

*“I have come to the conclusion
that politics is too serious a matter
to be left to politicians...”*

Charles De Gaulle, French Statesman

**PUTTING CITIZENS AT THE FOREFRONT OF SHAPING A DEMOCRATIC
AND AN ACCOUNTABLE POLITICAL SYSTEM IN UGANDA**

A CITIZENS' MANIFESTO BACKGROUND AND PROCESS PAPER

March 2010

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Abbreviations

ACODE	Advocates Coalition on Development and Environment
AFLI	Africa Leadership Institute
APG	Acholi Parliamentary Group
APRM	African Peer Review Mechanism
CBR	Centre for Basic Research
CDRN	Community Development and Resource Network
CM	Citizens' Manifesto
CODI	Community Development and Child Welfare Initiatives
DENIVA	Development Network of Indigenous Voluntary Associations
DSC	District Security Committee
DPAC	District Public Accounts Committee
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
HURIFO	Human Rights Focus
IGG	Inspector General of Government
KII	Key Informant Interview
KM	Kacoke Madit
LC	Local Council
MDAs	Ministries Departments and Agencies
MOPA-U	Movement for Political Accountability in Uganda
MP	Member of Parliament
ToT	Training of Trainers
UJCC	Uganda Joint Christian Council
UGMP	Uganda Governance Monitoring Platform
UHRC	Uganda Human Rights Commission
UNNGOF	Uganda National NGO Forum
UPDF	Uganda People's Defence Forces

Foreword

In its Governance Trends Analysis Report released in April 2009, the Uganda Governance Monitoring Platform (UGMP) observes that despite the commendable gains in the democratization process registered in Uganda from the mid-80s through the 1990s, Uganda still faces very systemic challenges in its democracy trajectory.

One of the key drawbacks in the democratization process is the low level of civic competence and citizen agency which has resulted in a disequilibrium between the supply and demand side of good governance, and specifically the inability of citizens to articulate their demands for which the political system ought to respond and upon which leadership success or otherwise can be gauged. In a citizen methodology workshop in 2009, a participant summed up the essence of the citizens' manifesto when she queried, '...we would like to hold our leaders accountable, but are not sure about a concrete agenda upon which to hold them accountable ...'

To redress this situation, a group of civil society organizations, building on several experiences in the past have initiated and are working around a citizens' manifesto process that aims to generate a citizens' political demand upon which to hold various elected leaders accountable and upon which the responsiveness of the political system can be assessed. We aim to generate a bottom-up citizen political demand for 2011 and beyond, around which a country-wide movement for political accountability will be anchored in the post-2011 epoch.

This Background and Process Paper articulates the Citizens' Manifesto Initiative as a venture that is potentially as exciting as it will be challenging. It is a path that is sure to be rocky, but a noble cause on which we cannot renege. With the first and important steps taken in this long and protracted journey, we need all the courage and determination to move, as collectively we are making a critical contribution to Uganda's democratization process.



Prof. J.B. Kwesiga
Chairperson, UGMP

1.0 Introduction

1.1 UGMP and the Idea of the Citizens' Manifesto

The Citizens' Manifesto (CM) is an initiative conceived by the Uganda Governance Monitoring Platform (UGMP), a civil society governance monitoring group dedicated to improving the state of governance in Uganda through research, lobbying and advocacy, and promoting citizen/public debate on important governance issues in the country. In 2009, UGMP, responding to several years of monitoring and reporting on governance trends in Uganda conceptualized the Citizens' Manifesto process as an initiative with a good prospect of placing Ugandan citizens at the forefront of shaping the political future of Uganda. It was conceived in the wake of realizing that citizen apathy was a major hindrance to the quest for good governance and that the political system was not optimally responsive to the socio-economic demands of citizens, in part because these demands were not properly articulated for the political system to respond to.

The Citizens' Manifesto Initiative therefore aims to strengthen the basis for citizens to hold leaders accountable by developing a manifesto that reflects citizens' political, social and economic demands against which leadership success or failure will be gauged. The intended results of a successful CM are thus:

- An informed and civically competent citizenry that relates to leaders from a position of power and empowerment.
- Objective reasoning informing citizens' choices of leaders at different levels.
- A mechanism for sustained dialogues/ conversations between citizens and leaders established.
- A politically conscious and proactive citizenry that effectively participates in the democratization process.
- A people-centred political system and leadership that are responsive to citizens' demands and priorities.

The Citizens' Manifesto Initiative is therefore an organised political process that involves a coordinated effort of people to inform and change policies, practices, ideas, values that perpetuate inequality, prejudice and exclusion. We aim to strengthen citizens' capacity as decision-makers and build more accountable institutions of power.

1.2 For whom is this Citizen Manifesto Background and Methodology paper written?

The Citizens' Manifesto as a process involves a multiplicity of actors. While most of the drivers are from civil society, broadly defined to include non-governmental organizations (NGOs), Professional Associations, Workers' Unions, Farmers' Federation and the Student/Youth Movement, these civil society configurations have different traditions in Uganda's political set-up. This methodology and process paper for the citizens' manifesto has been written¹ for two audiences. The **primary audience** are all Citizens' Manifesto Partners and Collaborators who will be directly involved in collecting, analyzing and advocating for the issues that will ensue from the citizens' manifesto process. In this regard, therefore, this methodology paper should serve as a guide to them. This is important because for a process of this nature, it is crucial that the outcomes of the multiple citizen consultations reflect the true aspirations of citizens. A clear methodology and process is also important to safeguard the integrity and credibility of the citizens' manifesto which will be marketed to different political players as a bottom-up political demand of 'the Uganda' many Ugandans desire. The **secondary audience** is other stakeholders interested, but not directly involved in the actual process of developing the Citizens' Manifesto. For this group, which include political parties, ordinary citizens, the wider civil society, development partners, other interest groups and the wider public, it is important that the methodology used is seen as robust enough and as politically impartial as possible so as to engender confidence in the final citizens' manifesto outcomes.

1.3 Where do we derive the legitimacy to engage in this work?

The Citizens' Manifesto Partners aim to mobilize thousands of citizens from across the country to make demands to their leaders on the quality, transparency and accountability in the political system in the 2011 elections and beyond. This is a noble cause that is supported by various legislative and administrative provisions, most notably the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda 1995. The Constitution asserts the supremacy of Ugandan citizens in their governance. Article 1 (2) states that, '...all authority of the state emanates from the people of Uganda; and the people shall be governed through their will and consent'. Sub section (4) adds that 'the people shall express their will and consent on who shall govern them and how they should be governed, through regular, free and fair elections of their representatives or through referenda'.

The Constitution also acknowledges the important role civic organisations play in galvanizing citizen agency in their governance and the democratization process. Article 38 (2) states that, '...every Ugandan has the right to participate in peaceful activities to influence the policies of government through civic organisations'.

The citizens' manifesto process, therefore, aims to contribute to the process of preparing citizens to meaningfully exercise their fundamental rights and responsibilities. The leadership role played by civil society organizations and, by extension, every individual working to ensure that the CM initiative is successful is equally supported by the Supreme Law of the land.

¹ The paper was put together by a team of three persons: Frank Muhereza of CBR, Benson Ekwee of PAC and Arthur Larok of UNNGOF, with input from all the Citizens' Manifesto Partners who attended a retreat in Masindi in March 2010.

Duties of a Citizen derived from the National Objectives and Directive Principles of State Policy - Constitution of Uganda

- a) To be patriotic and loyal to Uganda and to promote its wellbeing;
- b) To engage in gainful work for the good of the citizen, the family and the common good, and contribute to national development;
- c) To contribute to the wellbeing of the community where the citizen lives;
- d) To promote responsible parenthood;
- e) To foster national unity and live in harmony with others;
- f) Promote democracy and the rule of law;
- g) To acquaint him or herself with the provisions of the Constitution and to uphold and defend the constitution and the law

1.4 The structure of the Methodology Paper

The rest of this Citizen Manifesto Background and Process Paper is divided into seven short sections. Immediately following is **Section 2** which presents a Uganda country governance context review with a focus on democracy and elections. Following that, in **Section 3**, is a conceptual framework for the citizens' manifesto which emphasizes the need to look at the Citizens' Manifesto Initiative, not as a benign process, but one that seeks to redress structural power relations that inhibit citizen agency. In **Section 4**, we present some principles for the citizens' manifesto process that should guide all implementing partners in developing their inputs. In **Section 5**, we present important methodological, process and protocol issues that Citizens' Manifesto Partners should observe in the course of the consultative process.

Section 6 describes the technical support and backstopping function and how it will be delivered, where it is needed. **Section 7** lays out ideas of post-citizens' manifesto agenda which aims to have the Citizens' Manifesto popularized, disseminated and marketed to different actors in the run up to the 2011 elections and beyond. **Section 8** suggests a framework for post-election citizen surgeries and other important processes critical for sustaining the Citizens' Manifesto process beyond the 2011 elections.

Finally in the annex, there is a roadmap of the CM process, a profile of elective leadership positions and some guiding questions for citizen consultations.

2.0 Contextual Analysis

2.1 A Uganda Country Governance Overview: Progress and Deficits

2.1.1 Defining Good Governance

To govern means to exercise authority. Governance refers to the process of exercising authority. Good governance refers to the process of exercising authority derived from the people, based on respect for the rule of law, observance of human rights and diversity, emphasizing transparent, accountable and responsive institutions which foster inclusive participation so as to empower the governed to enjoy equitable and sustainable growth, employment and prosperity. Good governance, therefore, means not only putting in place well-functioning and accountable requisite institutions and structures through which authority is exercised but also exercising the authority on the basis of democratic principles in which citizens participate in choosing their government at all levels, and shaping and influencing policies and programmes that affect their lives.

2.1.2 Progress made in promotion of Good Governance

Under the National Resistance Movement (NRM) government, commendable progress has been made to restore constitutional rule especially with the promulgation of the 1995 Constitution. The three arms of government - namely the Legislature, the Executive and the Judiciary - are functional, although there are systemic challenges. Several other institutions for promoting democracy provided for in the 1995 Constitution have also been put in place, including an array of accountability institutions for not only constituting political office (the Electoral Commission) but also for fighting corruption and abuse of office such as the Auditor General, the Inspectorate of Government (IGG) and the Uganda Human Rights Commission (UHRC). Regular elections have been held to constitute all elective political offices at all levels, including the Parliament where Special Interest Groups are represented. Significant support has been provided to enhance the capacity of the Judiciary. Support has been provided in the establishment of criminal and civil courts countrywide. The Executive arm of government has put in place an elaborate machinery of Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs) at the centre and various security agencies charged with promoting and protecting the rule of law, including the Uganda People's Defense Forces (UPDF) and Uganda Police. Local Councils have been established from the village to the district level to provide citizens with opportunity to choose their leaders and, in principle, participate in the formulation and implementation of policies and programmes that affect their lives.

2.1.3 Good Governance Deficits and Challenges

While the three arms of government are all to a large degree functional, they exhibit varying degrees of respect for each other's constitutional mandate. There have been some infringements by the Executive on the independence of the Judiciary and Legislature. The political transition from the Movement political system to multi-party political system has not yet adequately nurtured citizen engagement in political processes. Institutions established to promote democracy and good governance not only lack adequate resources to function effectively, but have not been matched by an increase in citizen responsibility, ownership of the development process and an enhanced sense of citizenship.

There are widespread concerns regarding the legitimacy of electoral outcomes largely due to the concerns about the credibility of the electoral processes. Not only has the composition of the Electoral Commission come under question, but also its impartiality and independence, as well as the lack of security of tenure of officials of the Electoral Commission. Contentions abound regarding the voters' register, disenfranchisement, boundary demarcation, voter intimidation, vote buying, election violence, and access to the media during the campaign and election period. Inadequate financial, human and Infrastructural resources inhibit the work of the Electoral Commission. The African Peer Review Mechanism Country Report (2008) notes that Ugandans lack basic information regarding when to vote, who to vote and why, how to vote and when. When available, resources are usually not provided in time to enable the Electoral Commission to effectively execute its mandate, especially of civic education in general and voter education in particular.

The last two decades have been marked by the emergence of civil society organizations that frequently engage various arms of government in policy debates and advocacy on democracy and good governance issues. However, they face several challenges with regard to guiding policy and regulatory framework. The citizenry in general is not yet optimally empowered to engage effectively in demanding their development rights and meeting their obligations. While decentralization may have transferred some functions and decision-making powers, staff and resources to local councils, a number of challenges including constraints to accountability, lack of financial and institutional capacity, and the proliferation of districts whose sustenance exerts a heavy burden on public administration expenditure have undermined efforts towards sustained improvement in service delivery.

2.1.4 The Democracy and Governance Dilemma

The overriding focus on constitutional democracy issues is wrought with some inconsistencies between the procedural objectives of new democratic processes and the instrumental objectives of the state. Government has endeavoured to achieve a balance between the instrumental values of democracy (e.g. enhancing delivery of basic social services such as access to water, education, primary health care and achieving local development, such as improved feeder roads, etc) and the intrinsic values of democracy (especially increased downward public accountability and other procedural requirements of democratic governance). At the lowest level of government

where power to the people can be most felt, the instrumental values of democracy (the social services) are often delivered with or without democratic institutions and good governance. While institutions for enhancing constitutional democracy in Uganda (including the Judiciary, legislature, watchdog agencies - as evidence from service delivery surveys) have been strengthened, the limitations on these institutions to be publicly accountable to the population through various civic mechanisms constrain the achievement of good governance.

2.2 The Locus of the Citizen Manifesto

To deliver services at the expense of diminished instrumental leverage of public accountability undermines democracy. The challenge for good governance is the extent to which focus can be placed on achieving the instrumental objectives of democracy without undermining its intrinsic values. The future of democracy and good governance for Uganda, therefore, lies in the ability to enhance the achievement of the intrinsic values of democracy through higher civic empowerment and engagement while upholding the realization of its instrumental objectives. The Citizens' Manifesto Initiative seeks to reverse citizen apathy in political governance which manifests itself at all levels through their failure to demand for accountability from their political leaders. When the leaders have tried to be accountable downwards to the citizens, the issues around which this accountability has been undertaken have not been mutually agreed upon between the citizens and their leaders. Many times, it has not been properly appreciated that political leaders have an obligation to account downwardly to the citizenry. This has generated a polity largely characterized by empty promises made by political leaders. The absence of a 'social contract' between citizens and political leaders has made citizen action largely ineffectual, while the resulting inaction has generated undesirable consequences for democracy and governance. Where citizens want to hold their leaders to account, it is always not clear on what issues and benchmarks the leaders should be held accountable.

The CM Initiative is, therefore, intended to bring about a change in the way people are governed by creating a popular citizen-rooted agenda around which leaders can be called to account.

3.0 Conceptual Framework for the Citizens' Manifesto

This section explains the logic of the Citizens' Manifesto initiative as an empowering citizen agency process with potential to reshape the political spectrum. It starts with a demystification of the concept politics and power and locates the critical role ordinary citizens, if well organized, can play in politics and redress power imbalance. A brief mapping of similar initiatives undertaken elsewhere is then presented in order to draw lessons for the Uganda CM process. An illustrated conceptual framework is then presented with a discussion of the kind of information expected to be generated in the CM process.

3.1 Demystifying the Concept of Politics

"Democratic governance is a task of citizens as well as governments ... citizens are owners of society...the government is made by the people... and the people are you and me simply..."

Zimbabwean Activist

In many countries and communities, people feel jittery about getting involved in politics. Some feel that politics is a distant and inaccessible land where only powerful tread², In Uganda, a research in 2004 established that many NGO leaders sounded very apprehensive when the issue of multiparty politics was raised, insisting that 'politics is best left to politicians'³. However, promoting inclusive politics and policy-making through advocacy, as we are trying to do in the CM process, involves understanding and addressing power dynamics that perpetuate disadvantage and or privilege for a few. Over time, politics has come to be understood in at least two broad perspectives - formal and informal. The former refers mainly to formal institutions such as legislatures, national and district assemblies, political parties, governments, international agencies, public policy and resources, while the latter is largely what happens in civil society, families, communities, neighbourhoods and organizations. All social relationships and dynamics are therefore inherently political and the perception that politics is only the privilege of those in formal political power serves to reinforce exclusion and perpetuates people's sense of powerlessness about their ability to create change.

In this paper and indeed in the CM process, a holistic understanding of politics is emphasised. We are concerned with activities within and outside the formal realm, that seek not only to influence public decisions, but to reshape the values and structures of public decision-making to be more inclusive and equitable.

²Lisa VeneKlasen and Valerie Miller: A new weave of people, power and politics - the Action Guide for advocacy and citizen participation

³John De Coninck, 2004: "Politics is [Best] left to Politicians..."

Politics in this sense can be viewed as a dynamic and often unequal process of negotiations and decision-making, in both formal and informal spheres, that determines access to resources and opportunities. In all this, citizens have an important role to play and thus the effort to mobilize them to play this role remains, not just noble, but essential. The CM initiative is therefore an organized political process that involves a coordinated effort of people to inform and change policies, practices, ideas, values that perpetuate inequality, prejudice and exclusion. We aim to strengthen citizens' capacity as decision-makers and build more accountable institutions of power.

3.2 The Citizen Manifesto and the Question of Power

"...power is simply the ability to achieve a purpose...and whether or not it is good or bad depends on the purpose..."

Martin Luther King Jr.

Like politics, the concept of power is many a time misunderstood and or manipulated. Many leaders understand power negatively, as being control and domination - something that cannot be shared without shaking its centre - rather than seeing it in a positive light, as something that enables⁴. Like politics, power can be understood in two broad strands⁵ - **power over** and **popular power**.

3.2.1 Power Over

This is the most commonly recognised form of power and draws largely from a tradition of dominance, with its associated negative connotations [repression, coercion, force, corruption, discrimination and abuse]. Having power most often involves taking it from someone else and using it to prevent others from gaining it. Power over can be manifested at three levels:

a) visible power - in which instruments of exercising power are vested in formal institutions such as parliament, the police, judiciary and various executive agencies. Visible power can discriminate against certain interests and people through biased laws and policies which on surface value may seem neutral, but on closer inspection they clearly serve one group or perpetuate corrupt, closed and unrepresentative decision-making;

b) hidden power - which unlike visible power, is less obvious. In this case, powerful people and institutions maintain their influence by controlling who gets onto the decision-making table from where dynamics militate against less powerful groups; c) finally, power over can be manifested at a level where it is invisible - this operates in ways that render competing interests invisible. Here problems and issues are not only kept away from the decision-making table, but also from the minds and consciousness of people, especially those affected by a situation. Processes of socialization, culture and ideology perpetuate exclusion and inequality by defining what is normal and acceptable.

⁴Lisa VeneKlasen and Valerie Miller, op.cit.

⁵See Lisa VeneKlasen and Valerie Miller for an extended and accessible narrative on power and how it used. This section of the paper draws significantly from their analysis of power dynamics in citizen agency work

3.2.2 Popular Power

Popular power, unlike power over is about creating conditions through which citizens can coalesce and engage with injustice, exclusion and oppression. Popular power is expressed in three ways: **a) power with; b) power to;** and **c) power within.** **Power with**, has to do with finding common ground among different interests and building collective strengths. **Power to**, on the other hand is inspired by the belief that every individual has a unique potential to shape his or her world. When based on mutual support, it opens possibilities for joint action leading to power with. Lastly, **power within** is the capacity to imagine and have hope. It builds on a person's sense of self-worth and self-knowledge. When brought together to achieve a positive purpose, 'power to', 'power within' and 'power with' can challenge and transform entrenched and exploitative power relations.

It is from the immediately preceding understanding of power that the citizens' manifesto conceptual framework is built. Power is presented as an integral dynamic of politics; and thus defining, analysing and building power is a vital and continual part of citizen-centred advocacy.

3.3 Learning from like-initiatives in and out of Uganda

The UGMP Citizens' Manifesto Process is not entirely new; it builds on the ideas from past and ongoing similar initiatives both in Uganda and elsewhere. This section reviews some of the key like-initiatives to draw lessons and also present the unique elements in the CM process.

3.3.1 The Minimum Agenda and Civil Society Organization Assessment of Political Party Manifestos in 2006

In the run up to the 2006 General Elections, civil society organizations (CSOs) under the auspices of the Minimum Agenda promoted by UJCC, DENIVA, CDRN and National NGO Forum developed a Minimum Agenda for peace and development as a tool to mobilize citizens to exact commitments from leaders to values that would guarantee peace and development in Uganda. The Minimum Agenda Values included: Integrity and Accountability, Transparent Decision-making, Active Citizen Participation, Peaceful Coexistence, Tolerance and Reconciliation, Effective Sharing and Separation of Power, Openness to Change and Willingness to Negotiate, and Equitable Distribution of Resources. The Minimum Agenda was disseminated to CSOs and Local Government and to an extent Political Parties. A month to the elections, the Minimum Agenda Values were used as benchmarks to assess which political party manifesto best reflected the values enshrined in the Minimum Agenda. This analysis was then widely disseminated through the media with the intention of informing public opinion and choice.

However, while the Minimum Agenda and the Political Party Manifesto analyses were commendable, the latter was done late and thus no effective outreach was possible. Secondly, by their very nature, Minimum Agenda Values were easily accepted by Political Parties, but

without concrete commitments on how they would deal with them when elected. Additionally, the Minimum Agenda did not have a strong mechanism to track commitments beyond the elections and so bark, it may have done, bite it could not.

3.3.2 Peace Manifestos in Northern Uganda and in Ghana - 2001/2008

In 2001, the Kacoke Madit (KM), Acholi Parliamentary Group (APG), Acholi Religious Leaders Peace Initiative and Human Rights Focus developed a Peace Manifesto that was marketed to Presidential Candidates in the run up to the 2001 elections. The Peace Manifesto called upon Presidential Candidates to commit themselves to a peaceful election campaign and to take action to strengthen the peace resolve by expanding the amnesty process, recommit themselves to a peaceful approach to resolving the conflict in Uganda and appoint a Presidential Peace Delegation to take forward the peace process with all armed rebels in Uganda. The promoting organisations for the Peace Manifesto also resolved to widely disseminate the manifesto and recommended that voters elect presidential candidates who commit themselves to the ideals articulated in it. The Peace Manifesto was a commendable citizens' agenda that resonated with the mood at the time. It presented specific demands that could be easily signed up to. However, the extent to which it was publicized was limited and different presidential candidates were not publically made to sign up to the commitments and so wide public action to hold these candidates accountable was not possible.

In Ghana in the 2008 Presidential Elections, civil society organizations led a peace, tolerance and non-violence campaign prior to, during and after the elections. Through engagements with political leaders, parties and the public through media, CSOs were able to galvanize public demand for non-violent elections in which every leader, public figure and TV/radio presenter emphasized a message for peace, tolerance and non-violence before any news, utterance, rally or discussion. This campaign in Ghana was acclaimed as critical to averting violence in a highly charged and politically-polarized environment.

3.3.3 Citizens' Manifesto Days and Popular Leaders' Accountability Forums

In yet another interesting civil society-led citizen-leaders accountability initiative, the Development Network of Indigenous Associations (DENIVA), its members and affiliated networks have since 2006 been running interesting Citizens' Manifesto Days in the Eastern and Rwenzori Regions of Uganda. This model focuses on mobilizing citizens and the electorate to hold their leaders accountable through popular public hearings where different leaders are called to explain or respond to citizens' questions about an array of issues. Over time, the most popular issues discussed have included corruption, public service delivery and local challenges faced by the electorate. In a similar vein, organizations such as Apac NGO Link Forum, the Apac Anti Corruption Coalition, Public Affairs Centre in Soroti, CODI and Luweero NGO Forum have been facilitating similar citizens-leaders forums in their areas of operations.

While these efforts are commendable, they have not always been based on a set of identified priorities upon which leaders and citizens agree to, prior to the elections. As such, these citizens-leaders accountability platforms have tended to be post-mortem undertakings, rather than based on carefully negotiated 'social contracts' with leaders. They have also been pitched more at

service delivery levels and not directly linked to the political cycle and thus taken the fashion of conventional question, answer and explanation approaches without a strong and biting political accountability dimension.

3.3.4 Social Contracts in the Philippines - 2004

In the Philippines, a consortium of local NGOs organized country-level citizen interest aggregation as a basis for a 'social contract' that bound leaders to pre-election priority issues. Several community consultations were held prior to the elections which came up with citizen-generated development needs and aspirations which were then placed on the political campaign platforms and candidates' forums where aspiring leaders were asked to sign up to and also share their views and strategies in response to the people's demands. In the post-election epoch, citizens would regularly interface with their leaders to track and monitor progress towards realizing the agreed priorities in the citizen-leaders 'social contracts'.

3.3.5 Summary and Lessons from the above experiences

From the overview of similar initiatives above a number of important lessons are discernable. The first and most obvious is that citizens, if well mobilized can be a force to reckon with in the electoral process. The other lessons include the need to have interventions that span the pre, during and post-election periods, all with different strategies and target audiences. We also learn about the need to operate at scale, be clear and specific on the political demands as in the case of the Peace Manifesto and also the need to work at different levels of political organizing. We also learn about the need to exact leadership commitment and action and not simply 'disseminate' and 'share' the CM and other interlinked products.

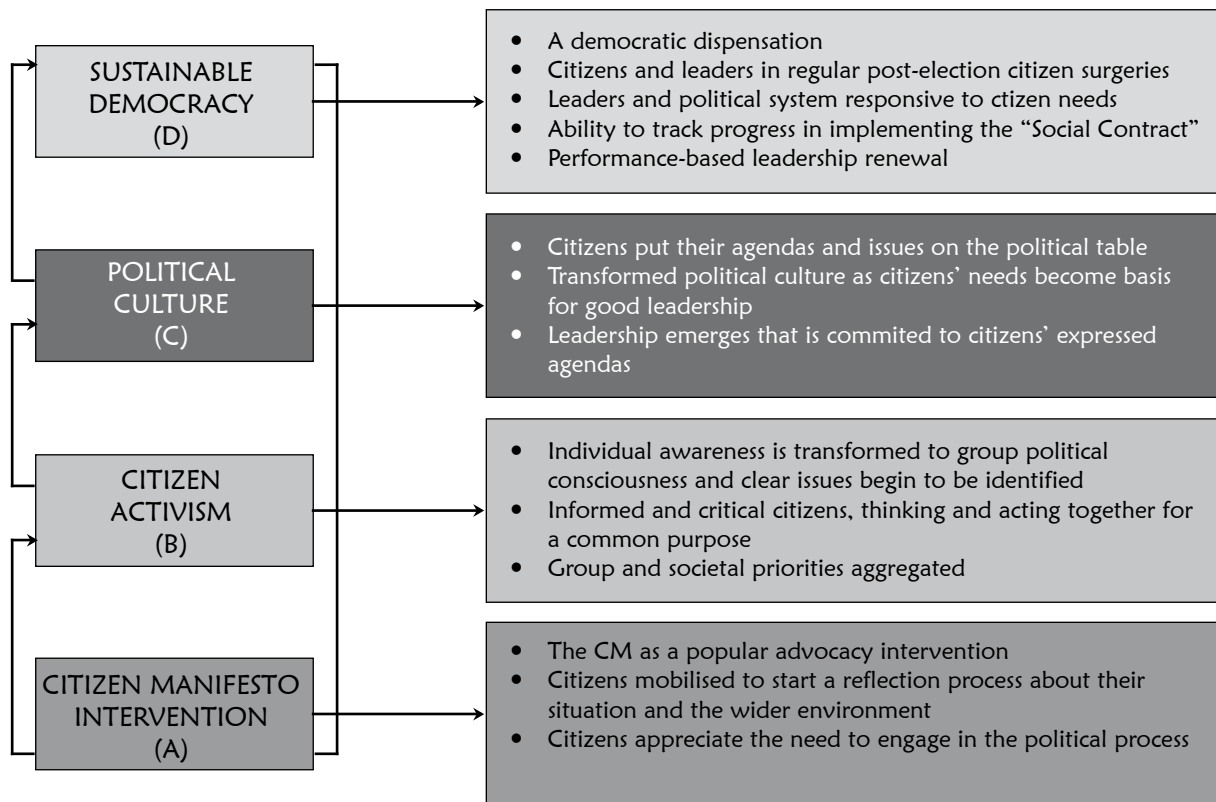
The present CM process derives lessons from all the aforementioned processes and experiences. However, by and large, context notwithstanding, the experience from Philippines is probably the closest to what we are aiming to do in the Citizens' Manifesto process in Uganda. The Philippines experience spanned the entire electoral process, used the 'social contract' approach to build citizens-leaders' consensus on what needs to be done, how and with what expected outcomes and organised a series of post-election citizens-leaders' engagements.

As such the CM process in Uganda draws a lot of practical lessons from the Philippines case, details of which are presented in the next section.

3.4 The Logic of building citizen agency and shaping a democratic and accountable political system

From all the preceding sections, including the discussions and narratives on power and politics, the citizens' manifesto is presented as a Four-Stage process building citizen agency from below and working upwards to a democratic dispensation.

The undertakings are framed to fall in three main phases: prior to the elections, during the elections, and, finally, post-election undertakings to sustain the ongoing nature of the Citizens' Manifesto process as illustrated below.



In the **Pre-Election Phase**, focus is on civic education-related interventions to build momentum and interest in citizen participation in the electoral process. Here the nature of the political process as well as the role of citizens is explained. The profile of key elective leadership positions and their mandated roles are understood. Citizens are made to appreciate that their actions in the electoral process are crucial to build and strengthen the foundations of democratic governance. Citizens, more than anyone else should be at the forefront of shaping the agenda for which the political system and the players therein have to respond. At this stage (A), the focus is on creating individual and group critical political consciousness. People reflect and begin to understand their individual and wider environment; their needs, potential, opportunities and possibilities.

This self-realization is transformed into a more collective, critical and active citizen-agenda-setting stage where citizens begin to shape their demands for action in (B). Common demands begin to emerge and prioritized at household, community, district, regional and national levels. At household level, for instance, basic livelihood issues may emerge requiring policy responses; at community level, basic needs and infrastructure for a good life may be generated (feeder

roads, markets, water points, etc); while at district and regional levels, more large-scale demands may emerge which could be of policy or programme nature (declining education standards, poverty trends, cross-boundary conflict or land conflicts, resource sharing, etc). For the national level, citizens' demands could be anchored around national policy or governance issues, foreign policy priorities or reflections on nation building.

Citizens, through their preferred mechanisms then prepare to engage with aspiring politicians and leaders in (C) and here issues are tailored and directed to the appropriate level of leadership. By this time, a new political culture which puts the interests of citizens at the centre of leadership aspirations begins to emerge and leaders realize the needs of their constituencies and participate in citizen-organized candidates' forums where they share their own strategies to respond to identified citizens' priorities and also sign up to a 'social contract' that commits them to work towards achieving citizens' aspirations.

In **the During Phase**, citizens, having carefully listened to various aspiring leaders, exercise their right to vote. Successful pre-election work implies that citizens will vote on issues rather than emotions or other considerations such as tribe, ethnicity or religion. In a separate guide developed as part of the Citizens' Manifesto Civic Education Agenda, nine steps are identified for responsible and proactive citizens in which citizens' obligations to ensure a transparent and fraud-free election are described.

Finally, in **the Post-Election Phase**, citizens embark on regular tracking of the Citizens' Manifesto priorities at different levels through a process known as Citizen Surgeries – face-to-face public meetings on designated days where leaders and citizens meet to jointly monitor and track progress in the implementation of the 'social contract' that would have been negotiated during the Citizens' Manifesto process. The frequency of the citizen surgeries will depend on the leadership position. It is envisaged that LC1 Surgeries would take place bi-monthly, LC 3 and 5 quarterly, MPs in six-month timelines, while annually, an audit will be done of the Presidency and feedback provided accordingly. These regular meetings will ensure that leaders and their electorate and the wider citizenry keep in close interface in the election cycle. Such meetings will be developed as an important part of a wider Movement for Political Accountability that UGMP and the Citizen Manifesto Partners aim to create and strengthen in the post-2011 elections epoch. The meetings will also be a platform where solutions to bottlenecks in the effort to realize the actions and priorities in the CM are jointly discovered.

After five years, a comprehensive assessment will be done to establish whether a leader performed or not; and this will, other intervening factors held constant, be the basis for leadership renewal or otherwise.

4.0 Guiding Principles for the Citizens' Manifesto

The Citizens' Manifesto Initiative and Process is anchored around important guiding principles that must be observed and actualized by all implementing partners to ensure credibility of the process and legitimacy of the outcomes. The following principles will guide the development and the execution of the Citizens' Manifesto as a process:

4.1 Citizen Ownership:

The Citizens' Manifesto must be a popularly owned citizens' political agenda and not predominantly an elite-crafted document. Citizen ownership is a factor of their active participation in the process of coming up with the manifesto. The process must therefore be all-inclusive and with documented evidence.

4.2 Centrality of Genuine Citizens' Voices:

All analysis of emerging issues for the manifesto must be anchored around genuine citizens' voices derived from the myriad of consultations that will take place at interest group, community, district, regional and national levels, rather than assumed voices by process facilitators or drafters.

4.3 Inclusiveness and Diversity:

The Citizens' Manifesto process should be all-inclusive and should involve all citizens regardless of political affiliation. The consultative process must target ordinary citizens and not the 'commonly consulted' (NGOs and members, elite leaders, etc) and ensure diversity in terms of social economic groupings (youth, women, the disabled, the rich, poor, business, church, representatives from traditional and cultural institutions, students, market vendors, etc).

4.4 Balance between community/grassroots, regional and national issues:

In defining the thematic issues that will be articulated in the Citizens' Manifesto, an acceptable and appropriate balance between national and sub-national issues must be ensured, with particular considerations given to capturing divergences in regional issues vis-à-vis the national concerns.

4.5 Wide Outreach:

Collectively, the Citizens' Manifesto Partners aim to reach out to at least 5,000,000 Ugandans directly through their being consulted or indirectly through mediums such as radio and other media.

4.6 Impartiality and Political Neutrality:

Utmost impartiality and neutrality will be ensured during the development of the Citizens' Manifesto so that the process and product can provide an enabling environment for both the current leaders as well as those aspiring for positions of leadership. The process must be insulated against partisan bias or political party capture.

4.7 Learning Agenda:

Inbuilt in the Citizens' Manifesto process is an important focus on learning. This means that Implementing Partners must document successes, challenges and even drawbacks as part of the lessons that inform the Citizens' Manifesto. Appropriate platforms for learning and support should be created at all levels.

5.0 Methodology for the Citizen Manifesto Process: A Process Guide for Collaborating Partners

This section aims to set the overall framework and guide under which each implementing partner will locate their specific process. While it is not written in stone and should be adaptable to different contexts and circumstances, all Implementing Partners are encouraged to, as much as possible, follow the collectively-agreed process for consultations and also adhere to acceptable standards for the meetings and documentation. In the subsections below, information needs for the Citizens' Manifesto are presented, a suggested step-by-step process for Implementing Partners provided, a tool for consultation and priority-setting previewed and modality for technical assistance outlined.

5.1 Information for the Citizens' Manifesto

As already presented in section 3.4, the Citizens' Manifesto will comprise information generated using a needs and interest-based approach. In every consultation, community meeting or dialogue, citizens will start the meeting by sharing a collective dream/vision of the community, society, district, region and nation they aspire for. They will then sit to generate consensus on what is needed to achieve this desired state. This information is likely to vary from community to community, region to region and district to district, but could fall under the broad areas: social, economic, political, policy or other.

Citizen demands will vary from polity to polity and at different levels.

At household level, for instance, basic livelihood issues may emerge requiring policy responses; at community level basic needs and infrastructure for a good life may be generated (feeder roads, markets, water points, etc); while at district and regional levels, more large-scale demands may emerge of policy or programme nature (declining education standards, poverty trends, cross-boundary conflict or land conflicts, resource sharing, etc).

5.2 Organizing the Consultations: A Summary of what needs to be done

In planning for and conducting the Citizens' Manifesto consultations, a number of important preparatory tasks are required to ensure success and maintain tranquility and credibility of the process and outcomes. These tasks can be divided into three: a) advance preparatory work; b) protocols to be observed; c) introducing the citizens' manifesto during the consultations with communities. Each of these is explained below:

5.2.1 Advance Preparatory Work

- Undertake a context analysis to identify key factors in the contextual environment likely to work for or against the underlying objectives of the Citizens' Manifesto initiative of civic empowerment.
- Undertake a stakeholder analysis⁶ to identify who in intended target communities is likely to support the Citizens' Manifesto initiative, how and when; and who is likely to be a source of constraints and determine the best possible ways to minimize the influence of the latter and enhance the mileage derived from the former.
- Identify the key leadership structures and levels at which courtesy calls need to be made to introduce the Citizens' Manifesto initiative
- Internalize the key concepts and issues in the Citizens' Manifesto initiative and familiarize yourself with them, so that you can explain them with ease from whatever angle from which an explanation might be desired.
- Appropriately package messages in the Citizens' Manifesto to suit the identified audiences.
- To the extent possible, understand the meanings of key concepts in the Citizens' Manifesto in the major local languages of the areas where communities are to be consulted.

To safeguard the process being 'hijacked' by political leaders at local level, CM Partners agreed at the Masindi Retreat that:

- Extra effort will be made to brief leaders of this process so they appreciate that it is a 'wananchi'-driven process.
- That the presence of Local Political Leaders may affect the discussions and so they must be engaged differently.
- For instance, as the community consultations go on, local leaders e.g. LCs will be engaged in Key Informant Interviews

⁶Partners are also encouraged to use other appropriate tools that will deepen their understanding of the realities and context in which they will roll out the citizens' manifesto (force-field analysis, etc)

5.2.2 Protocols to be observed

- Undertake the necessary formalities - write a formal letter to the district authorities, as well as sub-county and community leaders, and deliver the letter physically to explain to the leaders what is intended to be achieved through the Citizens' Manifesto. Also identify potential allies.
- While undertaking protocols, collect background information on the governance challenges in the areas where communities are to be consulted on the CM initiative to generate consensus on milestones/trends.
- Undertake general mobilization in the district specifically to explain and popularize the Citizens' Manifesto initiative using all available channels of communication, including FM Radio. It was agreed that implementing partners should use their current radio programmes to publicize the CM.
- Undertake community pre-visits to identify the location of the meetings where Citizens' Manifesto consultations will take place. This must be a convenient place and not the conventional hotel or urban-based spaces.

A Note for Interest Group Organizations and Consultations

The suggested process largely applies to regional Implementing Partners working directly with grassroots communities. For the Interest Groups, the process could differ as the target group or institutions are fairly well known to the Lead Implementing Partner.

However, this requires a lot more flexibility and innovation which could involve:

- Basic Research on past issues and positions
- A series of workshops or questionnaires which the target community respondents to, etc

5.2.3 Introducing the CM at Community Consultation⁷

- Ask a local community or respected leader present to call the meeting to order, open with a prayer and introduce the team.
- Ask a facilitator from the CM team to give a two-minute brief on the CM to introduce the subject to the community and facilitate the consultation process. The facilitator should explain the role of citizens in governance and the profile of leaders (as annexed to the methodology paper).

⁷A detailed Question Guide for the Community Consultations has been drafted and is annexed to this Methodology Paper as Annex II

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- The facilitator should clearly indicate what is in the CM for the community (why it is important) and will change should it be successful - **caution that this is an ongoing process and not a quick fix to everyone's problems.**
 - The CM process should not be extractive. It has to be simple and not out-of-touch with the realities of the communities. At the end of the consultations a draft community and area manifesto should be discernable with clear demands to different leadership positions.
 - In collecting information from the communities or influential citizens, Implementing Partners will use Focus Group Discussions (FGD), Community Meetings, etc, using participatory methodologies as appropriate. Key Informant Interviews (KII) as appropriate will also be considered.

5.2.4 Output from the Consultations (Including Interest Groups)

There will be two main outputs from the Implementing Partners' consultations and other related work in the Citizens' Manifesto Process.

- i. First is a Community Manifesto which should reflect the consensus reached on the vision for the country, community and demands for different elective leadership positions. This should be well summarized following the 'Question Guide' in Annex I of this Methodology Paper. A draft of this must be presented and validated before the end of the community meeting. A finer version can then be prepared and placed on the Community Notice Board or any other such public space.
- ii. Second is a report that is prepared by the Lead Implementing Partner and submitted as an input into the National Citizens' Manifesto that the Technical Team will be drafting. This report should be no more than five pages (excluding annexes) and contain the following information:
 - **Background** to include profile of the consulted community, constituency and current MP, dates of consultations, and numbers of people involved - ½ page.
 - **Methodology** and Process to include a summary of the process followed to generate the report and the perspectives (meetings, workshops, research, popular input through Radio Talk Shows, etc) - ½ page.
 - **Emerging Priorities** from the consulted community and stakeholders presented in terms of issues at local, regional, national and other levels - 3 pages.
 - **Lessons** to include accomplishments and positive things as well as challenges and things that did not go well - 1 page.
 - **Annexes** - this will have the programme for the consultations as well written and signed list of participants and all the consultative meetings (annex can be additional to the 5 pages).

6.0 Provision of Technical Backstopping

The provision of technical support and backstopping to the Citizens' Manifesto process is critical for the success of the Citizens' Manifesto initiative. The Citizens' Manifesto Technical Support Team will provide technical backstopping to all implementing partners of the Citizens' Manifesto Initiative through provision of technical advice and guidance to ensure that the implementation of the initiative is efficient and effective.

Technical assistance will be through generic support sessions and tools developed by the Technical Support Team for all Implementing Partners and on a demand-driven basis and case-by-case basis. The following avenues have been identified as opportunities for support to Implementing Partners in the course of executing the Citizen Manifesto:

- The Citizens' Manifesto Partners' Retreat. This will be an opportunity for all Implementing Partners to go through the methodology paper, share experiences from similar initiatives and agree on basic standards. The Retreat will be more like a Training of Trainers (ToT).
- Preparation of tools and guidance questions for Implementing Partners to customize, consider and use as they see fit and in conformity with the principles of the Citizens' Manifesto.
- Quality control to ensure that the Citizens' Manifesto, not only conforms to the agreed principles but reflects high quality and adequately-processed thoughts.
- Support services and advice either face-to-face or through e-mails and other communication modes. To this end, the Technical Support Team has agreed on a division of labour as follows:
 - **Frank Muhereza** will provide support in Bunyoro, Ankole, Kigezi, Toro sub-regions in addition to working with the following interest groups: Farmers, Disability Movement and Women.
 - **Arthur Larok** will take lead in Acholi, Lango, Buganda and West Nile, in addition to working with the following interest groups: Culture, Students/Youth.
 - **Benson Ekwee** will provide support in Karamoja, Teso, Bugisu, Bukedi, Busoga and Sebei, in addition to working with one interest group of Teachers.

All Implementing Partners are encouraged to directly contact the Technical Team Members. However, should they need to, they can contact the National NGO Forum for further support.

7.0 Popularization and Dissemination of the Citizens' Manifesto to influence the Electoral and Post-election Governance Processes

One of the important principles undergirding the Citizens' Manifesto is that it will be a popular citizen document that would appeal to all well-meaning Ugandans whether or not they would have directly participated in the Citizens' Manifesto Development Process. This means at least two things: a) that the process to develop the Citizens' Manifesto is credible with as wide involvement of different stakeholders as possible; and b) that the Citizens' Manifesto is popularized and widely disseminated to targeted as well as public audiences. It must be recognised that every moment is a dissemination opportunity and so, as agreed in the CM Retreat in Masindi, partners will use various existing platforms and activities to market and mobilize citizens around the Citizens' Manifesto. Partners of the Citizens' Manifesto are keen to reach at least **five million Ugandans directly or indirectly**, to exact their input or to inform their political choices with the citizens' agenda that the CM will embody. A communication strategy for the Citizens' Manifesto will thus be developed and shared with all lead organizations in the CM process.

The major undertakings that will comprise the Citizens' Manifesto Process are outlined in Annex III. What follows below are proposed actions to popularize the CM at national, regional, district and community levels.

7.1 National Level Actions - Mainly by UGMP Focal Point

At national level there will be both consultative, public dissemination and lobbying activities spanning the pre and post-election periods. The national process will feature four major national dialogues to provide an opportunity for public discussion of critical national policy and governance issues, as well as media engagements and political lobbying activities once the CM is completed. The key planned national actions are:

- Organizing at least four national dialogues on: a) priority national policy issues that need rethinking in the next five years; b) a debate on the central ideology of Uganda's political parties as a contribution to better understanding of Uganda's Political Parties; c) public dialogue on the role of the ordinary citizens in the electoral process; and d) the governance arrangement that best suits Uganda's history and ethnic diversity. Each of these dialogues will feature an expert paper and panel.
- Launch of the CM at a national event that attracts all major political parties, representatives from key institutions such as Parliament, the Human Rights Commission, the Presidency, Electoral Commission, CSOs and the Development Partner Community. The final CM will

reflect a synthesis of issues from all the consultations at national, regional, district and community level.

- Extensive Media and Publicity Engagements involving Press Conferences, Talk shows on radio and TV stations, newspaper supplements, SMS⁸ messages and featured articles in the media.
- Lobbying the leaderships of the different Political Parties to sign up to and commit themselves to integrating the CM suggestions in their own political manifestos. This will entail meetings with both the ruling and opposition parties.
- Undertaking an audit of all Political Party Manifestos to assess which one best represents the issues and priorities identified in the Citizens' Manifesto and communicating this assessment publicly and to all those that participated in the CM in a politically neutral manner.
- Professional documentation of the CM process and lessons for future planning and improvement. This will also involve commissioning an independent evaluation of the CM process to establish its strengths and weaknesses as part of the learning agenda.

7.2 Regional-level and District-level Actions - By Lead Implementing Partners

Like the national-level actions, at regional level there will be both pre and post-citizens' manifesto undertakings to popularize the process and content of the citizens' manifesto. Key undertakings at regional and district levels will be:

- Dissemination of CM outcomes on radio talk shows and media engagements. This will entail both paid airtime on popular evening and other forms of talk shows as well as a discussion with moderators of more popular regional and district radio programmes that are already aired. In the latter, therefore, we are trying to influence the agenda of an already existing programme.
- District dialogues on topical issues emerging from the CM process as well as any other important debates already shaping public opinion at respective levels. Debates could focus on regional or even national issues (national and natural resource exploitation, regional tier, resource sharing, etc).
- Leaders and election candidates' forums to exact their commitment to the CM. Representatives of political parties at district level such as district political party chairpersons, party offices, etc will also be systematically lobbied.

⁸This would require that CM Partners ensure that they get telephone contacts for all those consulted as appropriate

7.3 Community Level Actions - By Implementing Partners

At community level, more popular citizen actions are envisaged. As with all the above, the popularization agenda will be informed by the citizens' manifesto development process as well as actions taken after the Citizens' Manifesto is complete. The priority actions will include:

- Developing popular versions of the citizen manifesto and tailoring it to suit the circumstances at community level. The CM will be translated in the appropriate languages and simple one-page household posters developed.
- Priority actions agreed for different leadership positions will also be developed and placed on community notice boards and other public spaces such as markets and churches for all to view and sign up to.
- Election candidates' forums will be organized so that different aspiring leaders for different elective positions are invited to respond and commit themselves to identified citizen priorities as well as to a post-election citizen-leaders' interface.
- Organize post-election citizen surgeries and undertake proper visual, audio and written documentation of the processes.

8.0 The Post-Election Agenda

The Citizens' Manifesto is conceived to be a long-term process, not ending with the elections in 2011. One of the more important aims of the CM is to establish 'a mechanism for sustained dialogue/conversations between citizens and leaders' - which will transcend the 2011 or interlinked elections⁹. The post-election citizens' manifesto agenda will be the bedrock of a Movement for Political Accountability in Uganda (MOPA - U¹⁰) and will be anchored around the following:

8.1 Regular Citizen Surgeries

In simple terms, citizen surgeries are accountability meetings between citizens (electorate and others) and their elected leaders. They are platforms for regular interface between leaders and citizens in assessing progress or otherwise of agreed upon demands in the Citizens' Manifesto or other realistic promises and commitments during campaigns. The frequency of meetings varies according to the leadership position - the lower the leadership level the more frequent the citizen surgeries. It is envisaged that Citizen Surgeries at LC I level will take place bi-monthly, LCIII and LC IV once a quarter, MPs once a quarter and an annual audit of the President's tenure is done and widely published¹¹.

8.2 Following up my Elected Leader: Citizen Parliamentary and Council Calls

This will involve citizens making calls or physical visits to a Council or Parliamentary Session meeting to see for themselves how their elected leader is performing. Since not every citizen can attend Council or Parliamentary sessions, citizen designates from the Citizens' Manifesto process will commit themselves to playing this function and reporting to the electorate. It is envisaged that the Citizens' Manifesto Implementing Partners and the UGMP Focal Office will support this if it requires travels and time off for more than a day. The frequency of the visits will be determined by citizens in liaison with the Citizens' Manifesto Partner and UGMP Focal Point. The visits will take place in-between the citizen surgeries, with different citizens sharing the responsibility of visiting/attending each time.

⁹See Step 9 of the '9-Step Guide to being a proactive and responsible citizen in the electoral process'

¹⁰For all the consultations, it is important that partners document and diligently keep the attendance lists as this will form the foundation of the movement.

¹¹Some Citizens' Manifesto Partners have, however, expressed the desire to work on more frequent meetings even with higher-level leadership positions like MPs.

8.3 Budget Analysis, Policy and Legislation Audits

The post-election citizen engagements will also involve regular assessments of budget, policy and legislation audits to ascertain if citizens' priorities are being reflected in policy or budget allocations or consummated in legal provisions. The policy, budget and legal link is important because such is the work of Parliament and Local Councils at different levels of Local Government.

The assessments and analysis will be supported and or will feed into and inform more conventional policy engagement work by various civil society organizations. For instance, Citizens' Manifesto Partners will use the information supplied by the Africa Leadership Institute (ALI) Parliament Scorecard process as important feedback on the performance of their Members of Parliament. The same will be for the Local Government Scorecard that has been initiated by Advocates Coalition on Development and Environment (ACODE).

8.4 Annual Presidential Manifesto Audits

Collectively, the Citizens' Manifesto Partners working with the UGMP Focal Point will undertake to audit the performance of the President annually and provide independent feedback to the ruling party, the presidency and to citizens. This is will be an important assessment that will complement, supplement or, if needed, counter the custom of various ministries releasing progress reports on the 'implementation of the President's Manifesto'. Once this is done, a formal engagement will be organized with the appropriate authorities.

Finally, in-between the fourth and fifth year, an audit will be done for all elective leadership positions and the outcomes will inform leadership renewal or otherwise. As part of wider outreach intentions in the post-election epoch, UGMP and Citizens' Manifesto Implementing Partners will use radio and other public and citizen outreach mediums.

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Annex I: Question Guide for Community Consultations

A. Preliminary Questions

1. What were the main aspirations for your community, sub-county, district and country four years ago?
2. How much of these aspirations have been fulfilled so far?
3. What issues shaped your voting the last time?
4. What vision do you hold for your community, constituency, district and Uganda as a whole in the next five years?

B. Questions to help citizens identify their needs and aspirations

1. As a member of this community, what are the pressing development needs for your Village, Community, Sub County, District and Country?
2. Which of these are the most pressing needs to be achieved in the next 5 years? (Use the priority setting tools if required)

C. Matching demands with Leadership Positions

1. Are you aware of the roles of the key elective leadership positions that you vote for? (Here share the leaders' profiles as provided). What are some of the attributes of a good leader? What are the attributes of a good President, Member of Parliament, LCV Chairperson, LCIII Chairperson and LC I Chairperson?
2. On the basis of the needs you have identified as most pressing and given your understanding of the role of different leadership positions, what are the priority demands for your LC I, LC III, LC V, MP and President?

Leadership Position	Top 5 Demands by Citizens
LC I Chairperson	1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
LC III Chairperson	1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
LC V Chairperson	1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
Member of Parliament (MP)	1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
President	1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

D. Mechanisms to hold leaders accountable

1. What do you propose to do to ensure that the identified priority demands are delivered by the various leaders?

2. How frequently would you like to check on the progress with your leaders?

Annex II: Summary of Leadership Roles and Responsibilities of Key Elective Positions

Position	Brief Description	Summary of Roles and Responsibilities
President	The President is the head of the Executive Arm of Government, mandated to enforce laws. He/she also is Head of State, Head of Government, Commander-in- Chief and Fountain of Honour. He/she has enormous powers that have to be exercised within the context of the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chief of State: Provide leadership to the people as a guardian or Role Model, in an inspiring way. • Chief Executive: The appointing authority to employees of major Government MDAs. • Chief Diplomat: ensure that Uganda's Foreign Policy is in line with National Interest of Ugandans. • Commander-in-Chief: Ensure that the National Army and other Security Forces protect the interest of Ugandans in a professional manner. • Chief Legislator: the President is given powers by the Constitution to influence Parliament in its law making. • Chief of Party: As custodian of his Political Party, the President has the leverage to help subscribers to his political party and supporters of his development policies get into public office. • Chief guardian of the economy: Expected to enhance the smooth running of the national economy; influencing taxes, commodity prices, business profits, and general prosperity of the country.
Member of Parliament	Parliamentarians are elected in a general election directly from the constituencies which they represent	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Representation: MPs represent the regional and local concerns of their constituencies. They solve enormous problems of these areas; liaising between Local Government and providing information on Central Government programmes. • Making Laws : through debates in Parliament and all party committee meetings, MPs influence legislation. • Watch-dog on Government: MPs can influence government policy through participation in Committees of Parliament. • Party Supporters: MPs usually subscribe to specific parties in this multiparty dispensation and as such play roles in these parties. • Duty Offices: MPs maintain two offices which they use for consulting with their constituents and researching on matters of importance to their constituents and the country at large.

District Chairperson (LCV)	<p>This is the Political Head of a district. The bearer of this office is an ordinary resident in a district, is elected through universal adult suffrage, and does the job on a full-time basis</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Preside over executive committees of the district. • Monitor general district administration. • Monitor implementation of Council decisions. • Monitor and coordinate the activities of municipal and town councils together with lower local councils and administrative units. • Oversee the performance of persons employed by government and monitor the provision of government services or the implementation of projects on behalf of the Council. • Recommend to the Council persons to be appointed members of District Executive Committee, and statutory bodies such as DSC, DPAC, District Land Board and other committees. • Make an annual district state of affairs report to the Council; present motions/bills prepared by the executive to the Council, oversee initiation and formulation of policies in the district and coordinate and monitor government functions. • Make contribution to communal projects and activities. • Link the community to Development Partners and NGOs. • Monitor service delivery on national priority Programme Areas in the District and give feedback to the Council.
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LCIII Chairperson	<p>The Chairperson at this position may head the Sub-County, Division, Town Council or Municipal Council. This is also a full-time job and the office bearers are ordinary residents in their areas of operation.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The political Head of the Sub County/ division/ town/ municipal council carries out all the responsibilities of the District Chairperson but at the designated levels.
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LC I Chairperson of the Parish/ Village Council	<p>The LC I Chairperson presides over matters at parish and village level. This is the unit where every Ugandan lives and so the LC is usually the first point of call for day-to-day citizen challenges.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Convene and preside over all lawful parish or village council meetings. • Monitor the general administration of the parish or village. • Ensure that village or parish development plans are developed and submitted to higher councils. • Monitor projects carried out in his or her parish. • Preside over village or local council court. • Mobilize communities for self-help projects in his/her area of jurisdiction. • Act as a link between the government and the people of the area.
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Annex III: The Citizens' Manifesto Development Process

Phases	Major Undertakings	Timeline	Responsibility
	1. National Citizens' Manifesto Partners Inception Workshop	August 2009	UNNGOF
	2. Identification of Focal Organizations at regional and interest group level	November 2009	UGMP Members and Focal Person
Phase 1	3. Preparing Implementing Partners Concepts and Plans (Focus Areas, etc)	January 2010	Identified Partners
	4. Preparation of the main civic education tool to be used by CM Implementing Partners	February 2010	UGMP Focal Person
	5. Develop Citizens' Manifesto Methodology and Process Paper (+) relevant tools	February/March 2010	Technical Support Team
	6. Citizens' Manifesto Retreat and Citizen Consultations Pilot	March 2010	Technical Support Team and All Partners
	7. Finalizing the outreach and consultations plans at regional and interest group level	March 2010	Implementing Partners
	8. Implementation of the action plans referred to in (6) above	April/May 2010	Implementing Partners
Phase 2	9. Three Public Dialogues on critical policy and governance issues at national level	April, May and June 2010	UGMP Focal Person
	10. Preparation of a draft Citizens' Manifesto from all citizen and interest group consultations	June 2010	Technical Support Team
	11. An All-stakeholders' Citizens' Manifesto Validation Meeting	Beginning of June 2010	UGMP Focal Person
	12. Launch of the Citizens' Manifesto at national level and on regional radios	July 2010	Focal Person/Technical Support Team
	13. Popularization and Dissemination of CM at national, district and community level	Starting July 2010 onwards	Implementing and Collaborating Partners
Phase 3	14. Lobbying various political parties and actors to embrace and sign up to CM Manifesto	July 2010 to January 2011	Focal Person and Collaborating Partners
	15. Organizing candidates' forums at national, district and constituency levels	October 2010 to January 2011	Implementing and Collaborating Partners
	16. Media and public outreach work on the Citizens' Manifesto	July 2010 onwards	UGMP Members and Collaborating Partners
	17. Assessment of how much of the issues in the CM get reflected in the manifestos of different political parties	December 2010	UGMP Focal Person
Phase 4	18. Documentation of the CM Manifesto process and organizing a learning forum on the CM	Dec 2010 to March 2011	UGMP Focal Person
	19. Organize post-election citizen surgeries as part of a wider Movement for Political Accountability in Uganda	April 2010 onwards, leading to 2016	UGMP Focal Person and all Implementing Partners



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