



# East African Journal of Arts and Social Sciences

[ejass.eanso.org](http://ejass.eanso.org)

Volume 6, Issue 2, 2023

Print ISSN: 2707-4277 | Online ISSN: 2707-4285

Title DOI: <https://doi.org/10.37284/2707-4285>

**ENSO**

EAST AFRICAN  
NATURE &  
SCIENCE  
ORGANIZATION

Original Article

## Motives and Political Representation: The Case of Women Members of Parliament in Uganda

Doreen Chemutai<sup>1\*</sup> & Assoc. Prof. Tabitha Mulyampiti, PhD<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gulu University P. O. Box 166 Gulu Uganda.

\* Author for Correspondence ORCID ID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0211-0310>; Email: [chemutaidoreen12@gmail.com](mailto:chemutaidoreen12@gmail.com)

Article DOI : <https://doi.org/10.37284/eajass.6.2.1565>

Date Published: **ABSTRACT**

10 November 2023

**Keywords:**

*Motives,  
Parliament,  
Performance,  
Representation,  
Women*

Women's political representation in Uganda is a contentious issue. On the one hand, there are doubting public narratives of Women Members of Parliaments' (WMP) performance. The doubts about WMPs' performance inspired growing interest in their parliamentary performance. On the other hand, there are concerns about the gender gap in parliamentary representation. The underrepresentation of women in the political scene raises a puzzle about those who dare to compete. However, at the same time, there has been neglect of what drives women in the first place to parliamentary representation and their relationship to performance. This intriguing question calls for an objective analysis to unravel what influences women's interest in parliamentary office. This paper answers two analytical questions: How do women Members of Parliament construe their interests in joining parliamentary politics? And whether WMPs' motives influence their performance. These questions were answered by analysing conversations and interviews of five purposively selected WMPs representing five districts of Northern Uganda in the tenth Parliament between 2020 and 2021. Field data was triangulated with performance data from the same Parliament's Hansard. Findings reveal that personal and social-cultural factors drive WMPs to Parliament. Motives are consequential to performance, although personal motives were more potent than social-cultural motives to performance. Personal, compared to social-cultural motives, are more susceptible to social-political factors in constituencies, institutions of Parliament, and the broad government, affecting motives' fulfilment.

### APA CITATION

Chemutai, D. & Mulyampiti, T. (2023). Motives and Political Representation: The Case of Women Members of Parliament in Uganda *East African Journal of Arts and Social Sciences*, 6(2), 279-292. <https://doi.org/10.37284/eajass.6.2.1565>

### CHICAGO CITATION

Chemutai, Doreen and Tabitha Mulyampiti. 2023. "Motives and Political Representation: The Case of Women Members of Parliament in Uganda". *East African Journal of Arts and Social Sciences* 6 (2), 279-292. <https://doi.org/10.37284/eajass.6.2.1565>.

### HARVARD CITATION

Chemutai, D. & Mulyampiti, T. (2023) "Motives and Political Representation: The Case of Women Members of Parliament in Uganda". *East African Journal of Arts and Social Sciences*, 6(2), pp. 279-292. doi: 10.37284/eajass.6.2.1565.

**IEEE CITATION**

D., Chemutai & T., Mulyampiti "Motives and Political Representation: The Case of Women Members of Parliament in Uganda". *EAJASS*, vol. 6, no. 2, pp. 279-292, Nov. 2023.

**MLA CITATION**

Chemutai, Doreen & Tabitha Mulyampiti. "Motives and Political Representation: The Case of Women Members of Parliament in Uganda". *East African Journal of Arts and Social Sciences*, Vol. 6, no. 2, Nov. 2023, pp. 279-292, doi:10.37284/eajass.6.2.1565.

**INTRODUCTION**

Throughout Uganda's history, women's political representation has always been below parity. Women made little political progress between 1962 and 1986 because social-cultural and political factors barred them from participating in electoral politics<sup>1</sup>. In the years prior to the NRM government, women were isolated from politics by patriarchal obstacles and previous governments (Ssewakiryanga, 2014). Idi Amin's regime (1971-1979) incapacitated women's political ambitions and formations by prohibiting women's movements (Kwesiga, 2017). However, after 1986, when the NRM came to power, women's numbers began to grow, although lagging behind men steadily. Some factors explain women's increased presence in Parliament. First, the NRM government created a conducive political environment for women to participate in politics (Adi, 2009; Ahikire, 2013; Goetz, 2002; Tamale, 1999). The women's movement rejuvenated when the NRM got power in 1986 (Tripp, 2000). Reviving the women's movement marked the commencement of women's politically active engagement. The women's movement, which was then independent, lobbied the NRM government to consider women's concerns, mainly the nomination of women to leadership positions, which they justified by referring to women's role in the guerrilla war between 1981 and 1986 (Goetz, 2002a). Women themselves also advocated for their participation in politics (Tripp, 2020). Women needed laws to address patriarchal domination and family welfare (Tripp et al., 2008).

Furthermore, the women's movement lobbied President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni to appoint women at all Local Council Levels (LCL) of governance, resulting in the NRA government creating a seat for a woman representative at all the five tiers Resistance Councils (RCs) from the village to the district level (Goetz, 2002a:556). President Museveni went beyond the LC level to appoint thirty-four women to the national assembly (the National Resistance Council) (Goetz, 2002a:556). The NRM government promised popular democracy and portrayed a concern for women's challenges (Tripp, 2001:14). Central to the promises was outlawing oppressive and discriminatory practices in politics, family, and the law (Ahikire, 1994; Goetz, 2002a). Accordingly, the NRM government adopted an affirmative action policy in 1989 (Goetz, 2002a). The NRM government constitutionalised Affirmative Action (AA) for political representation (Ahikire, 2013; Tamale, 1999). The constitution of the Republic of Uganda Article 78, (1) Section (b) provides for an elected woman representative in every district. The rationale behind adopting AAs for women was to increase the participation of women in governance<sup>2</sup>. As a result, AAs are considered a significant motivation for women to seek political office (Ahikire, 2013). Since then, the number of women has grown from 39 in 1989 to 146 in 2021 because every district signifies a woman representative.

The second reason for women's increased presence in Parliament is the creation of new districts and constituencies<sup>3</sup>. The creation of new districts is provided for in the constitution of the Republic of Uganda to enable the efficient

<sup>1</sup> Parliamentary Watch and Centre for Policy Research, 2020

<sup>2</sup> 1995 Constitution of the Republic of Uganda, under Article 32(1)

<sup>3</sup> Parliament of Uganda, 2021

administration of ethnically marginalised groups to obtain their district and improve ethnolinguistic conflict management, service delivery and developmental outcomes<sup>4</sup>. However, district creation presented additional opportunities for political representation. Seventeen more districts were created Between 1996 and 2001, increasing the number of women MPs from 39 to 56 in the Sixth Parliament (Green, 2010). District creation followed an incremental rise of 76 in 2006, 112 in 2011, 122 in 2019 and 146 in 2021. The number of districts is 146 per the 2021 elections, and every new district created a slot for a woman in line with the affirmative action policy (Electoral Commission of Uganda, 2021). Therefore, adopting the AAs, the existence of a conducive political environment, and new district, county and city creations symbolise that gender and structural reasons drive women to Parliament. This paper builds on early scholarships by advancing the understanding of motives beyond the apparent affirmative action seats and political environment by establishing more purposeful motives that drove women to the 10<sup>th</sup> Parliament of Uganda.

The number of MPs in the 10<sup>th</sup> Parliament increased from 427 in June 2016 to 449 by June 2017, 452 in June 2018 and 459 in June 2019. In the same Parliament, the percentage of women stood at 34.7 per cent, with 160 female representatives, and 65.3 per cent, with 299 male representatives. The number of WMPs in Uganda's 10<sup>th</sup> Parliament is considered a critical mass for women to have a political impact<sup>5</sup>. Also, Uganda was ranked 37<sup>th</sup> in women's representation of 180 parliaments by IPU in May 2020<sup>6</sup>. Whereas the number of women should be appreciated quantitatively, the gender disparity in political representation is significant. This paper argues that gender imbalance in Uganda's Parliament, despite favourable conditions, is partly explained by how motivated men and

women are for political office. Women's numbers provoke questions about what other significant motives women MPs present for seeking elective parliamentary seats.

Motives are reasons in individuals' personal, social and professional histories that persuade them to take on political offices (Berg, 2015). The definition, therefore, means motives are psychological, social or a combination of the two drives; these characteristics present the intricate nature of motives. Whether politicians are motivated for political office for the sake of the benefits that come with it or policy outcomes and whether the parliamentary seat is a means to an end or an end to a means is subjective and influenced by individual, social and contextual factors. Due to the intricate and not outward nature of motives, this paper appraises the narratives of women MPs to establish their motives for elective parliamentary seats. Motives lead individuals to their goals (Singh, 2011). Motives direct behaviour to participation (Queenie & Tomaro, 2020). Ignoring motives for political office contributes to a poor understanding of political interests and a sense of civic duty for politicians (Wuttke, 2016). Based on that brief introduction, this paper sought to analyse the motives of women members of Parliament for seeking an elected parliamentary seat and their link to performance. The paper's organisation follows from the theorisation of motives, literature on political motivation, the methodology, and the findings and discussion on motives for a parliamentary seat. The following section discusses the relationship between motives and performance and the conclusion.

## THEORISING MOTIVES AND POLITICS

Motives are drives towards a specific action (Lilleker & Koc-Michalska, 2017). They are concerned with all activities of stimulation and purpose, such as energy, direction, and

<sup>4</sup> Article 179 (1) section a and b of the 1995 Constitution of Uganda

<sup>5</sup> Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2018, women in parliament annual report; Parliament of the Republic of Uganda, 2018.

<sup>6</sup> Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2020 ranking of women in parliament

determination (Ryan & Deci, 2000). This paper conceptualises motives as forces, drivers, or reasons for women to seek parliamentary seats. The motives originate from the needs or desires of a person based on values, beliefs, and experiences. This paper argues that motives are psychological, social or a combination. It, therefore, means that individual psychological processes and the social-cultural environment have essential implications on an individual's motivation. According to Meece et al. (2006), the social-cultural influences of motivation include gendered stereotypes, ability, ethnicity, socioeconomic status and contextual factors.

In comparison, psychological motivation is achievement-driven, explained by four factors relating to attribution, expectancy-value, self-efficacy and achievement of goals (Meece et al., 2006). Similarly, Deci and Ryan view human action as driven by the basic needs of relatedness, autonomy and competency (Ryan & Deci, 2000). Human actions are, therefore, a result of social demands, personal judgement, and belief in the ability of individuals to achieve. The self-determination theory establishes people's subjective experiences of behaviour as self-determined (Wuttke, 2020). Motivation based on achievement is psychological and subjective, enabling people to pursue work they perceive as valuable and prompting them to reach their goals (Singh, 2011). The achievement motives are personal and remain stable (Singh, 2011).

Literature exposes the gendered nature of motives, precisely, that performance-motivated gendered reasoning mimics gendered differences in which males present a belief of overconfidence in relation to females' average confidence as a drive for political office (Thaler, 2021). Also, a study by Lawless in 2008 on why few women are in political representation divulges that when women contest, they do as well as men, though they do not show ambition to contest. Factors such as unwillingness to go through campaign rigour and the belief that they are less likely to be elected to political offices are reasons for women's less political ambition (Lawless, 2008). Another reason is that women hold the bar of credentials

too high for themselves, such as an advanced degree, a wealth of experience and good connections, while men name only passion (Lawless, 2008). Society forces women to believe they must climb a mountain to be worthy of a parliamentary seat (ibid). Similarly, a study on women's motivation for political office in the US revealed that women show less interest in national politics than men (Carroll & Sanbonmatsu, 2010). Also, studies on women's political ambition in Western democracies established that women show low political ambition (Ammassari et al., 2022). Political identity motivates men more than women for political office (Boyer et al., 2022). This literature presents the gendered nature of political motives, which could explain the gender gap in political representation. However, this paper focuses on what could have driven women who overlooked the gendered stereotypes to seek an elective parliamentary seat.

Two sets of motives, personal and social, influence political behaviour (Gulzar, 2018). Wuttke (2016) categorised human drives into intrinsic and extrinsic. The former is autonomous, and the latter is controlled (Gagne and Deci, 2005). The intrinsic motives, or autonomous drivers, concern the job itself and have more to do with self-regulation, for example, a feeling of fulfilment for a well-done job. Autonomous motives lead to more sustained and stimulating engagements (Wuttke, 2020). In this paper, we established personal inspirations of women to Parliament as the need for better leadership, lived experiences, and the wish to see desirable change. They are psychological and influence how people approach different domains of society.

On the contrary, extrinsic or controlled drivers arise from the external environment, factors such as salary, relatedness, loyalty, and expectations of society. This paper conceptualises grassroots movements, role models, and male elders as extrinsically driven by the social and cultural environment. Characteristics of the drives, like the environmental circumstances and nature of the representatives, regulate these motives. The controlled motives tend to be artificial and are context-dependent (Wuttke, 2020). Gagne and



Deci (2005) hypothesised contextual social conditions and tangible extrinsic rewards to weaken intrinsic motivation and verbal rewards to enhance it. Rewards may negatively reinforce intrinsic and extrinsic motives, resulting in motives failing to translate into expected outcomes. Also, new motives emerge due to changing social, cultural, and political situations. The result is that people find themselves at a crossroads, whether to pursue motives resulting from contextual social conditions or those from natural processes of self-motivation. Sometimes, people manifest both motives at different times due to contextual factors; for example, an MP initially driven by personal (intrinsic) motives may transition from the opposition to the ruling party or receive an appointment to a ministerial position, and their motives change. Situational and contextual factors may vary MPs' motives and performance, ranging from adequate to inadequate.

Methodologically, intrinsic and extrinsic motives are prone to situational factors, thus making them fluid. Motives are conditioned by contextual and social conditions, thereby influencing the actions of representatives.

## METHODOLOGY

The study is qualitative and relies on data collected between 2020 and 2021. The choice of a qualitative approach was to collect rich data on women's motives for seeking elective political office. Five women members of Parliament of five districts of Northern Uganda, namely, Agago, Gulu, Kitgum, Pader, and Oyam, purposively narrated their journey to Parliament and reasons for seeking a parliamentary seat with the help of a semi-structured interview guide. In addition, a review of the Hansard document of the 10<sup>th</sup> Parliament covering the five years of Parliament was done to establish the performance outcomes of women MPs. Data from the narratives and the Hansard were analysed using an inductive and thematic approach. The thematic areas of the study that emerged are motives comprising personal and social-cultural motives, while performance fell under the representation of and

legislation of constituency and women's concerns. Data on the motives of women parliamentarians were triangulated with data in the Hansard to establish a relationship between motives and performance. The five women MPs are labelled Interviewees One, Two, Three, Four, and Five in Table One.

## WOMEN'S MOTIVES FOR PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION

The findings of this study revealed two categories of motives of women to Parliament, namely the personal and social-cultural motives to drive women to Parliament. Ryan and Deci (2000) referred to the two categories of motives as intrinsic and extrinsic drives, respectively. The personal (Intrinsic) motives are innate to women MPs and are directly related to the job and are more stimulating and self-sustaining (Wuttke, 2020). The personal motives aim at achieving a positive change; they result from a sense of personal achievement, responsibility, and growth. In contrast, the social-cultural motives are non-persistent because they are not inherent to the individuals but originate externally from the social-cultural environment.

Women's motives were not singular; more than one motive drove three women to Parliament, and interviewees One and Four narratives revealed the need to represent women's concerns and social-cultural factors such as influence by male elders and grassroots organisations as inspirations, respectively. Similarly, the account of interviewee Five exposed gaps in service delivery and leadership, confidence and leadership skills, role models' influence, and parental support as motivations to Parliament. In contrast, representatives with single motives were Interviewee Two, inspired by the representation of women's concerns, and Interviewee Three, by gaps in leadership. This paper analyses the personal and social-cultural motives.

### Personal Motives of Women MPs

Personal motives are innate (intrinsic) declared by women MPs. The personal motives declared by women were the need to represent their people

better by addressing gaps in leadership. As one interviewee noted,

*“My work with the community exposed me to leadership gaps; my drive thus was a result of annoyance of the poor state of leadership. I hoped to address the leadership gaps through my presence in Parliament”* (Interviewee three, February 2021).

Furthermore, the need for equitable appropriation of national resources to their districts was another motive raised by the women MPs. Another of the women MPs narrated that she wanted her people to benefit fairly from government and development programs through her representation (Interviewee two, February 2021).

A common motive for four women MPs was the need to represent the concerns of women. One woman MP noted,

*“While doing community work, I witnessed gender discrimination in the communities. The boy children were more privileged over the girl children in education, and additionally, women’s reproductive health care needs were not taken care of, and other developments sidelined women”* (Interviewee four, July 2021).

On the same note, another women MP who served in the community as a local leader and civil society worker “was dissatisfied with the disparity of women in leadership positions, and hence the poor representation of women’s concerns” (Interviewee one, August 2020). The need to advocate for girl child education and women’s concerns inspired another woman MP (Interviewee two, February 2021). The motives cut across for women MPs irrespective of whether the women MP were on the open or affirmative action seats.

However, some women revealed self-assurance, empowerment, confidence, and the influence of role models to have driven them to parliamentary representation. One of the women MPs established confidence in her abilities to have motivated her to pursue a parliamentary seat; she

narrated, *“I was born a leader and always wanted to lead. I was a leader throughout my school life”* (Interviewee five, February 2021). For others, empowerment resulting from experience obtained through community service and local government leadership was a motivation. Interviewee Four established confidence gained through the representation of women and the trust women had in her in the community, and she revealed in her narrative that *“I had gained enough experience in the CSO enabling me to serve and represent people better at a higher level”* (Interviewee four, July 2021).

### **Motives from the Social-Cultural Environment**

Findings revealed motives derived from the social-cultural environment, like family members, to have been instrumental in driving some women to Parliament. For example, one of the women MPs narrated, *“My husband supported me a lot to join parliament; he always cracked his head; he is an exceptional man”* (Interviewee two, August 2021). Another woman MP recounted, *“My husband surrendered his opportunity to contest for parliamentary office in my favour. In addition, he did all the groundwork since he was a politician”* (Interviewee Five, July 2021). One more woman, MP, attributed her inspiration to support from family members like mothers, and she expressed that *“my mother was very instrumental in shaping my destiny. She taught me to be a responsible person, and she could always pray for me. She could mobilise and convince the village people to vote for me during the campaign”* (Interviewee Five, February 2021). She additionally attributes leadership skills obtained through the church and the inspiration of a woman MP in the open seat as a motive for a parliamentary seat. She recounted that

*“As a young girl, I was motivated by one WMP’s campaigns; I have never looked back; I immediately contested for the open seat after school”* (Interviewee five, February 2021).

Finally, the narration of one of the woman MPs revealed that her work in the community and representation of women’s interests won her the

trust of women's organisations; she was fronted and supported by women to seek a parliamentary seat to represent them (Interviewee four, July 2021). This finding aligns with literature that attributes the drive to political candidacy to voter mobilisation (Gulzar, 2018:2).

These findings show that women MPs recognised more than two motives to have driven them to Parliament. However, women also share a common set of motives, such as the representation of women's concerns and the need to improve service delivery and representation of communities. Therefore, the motives for seeking political office intersect and are varied and influenced by contextual factors. One key objective of this paper was to establish whether women's MPs' motives influence performance outcomes.

## **MOTIVES AND PERFORMANCE OF WOMEN MPS**

This paper argues that motives are primary incentives for representatives to pursue political office, which could better explain their performance. *Table 1* presents the relationship between the motives and performance of women MPs in representing and legislating constituency and women's concerns. The table presents the motives of five women MPs in the 10<sup>th</sup> Parliament of Uganda and their performance of representation of constituencies and women and legislation on national and women's concerns as established in the Hansard of the Tenth Parliament of Uganda (2016-2021). The motives of women MPs are related mainly to performance, as observed in the findings in *Table 1*.

### **Personal Motives Versus Performance of Women MPs**

Personal motives have a direct relationship with the job of MPs and, as such, are the primary drivers of women to Parliament, as evidenced by the findings that showed all five women to have been driven by a personal motive. The personal motives were universal to women MPs, although expressed differently. Findings revealed lived experiences, the need to improve service delivery,

address leadership gaps, dissatisfaction with women's limited representation, confidence, and possession of leadership qualities to drive women to elected parliamentary office. Interviewees Two, Three, and Five, whose motive was to address gaps in leadership, represented health, infrastructure, development funds, education, and women's interests but also legislated national concerns. Interviewees One, Two, and Four mentioned representations of women's concerns as a motive for parliamentary representation; of the three interviewees, Two and Five represented women's concerns and legislated them. Intrinsic motives are said to have the most favourable outcomes on performance (Vallerand, 2000) and are considered the most authentic drivers of action (Ryan and Deci, 2000)

**Table 1: Presenting the motives versus performance of WMPs in Uganda's 10th Parliament (2016-2021)**

Women MPs	Motives	Performance presented in the Hansard
One	Personal include representation of women's concerns and interests, Social culture are family, Male Elders	Health - 6/12/2016,19/5/2018 Infrastructure - 14/8/2018 Development funds - 26/7/2018 National concerns - 22/01/2020
Two	Personal representation of women's concerns and interests	Health - 13/3/2018 Education - 14/12/2017 Infrastructure - 18/5/2017,13/3/2018, 23/5/2017 land - 18/5/2017, 13/3/2018, 19/2/2017, 17/7/2018, 8/8/2018 Development funds 16/5/2018, 19/8/2016, 15/5/2018 Women's interests 22/2/2017, 17/1/2016, 27/8/2019 National concerns - 14/4/2020, 11/10/2020,6/10/2020,1/10/2020,6/10/2020 Women's concerns - 22/2/2017 Motions - 19/3/2020, 2/4/2020,17/6/2020, 6/10/2020, 4/2/2020
Three	Personal Gaps in leadership and representation	Health - 14/6/2016 Education - 9/8/2018 Infrastructure - 16/5/2017 National concerns - 27/5/2020 Women's concerns - 9/8/2018
Four	Personal representation of women's concerns and interests, Leadership skills, confidence Empowerment Social Cultural – Husbands, grassroots organisation	Health - 28/6/2018, 9/1/2018 Education - 31/5/2018 Infrastructure 28/11/2018, 13/12/2017 land - 6/9/2018, 31/5/2018, 28/11/2018, 11/7/2018, 13/12/2017, 1/2/2017, 10/5/2018, 7/11/2018, 6/9/2017 Women's interests 9/12/2017, 10/8/2016, 3/5/2021, 15/7/2020, 17/11/2017, 1/10/2018 National concerns - 24/9/2020, Women's concerns - 9/12/2017, 10/8/2016, 17/1/2016, 27/8/2019, 3/5/2021, 15/7/2020, 13/9/2017, 17/11/2017, 1/10/2018
Five	Personal Gaps in leadership and representation, Leadership skills Confidence Empowerment, Social Cultural include church, parent and role model inspiration	Health - 13/8/2018, 2/08/2016,17/08/2016, 12/9/2017 Infrastructure -14/5/2018 land -22/3/2016 Development funds 3/3/2016, 3/3/2016 Women's interests 9/8/2016, 14/8/2018, 2/3/2016, 20/9/2020, 20/6/2019, 27/8/2019, 13/9/2017 National concerns - 4/3/2020, 2/4/2020, 4/3/2020, 27/5/2020 Women's concerns - 9/8/2016, 14/8/2018, 2/3/2016, 20/9/2020, 20/6/2019, 27/8/2019 Motions - 4/2/2020, 16/6/2020, 7/7/2020, 2/4/2020, 19/3/2020

**Source** Field data 2021-2022, Hansard Parliament of Uganda 2016-2021



Personal motives result from concerns in women MPs' constituencies, mainly the effects of the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) war, which lasted for over 20 years. The wars' experiences and resultant effects on people inspired women MPs to pursue parliamentary seats. The war negatively affected communities' socioeconomic conditions, resulting in poor living conditions and inadequate social services. Wars usually carry the effect of exclusion and marginalisation of affected areas due to failed institutional structures (Lundgren et al., 2019). As such, the personal motives of women MPs were traced to poor socioeconomic conditions, exacerbated by poor service delivery, leadership, and poor representation of women.

Women's response to the poor socioeconomic conditions was exemplified in their representation of health, education, infrastructure, land, and equitable funding for development and legislation of national and women's concerns. Most women interviewed believed they would make a difference through their leadership. A study by Casimiro et al. (2009) established women's representation as a post-conflict recovery strategy in war-affected African countries. Other studies resonate with these findings; for example, Tamale (1999) established women's experiences of discrimination in colonial times in the reward for labour, including politics, to have driven women to seek political inclusion to advocate for their rights. Secondly, women's drives to represent women's concerns were consequential to their performance. Three of the four women who mentioned the representation of women as a motive represented and legislated women's concerns. The social context in which women MPs find themselves motivates them to pursue specific personal goals reflected in the representation of and legislation of women's concerns. Schmidt (1991), for example, revealed women's drives to have resulted from their advocacy against the effects of colonial administrative systems, for example, capitalism and patriarchy, the root cause of societal social, economic, and political inequalities. Women advocated for policies to ensure their inclusion and promote their rights in marriage and divorce,

inheritance, civic education, voting, and national politics (Tamale, 1999). Policy responses that reflect people's experiences are likely to be more inclusive of their needs and impactful (McIntosh and Wright, 2019).

Furthermore, personal motives like confidence, possession of leadership qualities and empowerment reinforce personal motives to result in better performance. Interviewee Five attained leadership qualities through socialisation institutions, like the church and family; she narrated that "*the church is where I started my politics. The catechist identified me as a Sunday school teacher, and that is where I learnt leadership skills*" (interviewee Five, March 2021). A further narration of the woman MP is, "*I learnt a lot about politics from my father-in-law, who was, at that time, the chairman of the UPC party. He did a lot in helping me to identify gaps in the leadership of our constituency, and I was encouraged to contest....*" (ibid). Similarly, leadership skills acquired through experience, training, and natural charisma through birth influence performance outcomes positively. Women MPs who manifested confidence and leadership skills as additional drives had better performance outcomes. However, a much better performance is displayed by interviewee Four with an additional grassroots inspiration.

However, some women's performances deviated from their motives. Interviewee Three legislated women's concerns, although she did not mention the representation of women as her motive for elected parliamentary seats. Similarly, interviewee Five represented and legislated women's concerns although not motivated by the representation of women's concerns. In contrast, although inspired by the need to represent women's concerns, Interviewee One did not represent or legislate them. Four women MPs did represent women's concerns. representation of women's concerns is therefore not generalisable to all women. Literature establishes that some elected women may not necessarily place women's concerns on their agenda (Clayton, 2016). Women resent supporting women-friendly issues due to party loyalty; for example, some

members of the NRM did not support some clauses in the Domestic Relations bill because it was not in the interest of their party. One MP once noted that “... *if all MPs on AAs and those on open seats were for the interest of women, how come the Domestic Relations Bill failed to pass?* (Betty Nambooze Bakireke, Daily Monitor, April 11, 2014). Personal motives can be ineffective if affected by factors like party priorities, loyalty, and political factors in the environment.

Deviation from stated motives results from the dynamic situations in the represented social and political environments and expectations. The change to an MP's status, like getting a political appointment as a minister, taking on party leadership and joining the NRM, the ruling party from the opposition, has caused some MPs to deviate from their stated motives. A study established that human beings manifest proactive and passive traits due to the social conditions in which they perform (Ryan & Deci, 2000). Party loyalty, for example, shatters MPs' ambitions. MPs who join or belong to the ruling NRM party must demonstrate loyalty to their party due to patronage characteristics of the ruling government. Patronage of the NRM government has been established to hinder women's political performance by killing women's ambitions in favour of party interests (Tripp, 2020). Women's performance degenerates irrespective of their motives to Parliament.

This paper argues that most women MPs are driven by Personal (intrinsic) motives directly related to their jobs. Lived experiences, dissatisfaction with leadership, poor service delivery, and the limited representation of women are self-inspired drives. However, social and political factors like ministerial appointments, party membership, institutional values, norms, and priorities weaken inherent motives, frustrating the pursuit of goals and responsibility. Ryan & Deci (2000) revealed that external forces negatively affect intrinsic motivation, thereby demotivating individuals. How MPs respond to external forces determines whether they will stick to or deviate from their motives. This paper analyses that motives and performance are

contextual and situational. The performance differences of women MPs with similar motives exemplify the contextual and situational nature of motive and performance. A study by Ryan & Deci (2000) argued that the social context presents differences within and between people, making people more energised, self-motivated and integrated into situations than others.

### **Social-Cultural Motives and Performance of Women MPs**

The social-cultural motives established in this study include grassroots movements, male elders, and family. Family members, mainly male spouses, are the most significant influence on women who contested for parliamentary seats. Husbands influenced WMPs' political journeys in two ways: as drivers of WMPs to hunt for elected office and as supporters of social, moral, and financial aspects of their trajectory to Parliament. Spousal support was one drive of women to Parliament established by two MPs not primarily into politics, but their husbands persuaded and supported them to pursue elected Parliamentary office. These motives did not have a direct link to performance but were more of enablers for women to seek political offices.

Male elders drove one woman MP to contest in AAS and, consequently, the open seat in the subsequent elections. Patriarchy is the custodian of values and norms and regulates gender relations, resulting in women's oppression in seeking political opportunities (Stanley & Wise, 1994). Contrary to the typical discourse that patriarchy is a significant obstacle to women's political engagement, some women had the support of male elders in Parliament. For example, one of the women MPs contested the open seat based on recommendations from male elders. The elders' support is due to the women MPs' track record of performance in the women's district representative seat. However, elders as a motive, like family support, are more of an enabler to Parliament than an influencer of performance.

The motives attributed to grassroots organisations result from trust in the representative based on prior, effective representation. The positive influence of grassroots motive on performance is evident in the better performance of one-woman MP driven by this motive compared to those not inspired by other motives. Literature reinforces grassroots drives as effective for performance outcomes; for example, the women's movement in the pre-independence era in the early 1960s pressured educated women, mostly from noble families, to join politics (Tripp, 2020). At the time, women's advocacy was on laws aimed at patriarchy and family welfare (Tripp et al., 2008). The women under their umbrella body, the National Council for Women, pushed for the Kalema Commission on marriage, divorce, and the status of women (Tripp et al., 2008). Furthermore, Ntiro, a member of the Legislative Council (LEGCO), tabled a private members bill on the registration of marriages to protect children and women in oppressive marriages (Goetz, 2002b).

The pursuit of social-cultural motives is regulated by the interests of the represented, rewards such as recognition, electoral support and success, avoidance of guilt and the desire of representatives to maintain their status. The women's movements influence performance because there are expectations and rewards from the social environment. When there is fear of being accountable or reprimanded by voters and grassroots movements, the representatives perform. When non-performance has no consequences, representatives develop laxity. Ryan & Deci (2000) argued that a sense of personal commitment to perform or fear of surveillance may arise, which may regulate performance. In this circumstance, motives may influence performance when strong forces, rewards and consequences exist in the social and cultural environment. The characteristics, interests and expectations of the motivators and the judgement of representatives regulate social-cultural motives and, consequently, performance.

## CONCLUSION

Why women take on the AAs or the open seat is due to overlapping personal and socio-cultural factors. The stereotypical construction of the AA seat has conditioned women to choose the AA seat. However, stereotypical views supposedly are not the only reason for women to take on either the open or AA seat; an additional significant reason is peaceful reasons and the strategy of winning the seat. Women, usually the AAs, analyse the chances of winning the seat, which motivates them to contest for a particular seat. Similarly, parties drive women to contest on the AAs as a strategy to win seats because they perceive women as uncompetitive for the open seats. Other reasons for contesting for either seat are support from male elders, new district and county creation, empowerment, and confidence. Experience and empowerment are necessary for the open seat because they act as a shield against insults and intimidation in a political environment against women's contests for the open seat. Categorically, more reasons drive women to contest for the AA seat relative to the open seats, and this could explain why there are more women in the AAs than the open seats in Uganda's tenth Parliament.

This study has exposed that motives and performance have a significant relationship. However, there are variations in the motives of some women MPs vis-à-vis their performance. For example, some women MPs did not mention the need to improve service delivery or represent women as drivers but eventually represented and legislated the concerns. Also noticeable is that all women MPs represented the varied needs of their constituencies. Findings reveal motives to be consequential to performance; personal motives have proved to be more influential than social-cultural motives. However, some social-cultural motives, such as grassroots organisations, have additional influences on performance.

Women MPs are not essentially driven to Parliament by the mere existence of the AAs or symbolic reasons but by personal and social-cultural motives. Women's personal and social-cultural drives determine how women engage in their roles in Parliament, thus influencing

performance. Whereas the personal and social-cultural motives drove women, the intrinsic drives primarily influenced performance. The findings agree with the self-determination theory's assumptions that personal motivation (intrinsic) affects performance better than social-cultural (extrinsic) motives. Compared to the social and cultural motives, the personal (intrinsic) motives directly related to the performance of women MPs are demonstrated through their representation of constituencies and women's concerns and legislating them.

Variation in motives versus performance is due to social and contextual factors in decision-making spaces. Contextual factors such as political promises, bribes, and tangible rewards positively influence or divert women's motives. On the one hand, some women MPs lose their autonomy to chase personal goals because of the government's surveillance, ) of those in the ruling party and the fear of losing privileges. On the other hand, some women exercise self-control and resist external influences, particularly government patronage, to follow personal goals. This paper has exposed that most politicians pursue performance based on intrinsic drives amidst social contextual factors, a circumstance where MPs desist from externally driven social and political factors reflected in their performance relative to their motives.

The family and elders were mostly enablers of women MPs to Parliament by providing moral and financial support. However, some social-cultural drives, such as grassroots and role models, complement personal motives to enhance performance. The characteristics of grassroots, the level of influence of the role model, and expected rewards by MPs influence performance. Therefore, although personal and social-cultural motives differ, both categories of motives are situational and context-specific.

A further conclusion of this study is that understanding the motives of politicians for political office is complicated; all politicians claim to be motivated by the desire to serve and bring desirable change to their society in terms of representing their needs better and enhancing

service provision. No politician comes out openly to say they are self-seeking or that their drive for political office is the remuneration and benefits that come with it. Self-seeking behaviour was demonstrated by politicians who deviate from their goals and prioritise party interests over constituency interests, which compromises their performance.

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