated by the Local Government Act, as amended in 2010.

The Local Government Act mandates the EC to organise local government elections every five years. To qualify to contest elections to the office of council chairperson, the Act mandates that candidates be nominated by at least two persons in the council areas, with the support of 50 registered voters from at least two-thirds of the electoral areas as demarcated by the EC. Candidates standing for election are also mandated to pay a non-refundable application fee to the EC.

In line with the constitution, the Local Government Act also provides for the election of one female representative into each council, as well as the representation of special interest groups in each council, such as the youth, persons with disability and the elderly. It stipulates the qualification to contest for councillorship and the procedure for elections. It is important to mention here that although the Act provides for elections by secret ballot for other councillors, it provides for elections by open ballot for the election of female representatives. It stipulates that the presiding officer allows voters to cast their votes by lining up behind the candidate, an agent or a portrait of the candidate of their choice. The procedure for the election of special interest councillors is by electoral colleges.

The Act also provides for illiterate voters and voters with disability to have persons of their choice assist them to mark the ballot paper. It provides

for an open and transparent process for counting the ballot on site at the polling station. Though the Act provides for the immediate announcement of elected candidates, it does not stipulate a time limit for the release of detailed election results.

With regard to the settlement of election disputes, the Act grants the right to challenge electoral outcomes to candidates and voters that participated in an election. The Act mandates the High Court and the chief magistrate to hear petitions arising from local government elections.

Other issues addressed in the Act are the demarcation of electoral areas by the EC, the appointment of electoral officials, the procedure for election petitions, illegal practices and offences, and provisions for by-elections.

The 2005 amendment to the Local Government Act addressed the following issues: representation of the elderly on local government councils; reduced tenure of council secretaries; standard educational requirement for council members; creation of municipalities and town boards; and time limits for notification of vacant council seats.

The Presidential Elections Act and the Parliamentary Elections Act

The Presidential Elections Act and the Parliamentary Elections Act provide details of the procedures for the conduct of National Assembly and presidential elections. Both acts were amended in 2005 in line with the amended constitution. The laws were amended again in 2010 as part of the electoral reforms that followed the 2006 elections.

These acts provide in detail the procedures for nomination of candidates, political campaigns, polling, counting, tallying, declaration of election results, and election petitions in presidential and parliamentary elections.

The acts provide for the nomination of candidates for presidential and parliamentary elections by political parties or as independents. Nominated candidates for presidential elections are required to pay the EC a non-refundable fee of 400 currency points (about 8 million Ugandan shillings). The law also mandates that nominations for presidential candidates should be supported by the signatures of 100 registered voters from at least two-

thirds of all the districts. The Parliamentary Elections Act also provides that the nomination of candidates for parliamentary seats be supported by the signature of 10 registered voters from the constituency where the candidate is standing for election.

The EC is mandated to conduct presidential and parliamentary elections within the first 30 days of the last 90 days of the tenure of the incumbent president. Though the acts provide for equal treatment of all candidates in terms of media access and freedom of expression, they provide exemptions for the incumbent president and MPs who ordinarily have state resources attached to their offices, to continue to use such resources during the campaigning period.

The Presidential Elections Act provides that the EC should offer each presidential candidate 1,500 currency points (about 20 million Ugandan shillings) for the purpose of the elections.

Other issues addressed in the acts are:

- guidelines for election campaigning;
- voting and voting procedures;
- counting and announcement of results;
- election petition procedures; and
- illegal practices and offences.

It is important to mention that the 2010 amendment of the acts provided for political parties and candidates or their agents to be present at the packaging and distribution of election materials. It further mandates the EC to make available to parties and candidates participating in elections the serial numbers of ballot papers and seals that are despatched to different polling stations, to enable them track these materials during the elections.

Stakeholders praised the 2011 elections for being very open and transparent. Political parties in particular were impressed because they were involved in all phases of the electoral process, including the design and delivery of ballot papers. The provisions for accreditation of election observers and party agents to be present at polling stations have further entrenched the principles of openness and accountability in the electoral process.

The amendments also provide for persons without voter cards to vote if their names and photographs appear on the voters' register. The amendments mandate returning officers to submit a detailed report of the presidential and parliamentary elections in their electoral district within seven days of the conclusion of the elections.

Political Parties and Organisations Act

The Political Parties and Organisations Act (PPOA) 2005 is an act of parliament that seeks to provide for the regulation, financing and functioning of political parties and organisations. The Act was passed by parliament in line with articles 71-73 of the constitution, which provide for parliament to regulate the financing and functioning of political parties. The Act was also necessitated by the return to a multi-party political system and the need to regulate the operations of political parties under the new system.

- Part I of the Act provides preliminary information on the background to the Act.
- Part II addresses the registration of political parties. It empowers the EC to register parties and provides the requirements and methods of registration.
- Part III makes provisions that address the conduct of political parties and organisations. It mandates parties to declare their assets and liabilities in the first 60 days of the new year, provides for internal party democracy, regulates the sources of party funding, prohibits the participation of military and police officers, public officers and traditional rulers in political party activities, and regulates the mergers and alliances of parties.
- Part IV makes general provisions that address the code of conduct for political parties and organisations, penalties for non-compliance with the Act, and the establishment of the National Consultative Forum of Political Parties and Organisations.

The PPOA has been amended twice since its first enactment – in March and June 2010. The 2011 general elections were thus regulated by the amended PPOA. These amendments addressed the following issues:

- Making government funds and other public resources available

for the activities of political parties or organisations represented in parliament. Such contributions will be on an equal basis for election expenses, while funding for day to day activities will be based on the numerical strength of the parties in parliament.

- Providing for the office of the chairperson of the National Consultative Forum and procedures for the nomination of the chairperson.

It is important to mention that Article 71 of the constitution mandates parties to comply with the principle of national character. Section 5(4) of the PPOA, in line with Article 71 of the constitution, specifies that for a party to meet the requirement of national character, it must have in its membership at least 50 representatives from each of at least two-thirds of the districts in Uganda.

2.3 THE ELECTORAL COMMISSION OF UGANDA

Article 60 of the Constitution of Uganda establishes the Electoral Commission as an independent commission composed of a chairperson, a deputy chairperson and five other commissioners. The chair and members of the commission are appointed by the president, with the approval of parliament.

Appointment of EC members is made on the basis of moral character, proven integrity, and experience with public administration. The power to remove members of the EC is also vested in the president, who can remove members on the basis of incompetence, misconduct and incapacity. Members of the EC serve for a renewable tenure of seven years.

The EC Act provides for the office of secretary of the Commission, who is a public officer appointed by the EC in consultation with the Public Service Commission. The secretary serves a tenure of five years that is renewable once. The secretary of the Commission serves as the accounting officer of the EC and administers EC funds.

The financial independence of the EC is protected through its mode of funding through the consolidated revenue fund. The EC is thus directly accountable to the Ministry of Finance. However, the EC comes within the framework of parliamentary oversight. Administratively, autonomy is also guaranteed as

the EC is empowered to appoint its own staff, with advice from the Public Service Commission.

The EC performs the following functions, as specified in the constitution and the EC Act:

- Conducting elections for national and local elective offices
 - Appointing the days of election
 - Producing and distributing election materials
 - Establishing polling stations
- Regulating the campaign process
- Organising referenda
- Constituency demarcation
- Compiling, maintaining and updating the voters' register
- Promoting and regulating appropriate voter education
- Hearing and determining complaints arising from the polls
- Accrediting observers and party agents
- Submitting to parliament the reports of elections conducted within six months of the declaration of an election result.

As at February 2011, the chair and members of the EC are:

- Engr. Dr Badru M. Kiggundu (Chair)
- Joseph Biribonwa (Deputy Chair)
- Tom W. Buruku (Commissioner)
- Dr Jenny B. Okello (Commissioner)
- Stephen D. Ougaria (Commissioner)
- Amb. Dr Tomasi Sisye Kariyapawo (Commissioner)
- Mugabi Justine Ahabwe (Commissioner)

The appointment and composition of the EC was one of the contentious discussions that dominated the electoral reform debate in the run-up to the 2011 elections. Civil society groups and opposition parties called for the reconstitution of the EC due to lack of public trust in the membership of the EC. Lack of trust in the commission is based on the perceived partisan status of its members because they are appointed by the president and approved by an NRM-dominated parliament. Furthermore, stakeholders

called for a reconstitution because some argued that the current commission has been in power since the movement political system and could therefore not be trusted to manage a truly competitive election. Some stakeholders also argued that the composition of the EC should be reviewed to make it representative of the interests of political parties, in line with the multi-party political system.

2.4 OTHER INSTITUTIONS INVOLVED IN ELECTIONS

Uganda Human Rights Commission

The Uganda Human Rights Commission (UHRC) is established under Article 51 of the Ugandan Constitution. The central function of the UHRC is to monitor the human rights situation in the country. Among the many functions of the UHRC is the mandate to develop and implement programmes that create awareness of citizens' civic rights and responsibilities. This function of the UHRC gives it a role in the electoral process, as the conduct of civic education and protection of human rights is central to democratic governance.

As part of its role in the 2011 general elections, the UHRC in collaboration with the EC undertook civic education on political rights. The UHRC also organised a number of consultations with the media and security agencies on their role in defending citizens' rights. It developed a human rights training manual for the police and the UPDF. The UHRC trained and deployed 110 observers across the country on election day, and UHRC observers were mandated to observe the protection of human rights during the elections.

The UHRC also performs a quasi-judicial function in attending to petitions and complaints of human rights violations in the electoral process. Complaints attended to by the commission included issues of unlawful arrests at campaigns or during the polls, disenfranchisement of voters and violations by the police and UPDF.

2.5 THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM

All elections in Uganda are conducted by universal adult suffrage. Direct elections in Uganda are conducted using two variants of the first-past-the-post (FPTP) electoral system. In terms of parliamentary elections, a plurality single-member FPTP system is used for the election of directly elected MPs

(i.e. the constituency representative and the woman MP). For the election of women MPs, each district in Uganda is taken as one constituency and it elects one representative. For the election of constituency MPs, the districts are divided into electoral constituencies that elect a single MP (single-member constituencies). The winner of the seat in parliament is the candidate with the highest number of valid votes cast in the constituency.

The two-round system (TRS) variant of the FPTP system is used for the presidential elections. In terms of this system, the country is taken as one constituency to elect one candidate. The winner of the election is the candidate that wins 50% of the valid votes cast in the election.

The election of special interest representatives to parliament is also determined using the FPTP system; however, this is done through electoral colleges. Electoral colleges are constituted by the leadership of the special interest groups at regional and local levels. For the election of youth representatives, the regional electoral colleges are composed of the district youth councils within the regions and a national youth council conference. For the election of the UPDF representatives, the electoral college comprises members of UPDF council. For representatives of workers, the college comprises representatives from the National Organisation of Trade Unions and the Confederation of Free Trade Unions. For the election of persons with disability, members of the electoral college are delegates with disability from the districts.

2.6 CHALLENGES

Some challenges include the following:

- Payment of fees by contestants.
- Payment of fees by parties for registration.
- Mode of state funding of parties (funding shared on the basis of numerical strength may support already strong parties at the expense of others).
- The chair of the National Forum being nominated by the party with majority in parliament (seems restrictive) (see Amendment Act S.20A).
- Use of open balloting to elect female representatives into local government councils.

- The exemption of incumbents from the full import of the laws prohibiting the use of state funds.
- Mode of appointment of EC commissioners.
- National character requirement for parties.

3

The Pre-Election Phase



- 3.1 Voter registration and the voters' roll
- 3.2 Delimitation process
- 3.3 Party registration and nomination of candidates
- 3.4 Women and political representation
- 3.5 Media and elections
- 3.6 Electoral campaign

3.1 VOTER REGISTRATION AND THE VOTERS' ROLL

Voter registration is a key factor to a free and fair election, and is the basis on which the electoral process and a person's right to participate in an election lie.¹ As is common in other countries, Uganda's voter registration process and the continuous updating and maintenance of the voters' roll is guided by the following laws:

- The Constitution of the Republic of Uganda, 1995
- The Political Parties and Organisations Act, 2005
- The Presidential Elections Act, 2005
- The Presidential Elections (Election Petitions) Rules, 2001
- The Parliamentary Elections Act, 2005
- The Parliamentary Elections (Special Interest Groups) Regulations, 2001 (covers the election of youth, workers and the army representatives to parliament)
- The Parliamentary Elections (District Women Representatives) Regulations, 2001
- The Parliamentary Elections (Election Petitions) Rules, 1996.

According to section 19(1) of the Electoral Commission Act (1997), a citizen of Uganda aged at least 18 years old may register as a voter in a parish where he/she originates from or resides. Thus, a voters' roll for each polling station in a parish is compiled and only persons whose names appear on the

roll are entitled to vote in an election (section 19(12) Electoral Commission Act,1997).

From 3 May–18 June 2010, the EC reviewed the National Voters' Register (NVR) and adopted the use of technology to capture voters' basic biometric data. Following the review process, the updated register was displayed publicly from 11–13 August 2010. During this period, voters were allowed to raise claims and objections against the voters' register. A total of one million names were deleted from the register based on the claims and objections raised during the display period.

At the end of the registration process, a total of 13,954,124 voters were listed on the NVR for the 2011 elections: this marked a 33% increase in the number of voters. On 17 November 2010, the EC issued electronic copies of the NVR to political parties that fielded presidential candidates for the elections. On 31 January 2011, the EC provided printed copies of the register, which included photographs of voters.

The EC faced severe criticism for its failure to register persons in prison due for sentencing or on remand, as well as those that had turned 18 during the seven months between the closure of the NVR and election day.

3.2 DELIMITATION PROCESS

Though boundary delimitation or redistricting practices vary greatly around the world, there are three universal principles that guide the delimitation process, namely:

- representativeness;
- equality of voting strength; and
- reciprocity and non-discrimination.²

Article 61(c) of the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda stipulates that, among other things, it is the mandate of the EC to demarcate constituencies. The priority here is to ensure that each county has at least one MP. Since the last general election (2006), parliament has created 46 new administrative units, resulting in the creation of 23 new constituencies before the 2011 elections.

Article 63 of the Constitution goes further to state that:

- (1) Subject to clauses (2) and (3) of this article, Uganda shall be divided into as many constituencies for the purpose of election of members of Parliament as Parliament may prescribe; and each constituency shall be represented by one Member of Parliament.
- (2) When demarcating constituencies for the purposes of clause (1) of this article, the Electoral Commission shall ensure that each county, as approved by Parliament, has at least one Member of Parliament; except that no constituency shall fall within more than one county.
- (3) Subject to clause (2) of this article, the boundary of a constituency shall be such that the number of inhabitants in the constituency is, as nearly as possible, equal to the population quota.
- (4) For the purposes of clause (3) of this article, the number of inhabitants of a constituency may be greater or less than the population quota in order to take account of means of communication, geographical features, density of population, area and boundaries of districts.
- (5) Subject to clause (1) of this article, the Commission shall review the division of Uganda into constituencies within twelve months after the publication of results of a census of the population of Uganda and may as a result re-demarcate the constituencies.
- (6) Where the boundary of a constituency established under this article is altered as a result of a review, the alteration shall come into effect upon the next dissolution of Parliament.
- (7) For the purposes of this article, 'population quota' means the number obtained by dividing the number of inhabitants of Uganda by the number of constituencies into which Uganda is to be divided under this article.

3.3 PARTY REGISTRATION AND NOMINATION OF CANDIDATES

It is the mandate of the EC to undertake both party registration and the nomination of candidates. The following procedure is used to apply for registration:³

- Make a formal request (in writing) to the EC expressing your

intention and making reservation of the name, symbol, slogans and colours of your political party.

- Obtain an application form from the EC (Form 1 in the Third Schedule of the PPOA, 2005).
- Obtain a Declaration of Assets and Liabilities and Particulars of the Political Party or Organization form (Form 2 in the Third Schedule of the PPOA, 2005) from the EC.
- Submit forms 1 and 2 duly filled out by the applicant and endorsed by a commissioner of oaths/notary public.
- Submit two copies of the party constitution, duly signed by authorised officials of the organisation, together with proof of payment of deed fee as prescribed in the regulations.
- Submit a list of the full names and addresses of at least 50 members of the organisation from each of at least two-thirds of all the districts of each of the traditional geographical regions of Uganda and who must be resident or registered voters in the district.
- Provide a full description of the identifying symbols, slogans and colours of the organisation or political party and, after approval, pay the prescribed registration fee.
- On receipt of the application the EC will embark on the registration process and may cause independent inquiries to be made to ascertain the truth or correctness of particulars submitted with the application. The EC shall process the application within six months.
- The EC shall not register any political party or organisation whose name, slogan or colours resemble that of a political party that has already been registered or whose aims and objectives or constitution contravenes any law.⁴

The constitutional requirements for a person to be considered as a parliamentary candidate are that the person must be a citizen of Uganda, must be registered to vote and must hold an advanced level educational qualification or its equivalent.

According to the Guidelines for Nomination of Presidential Candidates 2011 Elections set out by the EC, a person is not qualified for election as president unless that person is:

- a citizen of Uganda by birth;
- not less than 35 and not more than 75 years of age; and
- a person qualified to be an MP.

A total of 1,270 parliamentary candidates contested the 238 constituency parliamentary seats available, while 443 women candidates contested the district constituencies reserved for women. There were eight presidential candidates for the 2011 elections.

Table 5: Presidential candidates for the 2011 election

Candidate	Party
Yoweri K Museveni	National Resistance Movement (NRM)
Jaberi Bidandi Ssali	People's Progressive Party (PPP)
Kizza Besigye	Forum for Democratic Change (FDC)
Beti Olive Kamywa	Uganda Federal Alliance (UFA)
Norbert Mao	Democratic Party (DP)
Abed Bwanika	People's Development Party (PDP)
Olara Otunnu	Uganda People's Congress (UPC)
Samuel Lubega	Independent

Source: <http://www.ec.or.ug/nominated.php>

3.4 WOMEN AND POLITICAL REPRESENTATION

Uganda has been commended for its high level of women's participation in politics. According to a report released by the African Union Commission (AUC), the African Development Bank, the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa and the United Nations Development Programme, Uganda is among the few African countries where more than a quarter of representatives in parliament are women.⁵ However, while there is wide acknowledgment of the increased number of women in public spaces, women constitute 51% of Uganda's population and the numbers in leadership positions in Uganda today do not match the demographic gender representation.⁶

Article 33 of the Ugandan Constitution guarantees the rights of women. The article asserts that:

- (1) Women shall be accorded full and equal dignity of the person with men;

- (2) The State shall provide the facilities and opportunities necessary to enhance the welfare of women to enable them to realize their full potential and advancement;
- (3) The State shall protect women and their rights, taking into account their unique status and natural maternal functions in society;
- (4) Women shall have the right to equal treatment with men and that right shall include equal opportunities in political, economic and social activities;
- (5) Without prejudice to article 32 of this Constitution, women shall have the right to affirmative action for the purpose of redressing the imbalances created by history, tradition or custom;
- (6) Laws, cultures, customs or traditions which are against the dignity, welfare or interest of women or which undermine their status are prohibited by this Constitution.

In elections throughout the world, parties often devise strategies that attempt to attract potential voters. Political parties come up with manifestos and charters that promise to handle women and gender issues fairly, including promoting the involvement of women in their decision-making, as well as advancing women's issues and concerns.⁷ However, all of the above would be futile if parties themselves do not internally prioritise the political empowerment of women.

Internal party democracy is vital in advancing the equitable representation of diverse views and principles. Internal party democracy is one of the crucial ingredients for political representation of women, especially at grassroots level. Table 6 shows the representation of women in Uganda's main parties in 2009, specifically in the highest decision-making structures.

Table 6: Representation of women in political parties, 2009

Party	No. of women	No. of seats	Total (%)
FDC	4	13	31
DP	4	11	36
NRM	3	13	23

Source: http://www.peacewomen.org/news_article.php?id=2887&type=news

3.5 MEDIA AND ELECTIONS

The right to freedom of expression is enshrined in a number of declarations, treaties and regional conventions, primarily in Article 19 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which echoes the words of the corresponding article in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.⁸

In an effort to create the environment best suited for impartial coverage of elections, the African Centre for Media Excellence drafted a handbook entitled 'Live On Air: A Handbook for Political Talk Hosts and Producers'. The handbook identifies various principles of journalism, namely:

- obligation to the truth;
- loyalty to citizens;
- discipline of verification;
- independence;
- serve as an independent monitor of power;
- provision of a forum for public criticism and compromise;
- keeping news comprehensive and proportional; and
- exercising personal conscience.

In terms of media coverage for the 2011 elections, opposition parties complained that the incumbent president and the ruling party were given more airtime than the other candidates and parties. Opposition parties also claimed that due to a lack of financial resources they could not advertise in the print and electronic media as much as they would have liked to.

3.6 ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN

According to the EC, the campaign for the 2011 presidential poll started on 18 October 2010, whereas campaigning for the parliamentary election kicked off on 16 December 2010. What made the 2011 electoral campaign exciting was the fact that erstwhile NRM candidates who lost in the primaries decided to campaign as independent candidates.

The EISA Technical Team did attend campaign rallies organised by the ruling party and opposition parties. The general atmosphere was characterised by high levels of calm and political tolerance. As a precautionary measure, security officials and forces were deployed throughout the capital city, Kampala.

Guidelines were put in place to direct the manner in which electoral campaigning should take place. These included the following:

- All presidential candidates shall be given equal treatment on state-owned media to present their programmes to the people.
- Subject to any other law, during the campaign period, any candidate may, either alone or in common with others, publish campaign materials in the form of books, booklets, pamphlets, leaflets, magazines, newspapers or posters intended to solicit votes from voters but shall, in any such publication, specify particulars to identify the candidate or candidates concerned.
- A person shall not, during the campaign period, print, publish or distribute a newspaper, circular or pamphlet containing an article, report, letter or other matter commenting on any issue relating to the election unless the author's name and address, or the authors' names and addresses, as the case may be, are set out at the end of the article, report, letter or other matter, or, where part only of the article, report, letter or matter appears in any issue of a newspaper, circular, pamphlet or matter, at the end of that part.
- Except as otherwise provided in this section, a candidate may use private electronic media for his or her campaign.

4

The Election Phase



- 4.1 Opening of polling centres
- 4.2 Ballot paper, ballot boxes and other election materials
- 4.3 Voters' roll
- 4.4 Polling stations
- 4.5 Voting process
- 4.6 Polling staff
- 4.7 Security
- 4.8 Closing of polling stations
- 4.9 Observers and party agents

In line with Article 67 of the Constitution and section 12 of the Electoral Commission Act, the EC sets the dates for elections and notifies the public of such dates. The EC published the timetable for the 2011 general elections in public places and on its website. For the 2011 general elections, the previous polling stations were reorganised and 1,125 new polling stations were established, bringing the total number of stations from 19,875 to 21,000 across the 112 districts of Uganda.

As provided in the electoral legislation, elections to elective offices (the president, MPs and local government councils) are to be held within the first 30 days of the last 90 days of the expiration of the tenure of elected officials. The EISA Technical Assessment Team was on the ground for the tripartite national elections – presidential, parliamentary and national female representatives – that were held on 18 February 2011.

4.1 OPENING OF POLLING CENTRES

Section 30 of the Presidential Elections Act and section 29 of the Parliamentary Elections Act stipulate that polling time for presidential and parliamentary elections should be between 07h00 and 17h00. These acts also stipulate that election materials should be distributed to presiding officers within 48 hours before polling day.

At all the polling stations visited by the EISA Technical Assessment Team, it was observed that the polls opened late due to the late arrival and distribution of election materials. It was observed that materials arrived in the districts before election day, but there were challenges in distributing the materials to the polling centres.

4.2 BALLOT PAPER, BALLOT BOXES AND OTHER ELECTION MATERIALS

Section 12 of the Electoral Commission Act empowers the EC to design, print and regulate the use of ballot papers, and to provide and distribute ballot boxes. The 2010 amendment to the Presidential Elections Act also provides for parties and candidates contesting an election to be present at the point of packing and distribution of election materials. The amendment also mandates the EC to make available to parties and candidates the serial numbers of ballot papers and seals distributed to each polling station.

The design and printing of the ballot papers used for the 2011 general elections was undertaken by the EC in consultation with political parties. The EISA team held pre-election consultations with three political parties; these parties commended the EC for its transparent operations in preparation for the 2011 elections. The political parties specifically commended the EC for giving party representatives an opportunity to observe the production of the ballot papers in the United Kingdom (UK). Parties were also allowed to be present at the airport to observe the delivery of the ballot papers from the UK.

The ballot papers for the various elections were printed by different companies: the ballot papers for the presidential, parliamentary and district councils were printed by two companies in the UK; the ballot papers for the sub-county and city division elections were printed by a South African firm; and the ballot papers for municipal councillorship elections were printed by a Chinese firm.

The EC provided separate ballot papers and boxes for the different categories of elections conducted on 18 February 2011. The ballot papers bore candidates' photographs and party symbols. For candidates that contested as independents, the ballot bore the symbol adopted by the candidates and

used during their campaigns. The ballot papers were serialised with different colour codes for the various categories of elections.

The EC required at least 70,000 transparent ballot boxes to be distributed to 21,000 polling stations, providing each polling station with three ballot boxes for the three categories of the 2011 elections in Uganda. A total of 5,700 ballot boxes were donated by the government of Germany, while the rest were procured by the EC. Table 7 provides a list of other election materials provided by the EC at each polling station.

Table 7: Other election materials provided by the EC

S/N	Material	Purpose	Number per polling station
1	Plastic basins	Provided to protect the secrecy of the ballot, to enable voters to mark the ballot without revealing their choice to other people present at the polling station.	3
2	Ink pads and pens	Provided for voters to make a mark on the ballot paper for the candidate of their choice. Ink pads and pens were placed in the plastic basins where voters marked the ballot.	3
3	Indelible ink/ permanent markers	To make a mark for the identifications of voters who have cast their votes at the station.	1
4	Paper tapes	To demarcate the polling area in the polling station.	1 roll
5	Polythene sheets	The content of the ballot box is emptied on the polythene sheet to make the sorting of the ballot easier and more visible to voters.	1
6	Official report books	For recording the serial numbers of ballot papers, seals and ballot boxes received before the polls. For recording the serial numbers of unused ballot papers and seals used to seal the ballot boxes after the counting process.	1
6	Declaration of Results form	To record the results of votes cast for each candidate in each polling station.	1 form for each elective position
7	Accountability of Ballot form	To keep records of the number of ballot papers received at the polling stations. To record the number of used ballot; number of invalid and spoilt ballot; number of unused ballot papers at the polling station.	1

Sensitive election materials were packaged and delivered to each polling centre in a sealed black metal box that bore the name and code number of the polling centre. In compliance with the provisions of the electoral legislation, political party agents witnessed the packaging and distribution of balloting materials.

4.3 VOTERS' ROLL

The 2011 elections in Uganda were conducted using the national voters' register that was reviewed from 3 May to 18 June 2010. At the end of the review exercise, 13,954,129 voters were registered. The final copy of the voters' roll was made available to political parties, and parties were responsible for duplicating and disseminating copies to party agents and candidates' representatives.

The EC also made efforts to upload the voters' roll on to its website in an interactive format that enabled voters to search for their names and polling stations using the voter identification number received during registration.

On election day, polling officials were provided with copies of the voters' roll for the specific polling station they were deployed to. All stations visited were provided with the appropriate copies of the voters' roll, bearing the names and photographs of voters registered in the locations. Party agents at the polling stations also had copies of the voters' roll.

It was observed that although the voters' roll was not displayed at the polling stations, voters had clear guidance on the polling stations to which their names were allocated because the registration and display centres were used as polling stations on election day. However, the EC did not put in place a good strategy to further educate voters on the procedures for demarcation of the voters' register in alphabetical order into smaller polling units. This situation complicated the process for voters, who had to move around the polling units within the stations to locate their names on the register.

There were cases of voters who had voter cards being turned away from the polling stations because their names could not be located on the voters'

roll. It was also observed that many of the voters involved in this scenario were voters with cards from the previous voter registration process. One reason for this occurrence was the reorganisation of polling stations before the elections.

4.4 POLLING STATIONS

A total of 23,968 polling stations were established for the 2011 elections (see Appendix 2 for a list of the districts and polling stations per district). Polling stations were located in public places such as schools and government institutions; these were easily accessible to voters. Though polling stations were located in easily accessible places, some were located in open spaces that exposed officials, voters and election materials to harsh weather conditions. Some parts of Kampala experienced rain on election day, which interrupted elections in these areas. In areas that did not experience rain, it was particularly windy during the counting process, with ballot papers being blown away in the process.

Prior to the elections, the EC produced and circulated an illustration of the stipulated layout of the polling stations (see Appendix 3). The layout of the polling stations made the process open and transparent as electoral materials were kept within public view and the secrecy of the ballot was provided. The layout also made for an easy flow of voters in and out of the polling station. A specific area in the polling stations was allotted for party agents and observers.

It was observed that polling stations were not clearly marked or sign posted. It is, however, important to note that voters were able to identify and locate their polling stations because voters were required to vote at the same locations that served as voter registration and display centres.

For ease of access and increased efficiency of the process, each polling station had an average of 300 voters. Polling stations with more than 700 voters were demarcated into smaller polling units.

While voters were able to locate their polling stations without challenge, they did experience difficulty in locating their polling units within the polling stations because these were not clearly marked.

4.5 VOTING PROCESS

The voting process was generally conducted in a peaceful and orderly manner, and in accordance with the procedure provided in the electoral legislation. The procedure, as stipulated in the legislation, was conducted in five steps:

- Verification of voters' details.
- Issuance of presidential ballot, marking the ballot and casting the ballot.
- Issuance of direct MP ballot, marking the ballot and casting the ballot.
- Issuance of woman MP ballot, marking the ballot and casting the ballot.
- Application of ink.

It was observed that the challenges faced in the process of verification of voters' details prolonged the time for processing each voter. There was no assistance provided by the polling officials to direct voters to the appropriate polling units, thus voters stood in the queue for a long time and were redirected to different polling units, where they had to join the back of the queue.

At a number of polling stations visited by the EISA Technical Team, polling agents took the initiative to assist polling officials with verification of voters' details and redirecting voters to the appropriate polling units.

The procedure for identification of voters as stipulated in the electoral legislation does not mandate voters to provide an identification card or voter's card before admission into a polling station. Voters are required to audibly mention their full names for the purpose of identification. Because of the challenges experienced with the national identity card project, many did not have a voter's card, but they were in possession of their registration slips. As provided in the legal framework, voters whose names appeared on the register were permitted to vote, whether in possession of a voter's card or not. On arrival at the polling stations, voters mentioned their names and the officials checked for their names on the register. The team observed that many voters with the old voter's cards could not find their names on the register and were not permitted to vote, even though they had a voter's card.

At the opening of the polls, the polling officials marked the names of the first five voters at each station, and these voters were issued with a declaration form attesting to the fact that they witnessed the opening of the polls.

Voters were issued with three separate ballot papers for the three categories of elections. Polling officials explained to voters the process of marking and casting their ballot. Voters were required to make a mark in the box assigned to their preferred candidates on the ballot paper. To mark the ballot, voters were required to either tick the box using a pen, or thumb print the box using an ink pad provided by the EC. The flexibility and simplicity of the voting procedure is commended by the EISA Technical Team.

After casting their ballot for the three categories of elections, the electoral legislation requires that ink be applied to the thumb of voters. There were observed procedural inconsistencies in the application of ink after voting. At some polling stations, officials marked the cuticle of the left thumb; at other stations, officials dipped the left little finger into the indelible ink; at some stations, officials required voters to stain the surface of their left thumbs with the ink pad; while at other stations, officials stained the tip of the little finger with permanent markers.

Priority was given to voters with special needs, such as persons with disability, the aged, pregnant women and nursing mothers. Voters with disability were also allowed to be assisted by persons of their choice.

4.6 POLLING STAFF

In accordance with the Electoral Act, the EC appointed returning officers (ROs) for each electoral district. The ROs appointed assistant ROs for their districts. The ROs supervised the conduct of polling day officials within their districts and accounted for electoral materials distributed to their districts.

The RO was also responsible for the appointment of polling day officials in each district. The polling day officials were appointed as temporary staff of the EC for the period of the election. Polling day officials comprised presiding officers, polling assistants and election constables. These officials were responsible for the actual conduct of the elections.

Each polling station was staffed by six officials, namely: the presiding officer; four polling assistants; and one election constable. The presiding officer was head of the polling station and was responsible for supervising the conduct of the polling officials. The polling assistants were responsible for verifying voters' details, issuing ballot papers and marking the thumbs of voters. The election constable was an unarmed law enforcement agent responsible for maintaining law and order within the polling station. S/he was also responsible for closing the queue at 17h00 to signify close of the polls.

It was observed that at most of the stations visited, there were six polling officials present. However, a few stations (such as Main Street Primary School [Aladina II] and Gabura II in Jinja) were short-staffed, making it more challenging to conduct the process with only four officials and in some cases only three. Voters at these polling stations did not receive the required guidance about ballot papers and ballot boxes. Rather than being issued with one ballot paper at a time for the different categories of elections, voters were generally given two ballot papers simultaneously. This slowed down the voting, sorting and counting processes because voters deposited their ballots in the wrong boxes since they did not receive the required guidance.

In preparation for the elections, the EC hired temporary staff to serve as election officials. As stated in the EC's 'Revised Electoral Commission Roadmap for the 2010-2011 General Elections', the recruitment and training of polling staff was conducted from January to February 2011. As part of its training for election officials, the EC produced and disseminated a handbook, 'Election Officials and the Electoral Process', enumerating the roles of polling officials at each phase of the electoral process.

The EISA Technical Team, however, observed a number of procedural irregularities that were indicative of poor training of polling officials. Specifically, there were inconsistencies in the application of the indelible ink after voting. The ballot boxes at some polling stations were not sealed, even though the seals were made available by the EC.

While the efforts of the presiding officers to maintain peace and order at polling stations were commendable, the team observed that a significant number of presiding officers experienced difficulty in sorting the voters'

roll in alphabetical order per polling unit. The challenge of demarcating the voters' roll also complicated the process for voters, who had a hard time locating the polling unit where their names were allocated. Some voters were unable to locate their names on the register until the close of polls.

4.7 SECURITY

Security at the 2011 elections was a joint effort provided by the UPDF and the Uganda Police Force (UPF). There were specific security concerns in the run-up to the elections arising from the activities of terrorist groups (al-Shabab) and rebel groups from the Sudanese border areas. Security concerns were further heightened by incidences of politically motivated violence during the campaign period. In view of these threats, tight security was provided across the country, especially in Kampala.

The UPF played a key role in providing election constables and orderly officers for the elections. The UPF also despatched a special unit of armed security personnel to patrol the streets on election day to respond to any incidents.

The UPDF was less visible in the metropolitan cities on election day as its personnel were generally responsible for protecting the country's borders on that day.

The Technical Team observed that the security personnel conducted themselves in a non-intimidating manner. Though the presence of armed personnel was quite visible in the big cities, especially towards the close of polls and during the counting process, the team observed that their presence did not interfere with voting or counting.

4.8 CLOSING OF POLLING STATIONS

The Technical Team members returned to observe the close of polls at the same stations where they observed the opening of polls earlier in the day. As stipulated in the electoral legislation, at 17h00 the presiding officers directed the polling constables to stand at the end of the queue, signifying the close of polls. In consideration of the late opening polls, some presiding officers extended the close of the polls by 15 minutes.

Voters who were in the queue before the close of polls were allowed to cast their votes; however, persons who joined the queues after the polling constable were not allowed to vote, in accordance with the legal framework.

It was observed that at 17h00, the official time for the closing of polling stations, there was generally a crowd of voters who were yet to locate their polling stations. In some cases, voters in the queue at the close of polls were redirected to other polling stations because their names were not allocated to the station where they queued. Consequently, these voters were unable to vote.

At the close of polls, the presiding officers packed up the sensitive ballot materials in the black metal box provided by the EC. Officials immediately prepared to start the counting process before dark.

4.9 OBSERVERS AND PARTY AGENTS

The Technical Team observed the presence of party agents at all the polling stations visited. Party agents were allowed into the polling stations upon presentation of their accreditation tags from the EC and letters of appointment issued by the candidate they represented. The electoral legislation provides for each candidate to be represented by not more than two agents at each polling station. This legal provision was complied with at most of the stations visited. It was also observed that the NRM had more agents at most of the stations visited.

The EC took commendable steps to make copies of the voters' register available to all political parties. It was observed that each agent had a copy of the voters' roll for the polling station s/he was deployed to. It is also important to note the assistance offered by the party agents in the process of verifying voters' details at the polling stations. The agents took the initiative to assist the polling officials, albeit informally, to verify voters' details and locate the stations to which their names were allocated alphabetically.

The team also noted the presence of national and international observers at all the stations visited. Specifically, the Democracy Monitoring Group, a national observer group, was present at most of the stations visited. Other international observer missions present at the 2011 elections in Uganda

were the African Union, the joint Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa/Intergovernmental Authority for Development/East African Community observer mission, the Commonwealth and the European Union observer missions.

Observers and party agents were able to move freely during elections without intimidation, and election officials were willing to give information to observers as required.

5

The Post-Election Phase



5.1 Vote counting and results tabulation

5.2 Election results

5.1 VOTE COUNTING AND RESULTS TABULATION

In line with the provisions of the electoral legislation, vote counting took place immediately at polling stations after their closure at 17h00. Party agents, domestic monitors and international observers were present at the polling stations to observe the counting.

It was noted that at most polling stations where EISA Technical Team members observed the counting process, the presiding officers did not comply with the guidelines provided by the EC, which required them to rearrange the polling station for the counting process. As a result of this lapse there were many unauthorised people in the stations during the counting process, and the atmosphere seemed rowdy and out of control. This made it difficult for security officials, presiding officers and polling staff to maintain order during the counting process. Furthermore, there was argument over what constituted a spoilt paper because the unauthorised people had personal interests in the outcome of the election.

There were some areas where polling was conducted outside, thereby exposing officials and materials to the elements. Specifically, it was a windy evening and the election personnel found it difficult to stop the ballot papers from being blown away during the process of counting. For counting purposes, adequate lighting presented enormous challenges because the process continued until dusk, but the EC did not make adequate provisions

to light the polling stations after sunset. Presiding officers were provided with flashlights, but these could not provide sufficient light for the counting process.

The electoral law requires that once counting has been completed and all stakeholders are satisfied with the counting process, the election results must be posted immediately at the polling stations. The Technical Team noted that the election results were not posted at the polling centres, leading to a breach of the law. After the counting process was completed at the polling stations, the presiding officers, accompanied by security officials, were required to send the results to the district tally centres.

In an effort to make the counting and declaration of election results transparent, the EC established the National Tally Centre, where accredited observers and monitors, party agents and members of the media would have first-hand access to the results as they came in. The Electronic Results Transmission and Dissemination System (ETRDS) was used to transmit and tally the results. The ETRDS displayed individual results per polling station.

The electoral law stipulates that presidential election results should be announced and declared by the EC within 48 hours. However, the situation was different with the parliamentary election results as they were announced by the EC five days after polling was completed.

5.2 ELECTION RESULTS

Late afternoon, on Sunday 20 February 2011, the EC, in compliance with section 57(1) of the Presidential Elections Act, announced the results of the presidential elections at a press conference. The declaration of President Yoweri Museveni as the winner of the election with 63.38% of the total valid votes cast in the election was greeted with jubilation on the streets of Kampala. The opposition immediately announced its rejection of the election results, but there were no records of post-election violence after the declaration of results.

The results of the parliamentary elections were declared in batches as the tallying process continued. The NRM emerged with the highest number of seats.

The EISA Technical Team noted the efforts of the EC to publicise the election results by immediately posting them on its website.

Table 8: Results of the 2011 presidential election in Uganda

Candidate	Number of votes	%
Abed Bwanika (PDP)	51,708	0.65
Besigye Kifefe Kizza (FDC) (IPC)	2,064,963	26.01
Beti Olive Kanya Namisango (UFA)	52,782	0.66
Bidandi Ssali Jaberu (PPP)	34,688	0.44
Mao Nobert (DP)	147,917	1.86
Olara Otunnu (UPC)	125,059	1.58
Samuel Lubega Mukaaku Walter (Independent)	32,726	0.41
Yoweri Museveni Kaguta (NRM)	5,428,369	68.38

Source: http://www.ec.or.ug/Elec_results/2011_Pres_dis.pdf

Table 9: Voting statistics for the 2011 presidential election in Uganda

Total registered voters	13,954,129
Total votes cast	8,272,760
Valid votes	7,938,212
Voter turnout	59.29%
Invalid votes	334,548

Source: http://www.ec.or.ug/Elec_results/2011_Pres_dis.pdf

Table 10: Summary of the 2011 Ugandan parliamentary election results

Party	Directly elected MPs	District women MPs	Special seats: PWDs	Special seats: Workers	Special seats: Youths	Total no. of seats
National Resistance Movement (NRM)	165	84	5	4	4	262
Forum for Democratic Change (FDC)	22	11	0	0	0	33
Democratic Party (DP)	11	2	0	0	0	12
Uganda People's Congress (UPC)	7	3	0	0	0	10
Conservative Party (CP)	1	0	0	0	0	1
Justice Forum (JEEMA)	1	1	0	0	0	2
Independents	30	12	0	1	1	44
UPDF Special seats	-	-	-	-	-	10
					Total	374

Data collated from <http://www.ec.or.ug/docs/Elected%20MPs%202011%20General%20Elections.pdf>.

6

Conclusions and Recommendations



The EISA Technical Assessment Team is of the view that the 2011 elections in Uganda were conducted in a successful way, and that they reflected a high level of professional planning and implementation by the EC. The team congratulates the EC for its efforts in delivering good elections under relatively challenging conditions.

Compared to previous elections in Uganda, the 2011 elections were largely peaceful and relatively devoid of intimidation or violence. The team commends the people of Uganda for their responsible, orderly and peaceful conduct during the elections. While there were a number of shortcomings identified throughout the electoral process, the team believes that the 2011 presidential and parliamentary elections in Uganda were conducted, to a large extent, in compliance with the constitutional and legal framework in force in Uganda, as well as with universally accepted principles.

It is, however, worthy to note that while the elections met the criteria for free elections, the criteria of fairness is yet to be satisfied. This is based on the fact that the constitution allows the president to run for office without a limit on his/her tenure. The EISA Technical Team believes that this does not provide a level playing field for all contenders in the electoral contest.

To address the challenges and shortcomings highlighted above, the EISA Technical Team has made the following recommendations:

- ❑ The public perception of the EC is of paramount importance to the electoral process. The team therefore recommends that eventual electoral reforms, with a view to improving future electoral processes in Uganda, should prioritise the issue of the independence, integrity and neutrality of the EC. It is important that the appointment of EC members should be open and held through a consultative process with all relevant stakeholders. Furthermore, the composition of the EC should be reviewed to reflect the interests of a wide range of stakeholders, including CSOs. The team is of the view that any electoral reform dealing with these crucial issues will most probably contribute to changing public perceptions about the EC and its operations.
- ❑ Relevant provisions of the electoral law should be reformed to make it mandatory for legitimate voters to present a photo ID before voting. The team also calls on the Government of Uganda to speed up the national identity project to complement the efforts of the EC in this regard.
- ❑ The EC should embark on the systematic training of polling staff for future elections, with emphasis on procedures for opening and closing the polls. It is also important to build capacity of polling staff in the area of people management and communications.
- ❑ The EC should develop mechanisms for tracking election campaign and party finances. It should also develop its capacity to enforce the legal provisions regulating party and campaign finances, specifically the provisions on the use of state resources for political and electoral purposes. It is important that development partners in Uganda support the EC in this regard.
- ❑ The EC should clarify and ascertain the guidelines for polling procedures in future elections. These guidelines should be enforced and sanctions should be established for eventual breach.
- ❑ There should be provisions for alternative means of lighting polling stations during the vote counting and tallying processes.
- ❑ There is need for immediate review of the constitution through a participatory means to provide a limit for presidential tenure. In the absence of such a provision, elections cannot be said to be fairly conducted.

APPENDIX I
Composition of the EISA Technical Assessment Team to the
2011 Elections in Uganda

Name	Organisation	Country	Gender
Dieudonné Tshiyoyo	EPP Manager, EISA Johannesburg	DRC	Male
Ellen Kandororo	Programme Officer, Zimbabwe Electoral Support Network	Zimbabwe	Female
Kouadio Aimé Konan	Programme Officer, EISA Chad	Côte d'Ivoire	Male
Malala Tiana Ranovona	Senior Programme Assistant, EISA Madagascar	Madagascar	Female
Nkgakong Mokonyane	Programme Assistant, EISA Johannesburg	South Africa	Female
Olufunto Akinduro	Programme Officer, EISA Johannesburg	Nigeria	Female
Sydney Letsholo	Senior Programme Assistant, EISA, Johannesburg	South Africa	Male
Yvette Ondinga	Projects Coordinator, EISA Johannesburg	South Africa	Female

APPENDIX 2
List of parliamentary constituencies and distribution of voters and
polling stations for the 2011 elections in Uganda

District	Parliamentary constituency	No. of polling stations per district	No. of registered voters per district
Abim		52	26,251
	Lawor County		
Adjumani		115	58,969
	East Moyo County		
Agago		165	80,838
	Agago County		
Alebtong		147	81,486
	Moroto County		
	Ajuri County		

Amolatar		103	48,648
	Kioga County		
Amudat		34	21,039
	Upe County		
Amuria		160	89,103
	Amuria County		
	Kapelebyong County		
Amuru		109	66,569
	Kilak County		
Apac		191	114,884
	Kwania County		
	Maruzi County		
Arua		493	294,523
	Ayivu County		
	Madi-Okollo County		
	Terego County		
	Vurra County		
	Arua Municipality		
Budaka		136	76,346
	Budaka County		
	Iki-Iki County		
Bududa		141	64,063
	Manjiya County		
Bugiri		266	145,455
	Bukooli County central		
	Bukooli County North		
Buhweju		88	41,785
	Buhweju County		
Buikwe		328	183,097
	Buikwe County North		
	Buikwe County West		
	Buikwe County South		
Bukedea		115	66,311
	Bukedea County		

Bukomansimbi		118	63,016
	Bukomansimbi County		
Bukwo		89	33,065
	Kongasis County		
Bulambuli		142	60,436
	Bulambuli County		
Buliisa		72	44,028
	Buliisa County		
Bundibugyo		187	93,594
	Bwamaba County		
	Bughendera County		
Bushenyi		186	105,763
	Igara County East		
	Igara County West		
	Bushenyi-Ishaka Municipality		
Busia		218	142,051
	Samia bugwe County North		
	Samia bugwe County South		
	Busia Municipality		
Butaleja		151	87,655
	Bunyole East County		
	Bunyole West County		
Butambala		86	44,527
	Butambala County		
Buvuma		77	26,037
	Buvuma Islands County		
Buyende		171	90,728
	Budiope West County		
	Budiope East County		
Dokolo		129	61,667
	Dokolo County		
Gomba		140	63,840
	Gomba County		

Gulu		293	192,669
	Aswa County		
	Omorro County		
	Gulu Municipality		
Hoima		301	191,867
	Bugahya County		
	Buhaguzi County		
	Hoima Municipality		
Ibanda		213	107,582
	Ibanda County North		
	Ibanda County South		
Iganga		310	205,411
	Bugweri County		
	Kigulu County North		
	Kigulu County South		
	Iganga Municipality		
Isingiro		358	174,402
	Bukanga County		
	Isingiro County		
	Isingiro County South		
Jinja		348	236,506
	Butembe County		
	Kagoma County		
	Jinja Municipality East		
	Jinja Municipality West		
Kaabong		143	52,421
	Dodoth East County		
	Dodoth West County		
Kabale		438	260,013
	Ndorwa County East		
	Ndorwa County West		
	Rubanda County East		
	Rubanda County West		
	Rukiga County		
	Kabale Municipality		

Kabarole		349	208,758
	Bunyangabu County		
	Burahya County		
	Fort portal Municipality		
Kaberamaido		115	75,516
	Kaberamaido County		
	Kalaki County		
Kalangala		65	34,815
	Bujumba County		
	Kyamuswa County		
Kaliro		132	74,636
	Bulamogi County		
Kalungu		139	75,671
	Kalungu East County		
	Kalungu West County		
Kampala		1,440	1,180,522
	Kampala Central Division		
	Kawempe Division North		
	Kwempe Division South		
	Makindye Division East		
	Makindye Division West		
	Rubaga Division North		
	Rubaga Division South		
	Nakwa Division		
Kamuli		331	170,672
	Bugabula County North		
	Bugabula County South		
	Buzaaya County		
Kamwenge		322	158,120
	Kibale County		
	Kitagwenda County		
Kanungu		187	110,981
	Kinkinzi County East		
	Kinkinzi County West		
Kapchorwa		101	45,822
	Tingey County		

Kasese		469	302,532
	Bukonzo County East		
	Bukonzo County West		
	Busongora County North		
	Busongora County South		
	Kasese Municipality		
Katakwi		139	59,688
	Usuk County		
	Toroma County		
Kayunga		271	153,245
	Bbale County		
	Ntenjeru County North		
	Ntenjeru County South		
Kibaale		451	242,774
	Bugangaizi West County		
	Buyaga East County		
	Buyanja County		
	Bugangaizi East County		
	Buyaga West County		
Kiboga		116	68,583
	Kiboga East County		
Kibuku		127	68,369
	Kibuku County		
Kiruhura		289	147,052
	Kazo County		
	Nyabushozi County		
Kiryandongo		151	89,363
	Kibanda County		
Kisoro		198	121,634
	Bufumbira County East		
	Bufumbira County North		
	Bufumbira County South		
Kitgum		178	85,750
	Chua County		
Koboko		135	74,838
	Koboko County		

Kole		124	76,617
	Kole County		
Kotido		81	42,457
	Jie County		
Kumi		139	85,562
	Kumi County		
Kween		93	35,567
	Kween County		
Kyankwanzi		147	85,540
	Kibonga West County		
Kyegegwa		117	76,921
	Kyaka County		
Kyenjojo		242	149,104
	Mwenge County North		
	Mwenge County South		
Lamwo		121	58,711
	Lamwo County		
Lira		273	176,539
	Erute County North		
	Erute County South		
	Lira Municipality		
Luuka		156	87,410
	Luuka County		
Luweero		340	190,715
	Katikamu County North		
	Katikamu County South		
	Bamunanika County		
Lwengo		205	120,771
	Bukoto County Mid-West		
	Bukoto County West		
	Bukoto County South		
Lyantonde		78	44,553
	Kabula County		
Manafwa		299	147,494
	Bubulo County West		
	Bubulo County East		

Maracha		125	78,327
	Maracha County		
Masaka		214	135,040
	Bukoto County East		
	Bukoto County Central		
	Masaka Municipality		
Masindi		200	123,482
	Bujenje County		
	Buruli County		
	Masindi Municipality		
Mayuge		281	178,258
	Bunya County East		
	Bunya County South		
	Bunya County West		
Mbale		373	217,467
	Bungokho County North		
	Bungokho County South		
	Mbale Municipality		
Mbarara		385	230,110
	Kashari County		
	Rwanpara County		
	Mbarara Municipality		
Mitooma		153	79,220
	Ruhinda County		
Mityana		265	146,376
	Busujju County		
	Mityana County North		
	Mityana County South		
Moroto		65	32,914
	Matheniko County		
	Moroto Municipality		
Moyo		100	51,070
	Obongi County		
	West moyo County		

Mpigi		201	105,142
	Mawokota County North		
	Mawokota County South		
Mubende		497	274,381
	Buwekula County		
	Kassanda County North		
	Kassanda County South		
	Kasambya County		
Mukono		419	244,893
	Mukono County North		
	Mukono County South		
	Nakifuma County		
	Mukono Municipality		
Nakapiripirit		84	42,059
	Chekwii County		
	Pian County		
Nakaseke		187	81,471
	Nakaseke South County		
	Nakaseke North County		
Nakasongola		156	70,854
	Nakasongola County		
	Budyebo County		
Namayingo		144	77,199
	Bukooli South County		
	Bukooli Island County		
Namutumba		139	88,779
	Busiki County		
Napak		107	41,809
	Bokora County		
Nebbi		278	153,092
	Jonam County		
	Padyere County		
Ngora		85	51,937
	Ngora County		
Ntoroko		55	30,884
	Ntoroko County		

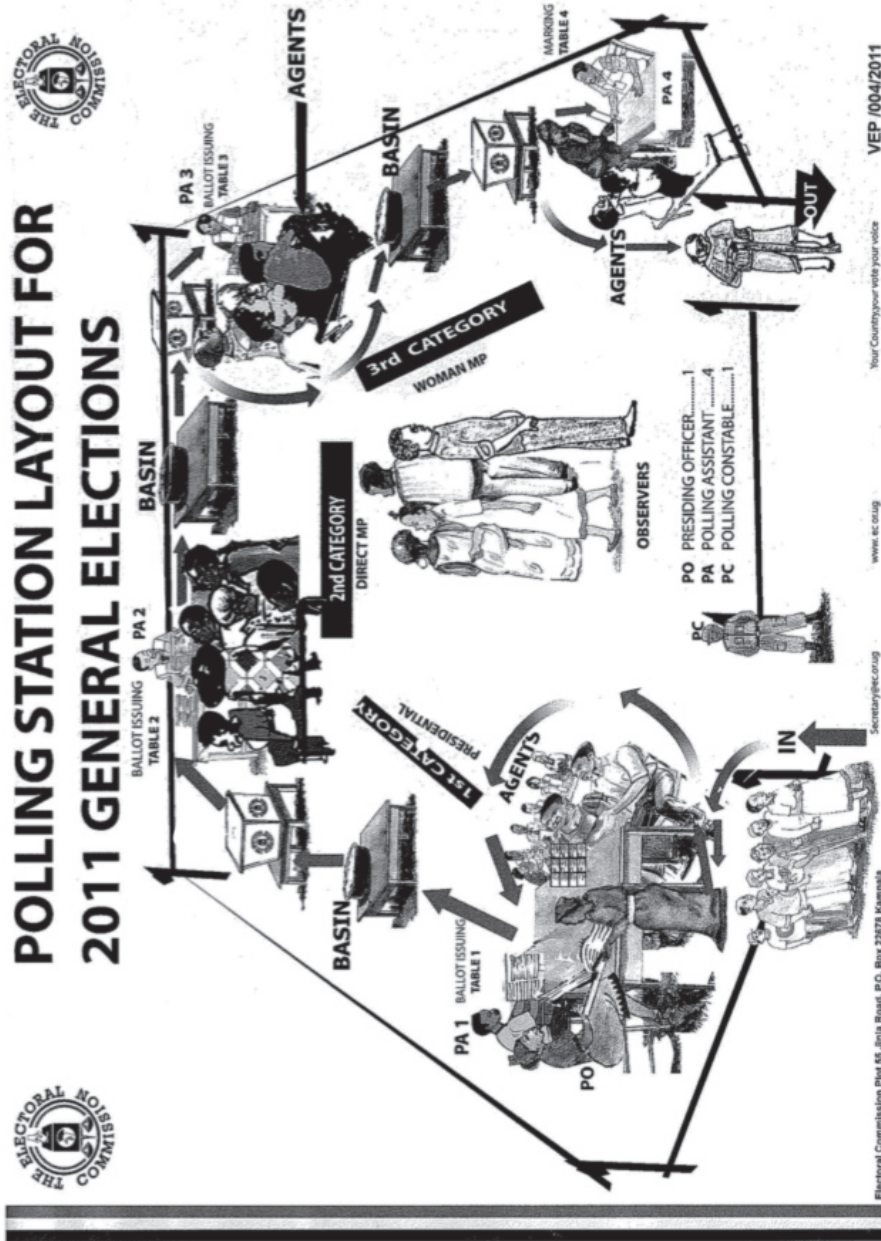
Ntungamo		375	219,841
	Kajara County		
	Ruhaama County		
	Rushenyi County		
	Ntungamo Municipality		
Nwoya		65	39,996
	Nwoya County		
Otuke		57	32,544
	Otuke County		
Oyam		238	127,457
	Oyam County North		
	Oyam County South		
Pader		138	69,912
	Aruu County		
Pallisa		234	134,383
	Butebo County		
	Pallisa County		
	Agule County		
Rakai		343	210,173
	Kakuuto County		
	Kooki County		
	Kyotera County		
Rubirizi		100	56,690
	Bunyaruguru County		
	Katerera County		
Rukungiri		271	145,743
	Rubabo County		
	Rujumbura County		
	Rukungiri Municipality		
Serere		158	94,168
	Kasilo County		
	Serere County		
Sheema		170	94,908
	Sheema County North		
	Sheema County South		
Sironko		250	108,888

	Budadiri County East		
	Budadiri County West		
Soroti		181	116,335
	Soroti County		
	Soroti Municipality		
Ssembabule		200	105,296
	Lwemiyaga County		
	Mawogola County		
Tororo		382	205,115
	West budama County North		
	West budamam County South		
	Tororo County		
	Toroto Municipality		
Wakiso		1,019	749,470
	Busiro County East		
	Busiro County North		
	Busiro County South		
	Kyadondo County East		
	Kyadondo County North		
	Kyadondo County South		
	Entebbe Municipality		
Yumbe		177	100,592
	Aringa County		
Zombo		164	83,907
	Okoro County		
	Total no. of polling stations	23,968	
	Total no. of registered voters	13,954,129	

Compiled with information from the official website of the Electoral Commission (www.ec.or.ug)

APPENDIX 3

Polling station layout for the 2011 general elections in Uganda



APPENDIX 4
**EISA TECHNICAL ASSESSMENT TEAM TO THE 2011 PRESIDENTIAL
AND PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS IN UGANDA**



Arrival Statement
Kampala, 14 February 2011

The Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa (EISA) is pleased to announce the arrival of its Technical Team in Kampala for the presidential and parliamentary elections scheduled to take place on Friday, 18 February 2011.

Coordinated by Mr Dieudonné Tshiyoyo, manager of EISA's Elections and Political Processes department, the team is composed of seven members drawn essentially from EISA core staff at its head office in Johannesburg and field offices. Members of the team are from the Democratic Republic of Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Madagascar, Nigeria, South Africa and Zimbabwe.

The overall objective of the Technical Team is in line with EISA's vision of promoting credible elections and democratic governance in Africa. The specific purpose of the team is to undertake a detailed documentation of the electoral process to ascertain if the process was organised and conducted in compliance with internationally accepted standards for credible elections. These standards include the African Union Declaration on Principles Governing Democratic Elections, the Principles for Election Management, Monitoring and Observation in the SADC Region (PEMMO), developed under the auspices of EISA and the Electoral Commissions Forum of SADC (ECF SADC) and the East African Community Protocol on Good Governance.

Members of the team started arriving in Kampala on Friday, 11 February 2011. The team will be on the ground in Kampala and its suburbs until

22 February 2011. During this period, members of the team are expected to meet with key electoral stakeholders, including the Electoral Commission of Uganda, candidates running in the various elections, representatives of political parties, the media, members of the academic community, civil society organisations and the diplomatic community.

The team will also observe the concluding stages of the campaigns, the polling and counting processes, and other post-polling activities in Kampala and surrounding areas.

Before its departure from Kampala, the team is expected to present a preliminary analysis of its observations, findings and conclusions in a preliminary statement. EISA will compile and publish a final comprehensive report of the observations, findings and recommendations of the Technical Team. The report will present an objective assessment of the electoral process aimed at contributing, eventually, to the improvement of future elections and democratic governance in Uganda. The assessment to be presented in the report will be based on universally accepted principles and norms to which Uganda is subscribed as a sovereign state.

The EISA Technical Assessment Team is committed to working closely with all the relevant Ugandan stakeholders and other election observer groups. It will act in an impartial, objective and transparent manner at all stages of the electoral process.

For further information about the mission, please contact the secretariat of the team based at the Imperial Royale Hotel in Kampala. The focal point is Sydney Letsholo, who can be reached on mobile: +256 78 922 8531 or email: sydney@eisa.org.za.

APPENDIX 5
EISA TECHNICAL ASSESSMENT TEAM TO THE 2011 PRESIDENTIAL
AND PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS IN UGANDA
18 FEBRUARY 2011



INTERIM STATEMENT
Kampala, 21 February 2011

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

I. INTRODUCTION

The Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa (EISA) deployed a Technical Assessment Team to the Ugandan presidential and parliamentary elections held on Friday, 18 February 2011. The team was in the country at the invitation of the Electoral Commission of Uganda.

Coordinated by Mr Dieudonné N. Tshiyoyo, manager of EISA's Elections and Political Processes (EPP) department, the mission consisted of seven members drawn primarily from EISA core staff at its head office in Johannesburg, field offices, as well as from partner civil society organisations. The following nationalities are represented in the mission: Côte d'Ivoire, Democratic Republic of Congo, Madagascar, Nigeria, South Africa and Zimbabwe.

Members of the mission started arriving in Kampala from Friday, 11 February and will remain in the country up until Tuesday, 22 February 2011.

During this period, the mission met with key stakeholders in the electoral process, and observed the polling and counting processes in Kampala and surrounding areas, most specifically Entebbe and Jinja.

The mission has made its assessment of the electoral process in Uganda on the basis of the information gathered during meetings with relevant stakeholders

and observation of the process. The preliminary findings of the mission and subsequent recommendations are presented in this interim statement. A final report, providing an in-depth and comprehensive analysis of the observations and recommendations of the mission on the entire election process, will be compiled and circulated in due course.

The overall objective of the mission is in line with EISA's vision of promoting credible elections and democratic governance in Africa. More specifically, the mission was established in order to:

- assess and determine whether the elections were conducted in accordance with the constitutional and legal framework for elections in Uganda;
- undertake detailed documentation of the electoral process to ascertain if the process was organised and conducted in compliance with internationally accepted standards for credible elections;
- determine whether the final results of the electoral process as a whole reflect the wishes of the people of Uganda; and
- assess whether the elections met the benchmarks set out in the African Union Declaration on Principles Governing Democratic Elections, the East African Community Protocol on Good Governance, as well as the Principles for Election Management, Monitoring and Observation (PEMMO) developed under the auspices of EISA and the Electoral Commissions Forum of SADC countries.

2. METHOD OF WORK

The team adopted a holistic approach to the documentation and assessment of the electoral process in Uganda. It undertook various activities covering the pre-election, polling and immediate post-polling operations. EISA will continue to follow post-election developments closely. The documentation and assessment methodology encompassed the activities outlined below.

2.1 Observers' briefing

On Tuesday, 15 February 2011, members of the Technical Team attended a briefing session organised by the Electoral Commission for observers at the Sheraton Hotel in Kampala. The EISA team, together with other international

and domestic observer groups and members of the diplomatic community were briefed on the preparedness of the Electoral Commission ahead of the polling, as well as on the security situation prevailing in the country. The briefing was conducted by the chairperson and members of the Electoral Commission, as well as the inspector general of police.

2.2 Stakeholder meetings and political party rallies

Members of the mission were divided into two main teams that met with, among others, representatives of the Electoral Commission, the Uganda Human Rights Commission, political parties, academia, civil society organisations and the media. These stakeholders provided information on their assessment of different steps in the electoral process, including the registration of voters, the candidate nomination process, the credibility of the Electoral Commission, women's participation in the process, media access and voter education. The information received at these meetings constituted the basis for the team's assessment of the electoral process. Members of the team were also able to observe the final stages of the electoral campaign and attended the rallies of various presidential candidates held in Kampala.

2.3 Election-day observation

On election day, the mission was divided into three teams that observed the polling and counting processes in Kampala, Entebbe and Jinja. The teams observed the opening and closing of the polls and visited a number of polling centres and stations throughout the day in their areas of deployment. The different teams followed the counting of votes immediately after the closing of the polls.

2.4 Principles for Election Management, Monitoring and Observation (PEMMO) in the SADC Region

The EISA Team's assessment of the 2011 presidential and parliamentary elections in Uganda is based on the Principles for Election Management, Monitoring and Observation (PEMMO). The principles are benchmarks against which the credibility and transparency of an election can be assessed. PEMMO was developed by EISA in partnership with the Electoral Commissions Forum of SADC countries, which comprises all the election management bodies in the SADC region. These principles are the result of extensive research and region-wide consultation with electoral stakeholders,

including CSOs, and were designed to provide guiding principles for the administration of elections in the region.

Using the electoral cycle approach, PEMMO covers each phase of the electoral process, including the periods before, during and after the polls. Furthermore, PEMMO presents a useful tool for both post-election reviews and electoral reforms. For observers, PEMMO also outlines guidelines for the conduct of observers for the enhanced credibility of election observation. EISA has used PEMMO to assess electoral processes since 2004.

3. PRELIMINARY FINDINGS OF THE MISSION

Based on its interaction with stakeholders and its observation of the polling and immediate post-polling activities, the EISA Team has identified the following issues as noteworthy:

3.1 Political tolerance

The team observed that the level of political tolerance in Uganda has significantly improved since its return to multi-party democracy. The team wishes to commend the people of Uganda for the peaceful and orderly conduct that characterised the period before and during the polling. Furthermore, the efforts of the security agencies to maintain a secure and peaceful environment throughout the electoral process, in spite of existing terrorist threats from groups in neighbouring states, is also commendable.

The context in which the elections took place was largely devoid of major incidents of violence and intimidation of candidates and voters. In general, the electoral campaign proceeded smoothly, with only minimal and isolated cases of violence reported.

3.2 Electoral reforms

The team noted that there were calls for electoral reforms from political parties and CSOs following the 2006 presidential and parliamentary elections. These calls culminated in the amendment of the Presidential Elections Act, the Parliamentary Elections Act, the Political Parties and Organisations Act, and the Electoral Commission Act. These reforms addressed, among other issues, political parties' access to copies of the voters' register, public display of the register, state funding of parties and disclosure of political finances.

While the Political Parties Act prohibits the use of state resources for political campaigns, there were consistent complaints from opposition parties and candidates about the perceived abuse of public funds and assets by candidates aligned with the ruling party. In this regard, the team noted that the Electoral Commission did not display its capacity to track campaign expenses and enforce compliance of parties with the relevant regulations on public funding.

3.3 The Electoral Commission

The Electoral Commission of Uganda is the institution legally mandated to conduct and manage the electoral process. The commission faced a number of obstacles in its preparations for the 2011 general elections. The team learned that there were widespread demonstrations against the reappointment of the Electoral Commission in 2010. These demonstrations are indicative of the public's perception of the Electoral Commission.

Despite the reforms to electoral legislation in Uganda, a significant number of stakeholders involved and interested in the electoral process have been deeply concerned about the independence and neutrality of the Electoral Commission, based on the composition and mode of appointment of its members.

The team noted, however, that in spite of the low level of trust, most of the stakeholders commended the Electoral Commission for its transparent conduct of the process leading to the 2011 presidential and parliamentary elections. In fact, the commission opened up the process to relevant stakeholders in its preparations for the 2011 elections through regular media briefings, consultations with stakeholders at each crucial step of the electoral process, as well as on-line updates about its preparations.

3.4 The voters' register and identification of voters

The EISA Technical Team noted the efforts of the Electoral Commission to review the voters' roll and register new voters ahead of the 2011 general elections. The commission, in compliance with the amended Electoral Commission Act, made efforts to display the register and make copies available to political parties and other electoral stakeholders.

The team is of the view that the identification of voters is critical to the credibility of the electoral process. That is why it noted with concern the high level of scepticism expressed by a number of electoral stakeholders, especially CSOs and political parties, about the credibility of the voters' register. Furthermore, the team learned that, following the review of the register, many voters did not receive their voters' cards.

3.5 Electoral campaign

Campaigns for the 2011 general elections were held from November 2010 to February 2011, in line with relevant legislation. These campaigns took place across the country, with very few reports of major violent clashes.

Though conducted in a peaceful and orderly manner, the team noted that the electoral campaigns were conducted within a context marked by an uneven playing field. There were consistent reports suggesting that the incumbent president and candidates from the ruling party had undue advantage over opposition parties and candidates through the use of state resources at their disposal for electoral purposes.

3.6 Civic and voter education

Civic and voter education was carried out by the Electoral Commission, the Uganda Human Rights Commission and a number of CSOs. Instructions and information about the electoral process were circulated across the country using various media, especially radio. The mission noted the endeavours by CSOs to promote issue-based electoral campaigns and build the capacity of media practitioners to cover electoral issues in a meaningful way.

3.7 Election day

- The team observed that the voting process was conducted peacefully with few incidences of violence or disturbance. The people of Uganda showed their commitment to the development of democracy by turning out to vote.
- Though voters turned out in their numbers to vote before the polls opened, it was observed that most polling stations visited opened relatively late owing to the delayed arrival or delivery of election materials. This shortened the time provided for in the law for polling.

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- At a number of polling stations, delays in the opening of the polls, coupled with the failure of polling staff, especially presiding officers, to explain the reasons for the late opening of the polls, agitated voters and led to some confusion.
 - Balloting materials were supplied in sufficient quantity to all polling stations visited by the team. Members of the team commend, in particular, the innovative use of plastic basins in lieu of polling booths.
 - The team noted and commends the flexibility of the balloting requirement. Voters were given the option of marking the ballot with a pen or thumbprint. The team observed that with the use of pens, there was a minimal number of spoilt ballots as the possibility of ink spilling to other parts of the ballot was reduced.
 - In most cases, voters seemed highly knowledgeable of polling procedures as they knew exactly what to do once in the polling station.
 - The team commends the electoral staff for their efforts and commitment to the success of the polling despite harsh weather conditions (high temperatures or rainfall in some areas). However, the team noted that there were no standard procedures for polling, which is indicative of the poor level of training received by the electoral staff before the elections. In many cases, this led to the inconsistent application of procedures from one polling station to another.
 - The team noted the presence of party agents and representatives of candidates at all polling stations visited. All of them had copies of the voters' roll for the specific polling station, and this allowed them to ascertain the accuracy of the voters' register on the spot. Besides party and candidate representatives, there were domestic observers from a wide range of CSOs at the polling stations visited.
 - There seemed to be no standard procedures for the identification of voters because the electoral law does not require voters to present a photo ID in order to vote. The team observed that at most polling stations voters had only to call out their names to be checked in the register. This procedure raises concern about the possibility of some voters being able to vote more than once.
 - The team noted that a number of voters in possession of voters' cards could not find their names in the voters' register. As a result, they

were turned away and were not allowed to vote – a decision that surely disenfranchised them.

- Though the polls started late, the mission noted that presiding officers did not take the required precautions to extend the voting time accordingly, nor did they ensure that voters waiting in line within the polling station at the close of polls were allowed to vote.
- While the relevant laws clearly establish who should be allowed to attend the vote counting, the team noted the presence of unauthorised people within the station during counting. This somewhat compromised the security of the process.

4. PRELIMINARY RECOMMENDATIONS

To address the challenges and shortcomings highlighted above, the EISA Technical Assessment Team would like to recommend the following:

- ❑ The public perception of the Electoral Commission is an issue of paramount importance to the electoral process. The team therefore recommends that eventual electoral reforms, with a view to improving future electoral processes in Uganda, should prioritise the issue of independence, integrity and neutrality of the Electoral Commission. It is important that the appointment of members of the commission should be open through a consultative process with all relevant stakeholders. Furthermore, the composition of the Electoral Commission should be reviewed to reflect the interests of a wide range of stakeholders, including CSOs. The team is of the view that any electoral reform dealing with these crucial issues will most probably contribute to changing public perception about the Electoral Commission and its operations.
- ❑ Relevant provisions of the electoral law should be reformed to make it mandatory for legitimate voters to present a photo ID before voting. The team also calls on the Government of Uganda to speed up the national identity project to complement the efforts of the Electoral Commission in this regard.
- ❑ The Electoral Commission should embark on the systematic training of polling staff towards future elections, with emphasis on procedures for opening and closing of the polls. It is also important to build the capacity of polling staff in the area of people management and communication.

- ❑ The Electoral Commission should develop mechanisms for tracking election campaign and party finances. It should also develop its capacity to enforce the legal provisions regulating party and campaign finances, specifically the provisions on the use of state resources for political and electoral purposes. It is also important that development partners in Uganda should support the Electoral Commission in this regard.
- ❑ The Electoral Commission should clarify and ascertain the guidelines for polling procedures in future elections. These guidelines should be enforced and sanctions established for eventual breach.

5. CONCLUSION

The EISA Technical Assessment Team wishes to commend the people of Uganda for their responsible, orderly and peaceful conduct during the elections. While there were a number of shortcomings identified throughout the electoral process, the team is of the view that the 2011 presidential and parliamentary elections were conducted, to a large extent, in compliance with the constitutional and legal framework in force in Uganda, as well as with universally accepted principles.

The team congratulates the Electoral Commission for its efforts in delivering transparent elections under relatively challenging conditions.

As the official results of the 2011 presidential and parliamentary elections are being officially released, the team urges all political parties and candidates to maintain the peaceful environment, and encourages them to use and comply with the legal provisions for resolving election disputes.

Dieudonné N. Tshiyoyo
Mission Coordinator

ENDNOTES

- 1 Uganda's Electoral Process. Paper presented by B Kiggundu at the Third Conference of Uganda's Ambassadors and High Commissioners, 2006.
- 2 See www.idea.int/.../4.%20Boundary%20delimitation,%20districting%20or%20defining%20bounaries%20of%20electora.
- 3 See <http://www.ec.or.ug/regparty.html>.
- 4 See <http://www.ec.or.ug/regparty.html>.
- 5 See <http://www.enteruganda.com/brochures/ecbullpage02.html>.
- 6 See http://www.fowode.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=frontpage&Itemid=1.
- 7 See http://www.peacewomen.org/news_article.php?id=2887&type=news.
- 8 'Guidelines on Media Analysis during Election Observation Missions', European Commission for Democracy Through Law (Venice Commission), 2005. Available at [http://www.venice.coe.int/docs/2005/CDL-AD\(2005\)032-e.asp](http://www.venice.coe.int/docs/2005/CDL-AD(2005)032-e.asp).

ABOUT EISA



EISA is a not-for-profit and non-partisan non-governmental organisation which was established in 1996. Its core business is to provide technical assistance for capacity building of relevant government departments, electoral management bodies, political parties and civil society organisations operating in the democracy and governance fields throughout the SADC region and beyond. Inspired by the various positive developments towards democratic governance in Africa as a whole and the SADC region in particular since the early 1990s, EISA aims to advance democratic values and practices and to enhance the credibility of electoral processes. The ultimate goal is to assist countries in Africa and the SADC region to nurture and consolidate democratic governance. SADC countries have received enormous technical assistance and advice from EISA in building solid institutional foundations for democracy. This includes: electoral system reforms; election monitoring and observation; constructive conflict management; strengthening of parliament and other democratic institutions; strengthening of political parties; capacity building for civil society organisations; deepening democratic local governance; and enhancing the institutional capacity of the election management bodies. EISA was formerly the secretariat of the Electoral Commissions Forum (ECF) composed of electoral commissions in the SADC region and established in 1998. EISA is currently the secretariat of the SADC Election Support Network (ESN) comprising election-related civil society organisations established in 1997.

VISION

An African continent where democratic governance, human rights and citizen participation are upheld in a peaceful environment

MISSION

EISA strives for excellence in the promotion of credible elections, participatory democracy, human rights culture, and the strengthening of governance institutions for the consolidation of democracy in Africa

VALUES AND PRINCIPLES

Key values and principles of governance that EISA believes in include:

- Regular free and fair elections
- Promoting democratic values
- Respect for fundamental human rights
- Due process of law / rule of law
- Constructive management of conflict
- Political tolerance
- Inclusive multiparty democracy
- Popular participation
- Transparency
- Gender equality
- Accountability
- Promoting electoral norms and standards

OBJECTIVES

- To enhance electoral processes to ensure their inclusiveness and legitimacy
- To promote effective citizen participation in democratic processes to strengthen institutional accountability and responsiveness
- To strengthen governance institutions to ensure effective, accessible and sustainable democratic processes
- To promote principles, values and practices that lead to a culture of democracy and human rights
- To create a culture of excellence that leads to consistently high-quality products and services
- To position EISA as a leader that consistently influences policy and practice in the sector

CORE ACTIVITIES

Research

Policy Dialogue

Publications and Documentation

Capacity Building

Election Observation

Technical Assistance

Balloting

OBSERVER MISSION REPORTS

CODE	TITLE
EOR 1	Mauritius Election Observation Mission Report, 2000
EOR 2	SADC Election Support Network Observer Mission's Report, 1999/2000
EOR 3	Tanzania Elections Observer Mission Report, 2001
EOR 4	Tanzania Gender Observer Mission Report, 2001
EOR 5	Zimbabwe Elections Observer Mission Report, 2001
EOR 6	South African Elections Observer Mission Report, Denis Kadima, 1999
EOR 7	Botswana Elections Observer Mission Report, Denis Kadima, 1999
EOR 8	Namibia Elections Report, Tom Lodge, 1999
EOR 9	Mozambique Elections Observer Mission Report, Denis Kadima, 1999
EOR 10	National & Provincial Election Results: South Africa June 1999
EOR 11	Elections in Swaziland, S. Rule, 1998
EOR 12	Lesotho Election, S. Rule, 1998
EOR 13	EISA Observer Mission Report, Zimbabwe Presidential Election 9-11 March, 2002 (P/C)
EOR 14	EISA Observer Mission Report, South Africa National and Provincial Elections 12-14 April 2004
EOR 15	EISA Observer Mission Report: Malawi Parliamentary and Presidential Elections 20 May 2004
EOR 16	EISA Observer Mission Report, Botswana Parliamentary and Local Government Elections 30 October 2004
EOR 17	EISA Observer Mission Report, Mozambique Parliamentary and Presidential Elections 1-2 December 2004
EOR 18	EISA Observer Mission Report, Namibia Presidential and National Assembly Elections 15-16 November 2004
EOR 19	EISA Observer Mission Report, Mauritius National Assembly Elections 3 July 2005
EOR 20	EISA Observer Mission Report, Tanzania Presidential, National Assembly and Local Government Elections 14 December 2005
EOR 21	EISA Observer Mission Report, The 2005 Constitutional Referendum in the DRC/ Le Référendum Constitutionnel en RDC 18-19 December 2005

- EOR 22 EISA Observer Mission Report, Zanzibar Presidential, House of Representatives and Local Government Elections 30 October 2005
- EOR 23 EISA Observer Mission Report, Zambia Presidential, Parliamentary and Local Government Elections 28 September 2006
- EOR 24 EISA Observer Mission Report, Madagascar Presidential Elections 3 December 2006
- EOR 25 EISA Observer Mission Report, DRC Presidential, Parliamentary and Provincial Elections / Elections Présidentielles, Parlementaires et Provinciales 30 July and 29 October 2006
- EOR 26 EISA Election Observer Mission Report, Lesotho National Assembly Elections 17 February 2007
- EOR 27 EISA Election Observer Mission Report, Madagascar National Assembly Elections 23 September 2007
- EOR 28 EISA Election Observer Mission Report, The Zimbabwe Harmonised Elections of 29 March 2008 Presidential, Parliamentary and Local Government Elections with Postscript on The Presidential Run-off of 27 June 2008 and the Multi-Party Agreement of 15 September 2008
- EOR 29 EISA Election Observer Mission Report, Swaziland House of Assembly Election 19 September 2008
- EOR 30 EISA Election Observer Mission Report, Malawi Presidential and Parliamentary Elections 19 May 2009
- EOR 31 EISA Election Observer Mission Report, Zambia Presidential By-Election 30 October 2008
- EOR 32 EISA Election Observer Mission Report, The Mozambique Presidential, Parliamentary and Provincial Elections of 28 October 2009
- EOR 33 EISA Technical Assessment Team Report, Mauritius National Assembly Elections 5 May 2010
- EOR 34 EISA Technical Observer Team Report, Namibia Presidential and National Assembly Elections 27 and 28 November 2009
- EOR 35 EISA Technical Assessment Team Report, Botswana Parliamentary and Local Government Elections 16 October 2009
- EOR 36 EISA Election Observer Mission Report South Africa, National And Provincial Elections 22 April 2009
- EOR 37 *Mission d'observation de l'élection présidentielle du 27 Juin et du deuxième tour du 07 Novembre 2010 en Guinée*
- EOR 38 EISA Election Observer Mission Report, Zanzibar Presidential, House of Representatives and Local Government Elections of 31 October 2010
- EOR 39 *Rapport Mission d'Observation Electorale : République Centrafricaine Elections Présidentielles et Législatives, 23 Janvier et Mars 2011*

EOR 40 EISA Technical Assessment Team Report, The 2011 Seychelles
Presidential Elections 19-21 May 2011

