

**THE ROLE OF PARTY POLITICS IN PROMOTING GOOD GOVERNANCE IN
UGANDA: A CASE STUDY OF KAMPALA CAPITAL CITY AUTHORITY**

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DECLARATION

I Aluba Juliet do solemnly declare that the dissertation, An assessment of Party politics and Good Governance in Uganda at Kampala Capital City Authority is my own original work and has not been submitted or presented to any other institution of learning for any academic award of a degree neither has it been published anywhere.

Signed.....

Date. 29th/08/2014.....

APPROVAL

This dissertation has been under my supervision and is now ready for submission to the Department of Political and Administrative Studies.

Supervisor (Mr. Tom Mpabaisi)

Signed.....

Date.....*29/08/2014*

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to all my beloved relatives and friends who have supported me financially during the course of my studies; it's only the Almighty God worthy enough to reward you.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

It would have been difficult for me to carry out my study if it were not for the assistance given to me by Mr. Ivan Muhwezi and Mr. Tom Mpabaisi, I would like to acknowledge with gratitude their help given me; without their support, this work would not have been a success.

My special thanks go to the Almighty God for giving me patience, strength and courage to accomplish this work, May your Name be praised.

Lastly, I pass my gratitude to all my relatives and close friends, I thank you for all your support morally and financially towards the outcome of this piece of work may the Lord God bless you endlessly.

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

| | | |
|------|---|--------------------------------------|
| IMF | : | International Monetary Fund |
| UN | : | United Nations |
| WB | : | World Bank |
| KCCA | : | Kampala Capital City Authority |
| EC | : | European Commission |
| UNDP | : | United Nations Development Programme |
| NRM | : | National Resistance Movement |
| CBOs | : | Community Based Organisations |
| 4WD | : | Four Wheel Drive |
| UPC | : | Uganda People's Congress |
| DP | : | Democratic Party |
| LC1 | : | Local Council One |
| LC5 | : | Local Council Five |

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Abstract

The purpose of this study was to establish the role of party politics in promoting good governance in Uganda in general and KCCA in particular. This was premised on the argument that whereas party politics have been embraced by many countries across the globe with the fall of communism, and in spite of the fact that it is seen as a panacea for democratisation and good governance, most of the countries that have embraced party politics are far from realizing good governance. The main objective of the study was to find out the role of party politics in promoting or enhancing good governance at Kampala capital city authority. The research methodology applied was descriptive in nature whereby both qualitative and quantitative techniques were employed. The findings were that majority of the respondents believe that party politics can lead to the promotion of good governance if well handled. The study concluded that good governance in KCCA may never be achieved unless the rules of the game in the politics of Uganda are respected and observed. The study recommended that there should be separation of powers between different arms of government, equal and inclusive participation of citizens, accountability and transparency and rule of law for good governance at KCCA.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

The major challenges to political systems in the developing world today are to do with party politics and lack of good governance. Party politics are found in the vast majority of countries and in most political systems. Party politics may be authoritarian or democratic; they may seek power through elections or through revolutions and they may espouse a number of ideologies. The development of political parties/party politics and the acquisition of a party system have come to be recognized as a mark of political modernization. According to Heywood (2002) by the late 1950s some 80 per cent of the world's States were ruled by political parties. He goes on to observe that during the 1960s and early 1970s a decline set in with the spread of military rule in the developing world. Political parties were accused of being divisive, and of failing to solve overriding problems of poverty and ethnic/ tribal rivalry. They also proved to be inconvenient for economic and military elites.

However, the upsurge of democratization in the 1980s and 1990s nevertheless led to a renewed flourishing of parties. In Asia, Africa and Latin America the relaxation or collapse of military rule was invariably accompanied by the re-emergence of parties. In former Communist States one party rule was replaced by the establishment of competitive party systems. Since then, political parties or party politics have been taken to be one of the means of attaining democratic governance or good governance. This

has been the case because of the roles or functions political parties/party politics play in the democratization process of a country.

Heywood (2000) observes that the political party is the major organizing principle of modern politics. As political machines organized to win (by elections or otherwise), and wield government power, parties are virtually everywhere. Heywood (ibid) also argues that the only parts of the world in which they do not exist are those where they are suppressed by dictatorship or military rule. He also observes that political parties are a vital link between the state and civil society, carrying out major functions such as representation, the formation and recruitment of political elites, the articulation and aggregation of interests and the organisation of government.

However, the role and significance of parties varies according to the party system. In a multiparty system the parties tend to act as brokers representing a narrower range of more or less enduring electoral alliances or formal coalitions. Again, Heywood (ibid) argues that though parties have been accused of being unable to respond to the growing appetite for popular participation and activism; and that their image as instruments of government means that they are inevitably associated with power, ambition and corruption; and that, given the growing complexity of modern societies and the decline of class and other traditional social identities, the social forces that once gave rise to parties have now weakened. Such factors he argues are nevertheless more likely to lead to a transformation in the role of political parties and in the style of party politics, than to make them redundant.

On the other hand, it has been argued that the developing world in order to make their party politics meaningful, the governments of these nation-states need to embrace good governance in their party politics if democracy and development are to be achieved. This is because the concept of "good governance" often emerges as a model to compare ineffective economies or political bodies with viable economies and political bodies (Internet, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Good_governance). The concept centers on the responsibility of governments and governing bodies to meet the needs of the masses as opposed to select groups in society. Because the governments treated in the contemporary world as most "successful" are often liberal democratic states concentrated in Europe and the Americas, those countries' institutions often set the standards by which to compare other states' institutions when talking about governance (Internet, *ibid*). Because the term good governance can be focused on any one form of governance, as a researcher, I have also decided to focus party politics on good governance to find out whether this can enable our society realise the benefits of party politics if the elements of good governance are put into practice.

It is therefore from the above discussion about political parties/party politics and good governance that one can deduce the argument that party politics and good governance have a role to play in promoting the benefits that come out of the two if society is to realise the fruits of development and any other benefits of an organized and orderly society.

1.2 Background to the study

Origin of the Concept 'Good Governance'

The concept of "good governance" often emerges as a model to compare ineffective economies or political bodies with viable economies and political bodies. The concept centers on the responsibility of governments and governing bodies to meet the needs of the masses as opposed to select groups in society (Internet, *ibid*). Because the governments treated in the contemporary world as most "successful" are often liberal democratic states concentrated in Europe and the Americas, those countries' institutions often set the standards by which to compare other States' institutions when talking about governance. Because the term good governance can be focused on any one form of governance, aid organizations and the authorities of developed countries often will focus the meaning of good governance to a set of requirements that conform to the organization's agenda, making "good governance" imply many different things in many different contexts.

However, at this point I am concerned to explain the origin of good governance in the contemporary politics in the world. It is argued that governance itself is as old as humanity itself. However, good governance is a recent phenomenon most especially in the developing World. Accordingly, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) declared in 1996 that "promoting good governance in all its aspects, including by ensuring the rule of law, improving the efficiency and accountability of the public sector, and tackling corruption, as essential elements of a framework within which economies can prosper. The IMF feels that corruption within economies is caused by the ineffective governance

of the economy, either too much regulation or too little regulation. To receive loans from the IMF, countries must have certain good governance policies, as determined by the IMF, in place.

In the same vein the United Nations (UN) emphasizes reform through human development and political institution reform. According to the UN, good governance has eight characteristics (Internet, Ibid). Good governance is: Consensus Oriented, Participatory, following the Rule of Law, Effective and Efficient, Accountable, Transparent, Responsive, and Equitable and Inclusive.

The World Bank on the other hand is more concerned with the reform of economic and social resource control. In 1992, it underlined three aspects of society which they feel affect the nature of a country's governance: type of political regime; process by which authority is exercised in the management of the economic and social resources, with a view to development; and capacity of governments to formulate policies and have them effectively implemented.

Role of political parties/party politics in good governance

Much as the new multiparty dispensation is only fourteen years old, Ugandans' experiences with party politics date way back to the times shortly after independence. Self-rule in Uganda has been characterised by several ups and downs since the country attained independence from the British in 1962. At the onset of independence, Uganda sought for self-governance under a party politics system. This demonstrates clearly the

consciousness among Ugandans at that time that the free association of people in political parties and the competition among those parties for the power to govern the country guarantee genuine and substantial good governance (Kiranda and Kamp, 2010).

Political parties play an essential role in the functioning of every modern democracy and consensus almost exists that the concept of democracy is indivisibly linked to the concept of multipartyism, in which effective participation and competition should be guaranteed. Political parties are central actors in a democratic system, as they organise and articulate interests and ensure political participation and competition, which constitute major features of a democracy. These indicators of democracy highlighted above are the same as for good governance.

While political parties play a key role in well-functioning democracies, elsewhere political parties are disconnected from voters and dominated by elites, with few incentives or capabilities to increase the representation of other voters. Political parties can play a key role in pivotal moments of a state's development, either negatively (e.g. organising and instigating violence) or positively (e.g. by leading dialogue in a fractured society). While differences in the electoral system play their role in defining the number of parties and their influence once in power, the funding and expertise available to parties also plays an important role not only in their existence, but their ability to connect to a broad base of support. While the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and the European Commission (EC) have been providing funding to political

parties since the 1990s, there are still calls to increase the support for capacity development activities including the development of party manifestos, party constitutions and campaigning skills. With this view at the back of the researchers mind, the question that remains puzzling to the researcher is what is the role of party politics/political parties in promoting good governance and for the purposes of this work, of course, using KCCA as a case study.

Overview of Kampala Capital City Authority (KCCA)

According to the Kampala Capital City Act (2010), which was enacted by the 8th Parliament of the Republic of Uganda, the administration of Kampala city was placed under the central government and thus the act provided for the establishment of the Kampala capital city authority as the governing body of the city and to provide for the composition and election of members of the Authority.

For a long time, the city of Kampala which is both the country's main administrative and commercial city has faced a number of challenges including the following: High Population; Uganda's liberalized economy has attracted a high number of businesses to Kampala. These businesses have attracted a high number of potential workers and their families to the city. Unofficial estimates put the daytime population of Kampala in the 2.5 million to 3 million ranges.

All this has made the city to experience with challenges such as corruption, garbage heaps in most parts of the city, most city roads are filled with potholes, and Sewer services are almost none functional in most divisions of the city where they exist

while in other parts they are nonexistent. Construction works in the city seem not to be planned for as most of them encroach on service lanes, Traffic management has almost failed, Health services are very much wanting, Environmental pollution and degradation have become the norm of the day, Stray livestock like cows, goats, and sheep can be seen roaming the streets, Management of markets has seen many wrangles between the authority and traders and also among the traders themselves.

In a nutshell, the affairs of the capital city of Uganda have been brought under the direct supervision of the central government. The City Clerk, for example, formerly the highest financial officer in the city is replaced by the Executive Director, who is answerable to the Minister for Kampala Capital City Authority. The elected mayor becomes the Lord Mayor, now a largely ceremonial position. Lastly, in addition to the politically elected councilors, the expanded KCCA Council has members from various professional bodies, as full voting members: Uganda Institute of Professional Engineers, Uganda Society of Architects, Uganda Medical and Dental Practitioners Council, and Uganda Law Society (KCCA act, 2010).

However, placing Kampala City's management under central government does not eliminate party politics from the city's administration. This is because members of the authority, that is, the councilors are directly elected by the citizens of Kampala including the division mayors. This gives an opportunity to the researcher to use KCCA as a case study in an attempt to find out the role of party politics in promoting good governance.

1.3 Problem of the statement

Uganda transitioned from the Movement political system to a multiparty political system in July 2005 through a national referendum. Uganda is now governed under a multi-party system. The adoption of multi-party politics or party politics was meant to allow for competition and participation by all citizens in the political affairs of their country. It is argued and indeed it is true that party politics promotes democracy thus good governance in the democratisation process.

However, considering the political events that have taken place in Kampala in the recent past with the takeover of Kampala city by the central government and the political machinations that have and continue to happen, one begins to question the relevance of party politics in promoting good governance. Besides, party politics is understood as politics based on strict adherence to the policies and principles of a political party regardless of the public interest (Internet, Random House Dictionary).

Therefore, the researcher was concerned to know or find out how possible is it for party politics to embrace and promote good governance which calls for equal opportunity, equality before the law and inclusiveness among other elements or indicators of good governance given the fact that we all agree that party politics favours the interests of those who subscribe to the ruling party.

1.4 Definition/conceptualisation of key terms

Party politics refers to politics engaged in by, expressed through the medium of, or considered from the viewpoint of political parties as distinguished from other

interests (A.L. Rowse, Internet). Again, according to Random House Dictionary (Internet), party politics is defined as politics based on strict adherence to the policies and principles of a political party regardless of the public interest- partisan loyalty. Therefore, basing on the above definitions, we can argue that party politics is that kind of political system in which is described as the practice of focusing on the aims and interests of a political party rather than the public good. It is that politics conducted through, by, or for parties as opposed to other interests or the public good.

A political party is a type of political organization. It typically seeks to influence, direct, or entirely perform government policy; usually by nominating their own candidates and trying to seat them in political office (Heywood, *ibid*). Parties participate in electoral campaigns, awareness outreach, or protest actions. Heywood continues to argue that parties often espouse an ideology or vision, expressed in a party program, bolstered by a written platform with specific goals, forming a coalition among disparate interests. They also demand for good governance by agitating for the rule of law, participation, accountability, responsiveness from the government to citizens' demands, equity and inclusiveness, consensus oriented approaches in solving societal problems, efficiency and effectiveness in service delivery, and transparency in governance.

Governance: According to the UNDP (Internet, http://reform.gov.bb/page/GOOD_GOVERNANCE.pdf), governance can be seen as the exercise of economic, political and administrative authority to manage a country's affairs at all levels. It comprises the mechanisms, processes and institutions through

which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations and mediate their differences. Therefore, governance implies to the way people are ruled either with or without their consent. The way people are governed can be bad or good.

Governance also refers to "all processes of governing, whether undertaken by a government, market or network, whether over a family, tribe, formal or informal organization or territory and whether through laws, norms, power or language." It relates to processes and decisions that seek to define actions, grant power, and verify performance. It is therefore important that citizens should distinguish the difference between good and bad governance in order to fully understand the type of government, which rules them.

Good governance is a set of ideas, which promotes legitimacy, competence, transparency and accountability of the government in due respect for human rights and the rule of law (Internet, ibid). For any country to develop there is need of having institutions, which promote ingredients of good governance. The absence of legitimacy, competence, transparency and accountability gives room to bad governance which hinders the development of any country on earth. Practically, most countries which have developed, it is as a result of a good government framework. Good governance is the essential framework within which business can flourish and provide economic prosperity of all citizens.

Good governance is therefore, among other things, participatory, transparent and accountable. It is also effective and equitable, and it promotes the rule of law. It ensures that political, social and economic priorities are based on broad consensus in society and that the voices of the poorest and the most vulnerable are heard in decision-making over the allocation of development resources.

1.5.0 Objectives of the study

1.5.1 General objective

To find out the role of party politics in promoting or enhancing good governance at Kampala capital city authority

1.5.2 Specific objectives

- i. To find out the role of party politics in promoting good governance.
- ii. To find out the challenges of party politics in enhancing good governance.
- iii. To establish possible solutions to the above challenges.

1.6 Research questions

The study was guided by the following questions:

- (i) What are the roles of party politics in promoting good governance?
- (ii) What are the challenges of party politics in enhancing good governance?
- (iii) What are the possible solutions to the above challenges?

1.7 Significances of the study

The findings of the study will be used as references for future researchers in the related field. Besides, the recommendations reached at may be used by the KCCA and government to make improvements as far as party politics and good governance are concerned.

The findings may also help to generate new debate on the role of party politics in promoting not only good governance but also democracy in our society. And also the findings may generate debate on whether party politics can lead to development in the third world given the challenges associated with party politics.

1.8 Justification of the study

There have been a number of political events and happenings in Kampala Capital City in the past decade or so which even led to its takeover by the central government. Some of these political struggles between the ruling party and opposition parties are obviously political based. News papers and various reports like those of the auditor general have faulted those in charge of the city's affairs. Besides, generally the city's infrastructure and general development of the city seems to be uncoordinated. It is because of these puzzling challenges that the researcher thought it better to find out whether if party politics and good governance worked hand in hand things in Kampala would change for better. The above issues formed the base for justification of the study.

1.9.0 Scope of the study

1.9.1 Geographical scope

The study was conducted at Kampala capital city authority, central division in Kampala district. Kampala capital city authority is the governing body of the city or Kampala district. KCCA is composed of the political wing and the bureaucratic or administrative wing. Each wing has its area of jurisdiction defined according to the KCCA act.

Administrative divisions: Kampala is divided into five divisions, each headed by a popularly elected Mayor. Those divisions are preserved under the new KCCA Law. It is not yet clear what the roles of those five mayors will be in relation to the Lord Mayor and the KCCA Executive Director.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction to literature

This chapter discusses the literature on party politics and good governance in relation to the research objectives. It begins with an over view of party politics and good governance at global level and in the process narrows the discussion to the specific area of study. The reviewing of the related literature was intended to guide the researcher by identifying the gaps between what is and what ought to be and to see how these gaps can be addressed.

2.2 Party politics and promotion of good governance

The actual role that parties fulfill in the world is sometimes hotly debated most especially in the developing world. Some authors include parties among the chief agents of the transition and consolidation [for a country that is coming out of political turmoil or authoritarian government] while others consider them marginal and inconsequential (Agh, 1998). Typically, the international environment and the deteriorating economic situation are regarded as the principle local actors that impact on good governance other than party politics. The lack of clarity on what is responsible for good governance creates a gap. It is this gap that the researcher intended to address by conducting this study.

Markowski (2001) in Katz and Crotty (2006) argues that the development of diffuse political support may precede and not follow the institutionalisation of the party system. This ambiguity surrounding the role of parties is well illustrated by the

comments of Lewis. On the one hand, he claims that parties were marginal in democratic transition, particularly in its early stages (Lewis, 2000). On the other hand, he asserts; competitive parties have been one of the primary organised agencies of political change and the main vehicle for the institutional development of post-communist democracy [and other emerging democracies]. The concept of institutionalisation in this case is used on the assumption that it is the engine through which good governance can be brought into play.

It is true that party competition is still under severe constraints in the regimes of Central Asia and [most African countries]. Authoritarian regimes developed in some of these countries and pluralist political system has not yet been institutionalised in others. However, the question still remains that even in those countries where issues of authoritarianism have been to a larger extent addressed like in the case of Uganda, the challenges of party politics as far as promotion of good governance is concern still remain. Therefore, there still remains the gap that need to be addressed for good governance to take root.

In relation to the above point, Kiranda and Kamp (2010) agree that the party system as it appears now is characterised by a high degree of imbalance, which is typical even of many other African states, with a dominant ruling party facing a weak and sometimes fragmented opposition. They also argue that this means that the “normal” struggle between two or more parties with similar potential is not – or not yet – a given. Of course it has to be taken into consideration that the multiparty system in Uganda is extremely young and therefore still developing. It will remain interesting and

relevant to see what shape it will take in the future. But at this stage one can hardly talk of a balance between the different forces, the different parties. The strength and the dominance of the NRM vis-à-vis the other political parties are still very obvious.

However, as much as they argue that party politics or what they call multiparty politics is still young for us to talk about the balance between parties, they do not tell us how long it takes for party politics of a country to develop to that level where one can say this time round there should not be such an excuse to deny citizens good governance in the name of “we are still a young democracy”. The researcher felt that there must be some sort of solution which she set out to find in this study.

Segert (1996) in Katz and Crotty (op cit) argues that the struggle for power between elite factions unfolds on non-electoral fields, while elections only register the victory retrospectively. However, this argument may be challenged most especially when we compare with developed democracies. The point here is that they also play such elite faction politics but still they are observing the concept of good governance. But when it comes to countries like Uganda and specifically KCCA such elements of good governance seem not to apply. This called for an investigation about what could be the real problem. The answer is provided in the chapter on presentation of findings and data analysis.

According to Wild, L. and Golooba, F. M. (2010), political parties play a central role within well-functioning democracies, aggregating and representing citizens' interests and formulating policy agendas that can respond to citizens' concerns. They however argue that in practice, in many countries – especially developing countries –

political parties are weak and disconnected from the policy process, and struggle to connect with or represent citizens and their interests which in turn would ensure good governance practices. However, their concern is not about the role party politics play in promoting good governance. It is because of this gap that the researcher intended to carry out more investigation specifically tagged to the concept of party politics and good governance.

2.3 Challenges of party politics and good governance in Uganda

Good governance is unthinkable without political parties and, conversely, political parties cannot add value to a political system under conditions of authoritarianism. Parties everywhere have the potential to be effective and accountable, but they face enormous challenges. The political context and the legal environment in which they function, as well as their systems of internal organisation, management and operation, require attention and are often in need of reform.

Although little comparative research has been conducted, it is clear that the external environment – the regulatory, financial, political and electoral spheres in which political parties grow and function – influences parties' strategies and organisation. The external environment also has a fundamental impact on the capacity of parties to become more effective agents of democratisation and good governance.

In the case of Uganda, the nature of the political spectrum remains fundamentally shaped by the recent history of internal conflict, ethnic and regional divisions, and the 'no party' Movement system (Wild, L. and Golooba, F. M., Ibid). They

also argue (Ibid) that this means that in practice, political parties (party politics) in Uganda are (is) not divided along ideological lines (in terms of the 'left/right' spectrum). Instead, some distinctions are made along ethnic, religious and regional lines and overwhelmingly parties are seen as vehicles for the election of leaders or individuals rather than as instruments for advancing the interests of different constituencies.

However, as much as Wild and Golooba are right about the role of political parties and their challenges in the democratisation process, they do not address the issue of good governance directly in relation to party politics. It was because of this gap that the researcher went ahead to try and establish the challenges that specifically make it difficult for party politics to promote good governance.

The external funding for party politics in developing countries has also been blamed for the failure of party politics specifically in Uganda to enhance good governance. Yet in a context where it is widely acknowledged that opposition parties face harassment, and that they are deterred from raising funds, providing a range of technical assistance open to all parties – including the NRM – and focusing on issues around party constitutions, campaigning and so on do not seem to be sufficient. Moreover, a large focus of this more technical approach is on internal democracy measures (Wild and Golooba, Ibid).

The above challenges are undoubtedly important, but experience from a range of other contexts (including in more developed countries) suggests that progress on strengthening internal democracy for political parties is often difficult, not least because

parties are inherently competitive and seek to gain access to power. Therefore, the question is that if in the West they face similar challenges with internal democracy within parties, then, how come these countries are able to implement the policies that lead to good governance? It is such questions that led the researcher to opt to carry out research to establish what exactly causes the challenge to good governance in Uganda in general and Kampala Capital City Authority specifically.

Bawn, *et al* (1995) argues that most studies of parties assume that voters can judge which party offers more of what they want, implying that parties must construct programs with a keen eye to voter satisfaction. They regard this assumption as unrealistic. In its place they theorize an "electoral blind spot" that is, those voters are unable to reliably ascertain policy positions or evaluate party performance. Recognizing the limits of voter acuity, they argue that group-centric parties exploit the complexities of politics to disguise the actions they take on behalf of party agendas.

This analysis is obviously true. However, in modern politics we must contend with the political system of party politics and also find ways through which party politics can employ elements of good governance in the governance question. Therefore, other than Bawn *e ta/* highlighting the fact that parties are more or less groups of people pushing for the interests of those that belong to them, they do not in any way talk about how these parties could work and operate within the confines of good governance. This gap demanded for further research which the researcher set out to address in this study.

2.4 Addressing challenges that hinder party politics from embracing good governance

With the changing perception of political parties (party politics), the initial fear that parties are a divisive force that promotes particularism and have the capacity to undermine national unity and the political order has decreased in favour of the realisation that parties are essential for democratic participation and competition and thus good governance. This, however, "does not negate the possibility that the existence of multiple political parties can generate political and social disorder" (Kuenzi, Lambright 2001). Yet, while this is a challenge that should be dealt with by the political system and the rules and norms for settling differences between the parties (Sartori, 1988), there is still a general consensus among most scholars that political parties/party politics play a crucial role in political stability and democratic consolidation.

Thus, Salih and Nordlund (2007) state that "democratic consolidation can hardly be achieved without political parties playing a significant role not only in the debate but also by practicing the principles and policies they advocate". These principles are those of good governance. Similarly, other authors like Nolte (2000) and Olukoshi (1998) emphasise the essential role of political parties [party politics] in establishing and consolidating democracies. While Olukoshi (1998) argues that "the institutionalisation of a multi-party system is [...] indispensable to the principle and practice of democracy", Lipset (2000) even makes this "indispensability" a core element of his definition of democracy.

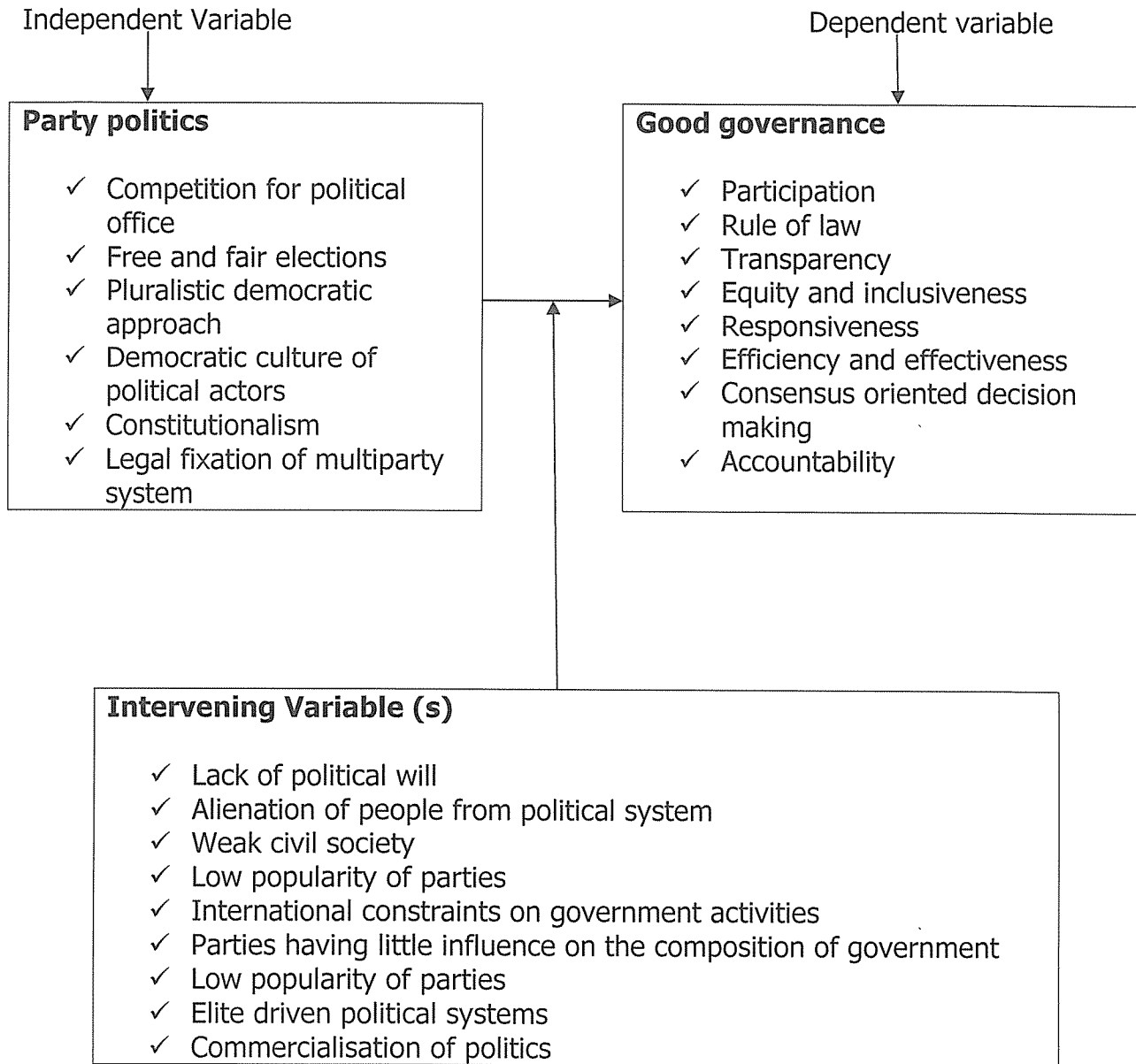
The focus is on the argument that if well harnessed the multiparty political system or party politics has great potential to bring about political stability, accommodate diverse interests and accelerate social development. While some African leaders would want to dismiss multiparty politics as merely suitable for the industrialised West or as fiat for liberal orthodoxy, multipartyism can be part of the solution to political chaos that generally characterises several African states. In the process this leads to good governance.

We also have heard a lot recently about the need to decentralize government and to draw more on participatory organizations in the political arena. Paul Streeten (Internet) has argued that the world has found unworkable and has rejected the process of centralized decision-making in centrally planned economies. But the very same process governs the relations between management and labour within both capitalist and public sector firms. It is well known that under regimentation people do not give their best. Good governance should be introduced not only in politics but also in the private sector; and not only in government and in profit-seeking firms, but also in private voluntary societies and non-governmental organizations such as trade unions and churches; even in some families there is a need for greater participation, or at least better access to those in power.

However, in Uganda decentralisation has been adopted but we still do not see clear elements of good governance like participation, inclusiveness, responsiveness and others being applied. This is what prompted the researcher to carry out an investigation

to see what kind of solutions can work in the case of Uganda using KCCA as a case study.

2.5 Conceptual frame work



This conceptual frame work is like a model explaining how the independent variable leads to the dependent variable. It shows the indicators of the independent variable, that is, for the dependent variable's indicators to be realised, the indicators of

the independent variable must also be in place. However, even if we had the indicators of the independent variable in place, if we do not address the intervening variable, then, we may not be able to realise the indicators of the dependent variable which would lead to good governance.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with research methods that were used in the study. It covers the research design, area of study, study population, sample size, sampling procedure, sample selection, methods of data collection, data quality control, data processing and analysis, and concludes with the major problems encountered in the study and how they were solved.

3.2 Research Design

This study was a case study which was majorly descriptive in nature involving both quantitative and qualitative designs. It aimed at finding out whether party politics necessarily leads to good governance. It was carried out in Kampala Capital City Authority specifically because of the wrangles that existed at that time between the political protagonists, that is the government ruling party and the opposition party that was in charge of the Authority.

3.3 Area of Study

The study was conducted at Kampala capital city authority, central division in Kampala district. Kampala capital city authority is the governing body of the city or Kampala district. KCCA is composed of the political wing and the bureaucratic or administrative wing like any other local government at the district level. Each wing has its area of jurisdiction defined according to the KCCA act. The headquarters of KCCA are located on Nakasero Hill, in the central business district of Kampala, Uganda's capital

city. The headquarters are immediately southwest of the Uganda Parliament Building. The main entrance to the KCCA Complex is located on *Kimathi Avenue*, which comes off of *Parliament Avenue*. The coordinates of this building are: 0° 18' 54.00"N, 32° 35' 9.00"E (Latitude: 0.315000; Longitude: 32.585832)

3.4 Study Population

The study was mainly applied to the employees of KCCA, both the bureaucrats and the politicians (division councilors). It also included the residents of Kampala city through the use of informal interviews selected from the various divisions of Kampala city.

3.5 Sample Size

A sample of 50 respondents was used. The sample was drawn from KCCA staff and the residents of Kampala city. The residents provided the biggest sample with 7 respondents from each division while from KCCA, 15 respondents took part in the study with 5 from the administrative wing and 10 from the political wing. The respondents from the community were chosen at random while in KCCA there was selective sampling. It was not possible to establish the total number of employees of KCCA.

3.6 Sample Procedure

Sampling was both purposive and random throughout the study. This was done in order;

(i) to ensure that all workers in KCCA are equally represented in the sample.

(ii) to enable the researcher gather specific information that is relevant to the issues being investigated.

(iii) purposive and random selecting of respondents from KCCA and Kampala city divisions would lead to findings which are representative of KCCA and city residents.

(iv) Purposively selecting the respondents enabled the researcher to get those people who were literate enough to handle the self administered questionnaire. Being literate in this case meant being able to read English and subsequently respond to the issues raised in the questionnaire. Because of random sampling, respondents who could not read were interviewed using the guided questionnaires but were not considered as part of the sample size.

3.7 Sample Selection

The selection of the respondents was made purposively and randomly for the same reasons given in this very chapter in 3.5. The researcher apportioned respondents into KCCA administrative staff and elected councilors and the residents of Kampala city. The researcher made deliberate effort to ensure that all respondents in the sample size were covered.

3.8 Data Collection Methods

For purposes of this research, several methods were used to collect data. However, the self-administered questionnaires were used as the major data collection method because of the following reasons.

- (i) The self-administered questionnaires were convenient in administering by the researcher and also the respondents
- (ii) The self-administered questionnaires saved the researcher the burden of being at the research place all the time for clarification, reference, answering questions from the respondents and persuading them to be responsive.
- (iii) Using the self-administered questionnaires also provided time, room, and chance for respondents to read the questions, think about and comprehend them and give responses that are not influenced by the researcher.

The questionnaire was largely used to collect primary data through both open-ended and closed-ended questions in the questionnaire.

The second method of data collection method used by the researcher was the interview method. An interview schedule was constructed and used for face to face interview of respondents to supplement the responses obtained through the self-administered questionnaire method. And as such, this improved on the reliability, validity, and quality of answers. Probing was a major aspect of the interview method.

The third method which the researcher employed to gather the required data, though on a small scale, was holding informal discussions. Informal discussions were held at work places. This method also yielded very crucial information.

Lastly, documentary method was used to gather secondary data that was important as well. This involved reading textbooks, journals, news papers and the use of electronic sources like the internet.

3.9 Data Quality Control

For purposes of reliability of the findings, the researcher used the triangulation method, that is, the researcher used several collection methods, which included the self-administered questionnaires, formal interviews, and secondary sources. All these methods were used to ensure that data collected was consistent. For purposes of validity of the research findings, the researcher used secondary sources to find out whether the responses tally with the interpretations and conclusions made by the researcher.

3.10 Data Processing and Analysis

Processing of data went mainly through four stages.

- (i) To begin with, the interview and informal discussions were noted and then organized.
- (ii) The questionnaires were then thoroughly checked for purposes of detecting, eliminating errors, ensuring accuracy and completeness.
- (iii) The data collected were then compared to find out similarities and differences. Similar findings were put in one category while the un-similar data were put in a different category.
- (iv) Lastly, the relevant information/data were sorted by relating it to the problem areas of the study, after which individual interpretations, judgments, opinions, conclusions and or recommendations by the researcher were made.

On the other hand, data analysis involved the coding of close-ended questions whereby responses were grouped into categories in order to give the exact figures of how many respondents chose a particular category and this was mainly done through the tally method. Percentages and tables were also used among other simple statistical methods. The percentages and tables which appear were made after the coding and computation of data, showing the logical relationship between the data. For open-ended questions, found himself drawing generalizations from the various responses given by the respondents because data generated by such questions was difficult to code.

3.11 The constraints encountered and how they were solved

During the study, the researcher encountered a number of constraints. The following were major constraints encountered.

- (i) Getting access to respondents was a big challenge most the KCCA staff (administrative). The problem however got resolved when the researcher in addition to presentation of an introduction letter from the University got a letter from the head of human resources allowing her to conduct research among the staff.
- (ii) Delayed responses proved to be another challenge in the course of the study. This was because most of the respondents were very busy either with official duty or personal businesses. In order to solve this problem, more

questionnaires were distributed to cover the gaps of those who were not able to respond in time.

- (iii) Last but not least, the research was quite demanding financially given the fact that I partly support my studies myself. Never the less the researcher managed to borrow money from friends and was eventually able to complete the study successfully.

CHAPTER FOUR: PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS, INTERPRETATION AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the researcher presents the findings from the field study about the role of party politics in promoting good governance, analyses the findings by trying to make sense out of peoples' or respondents' contributions using qualitative methods of analysis and to a small extent simple quantitative methods using simple descriptive statistics like percentages and frequencies. During the process of analysis, interpretation of research findings was also done. The data presentation, analysis, and interpretation were done following the order of objectives.

4.2 On whether Party politics leads to promotion of good governance

Table I: showing respondents response on whether party politics can lead to good governance

| Category | Frequency | Percentage |
|-----------------|------------------|-------------------|
| Yes | 41 | 82% |
| No | 09 | 18% |
| Total | 50 | 100% |

Source: Primary Data

Table 1 above shows that 41 out of the 50 respondents agree that party politics can lead to good governance thus representing 82 percent of the respondents. This is an

indication that majority of the respondents do agree that party politics is necessary for good governance to thrive while the minority representing 18 percent of the respondents think otherwise. Therefore, majority of the respondents who agreed with the view that party politics is necessary to promote good governance argued that parties have actively fought for human rights, pressed for alternative policies as well as exposing the weaknesses of the government's positions on several issues. They observed that the weaknesses in KCCA have been highlighted by the opposition through for example petitioning the parliament and the Auditor General on lack of accountability, transparency, rule of law, efficiency and effectiveness and corruption among others.

Some respondents also argued that legal struggles in courts of law have been a key instrument used by parties which have helped to compel the Movement government to ensure that people of Kampala also retain their right to elect their leaders. They gave the in which the current Lord Mayor has so far survived being thrown out of city hall under the political machinations of government. In this case it is argued that political parties are promoting rule of law though the government is try to frustrate the same.

Majority of the respondents also argued that there have been various avenues for citizen's engagement and debate in public politics because of party politics. These have included active participation of ordinary people in local elections at various levels, from LCI to LC5 and in the national elections. Open radio talk shows (bimeeza) were pointed out to have increased citizens' engagement in public debate on almost all

subjects of public concern. However, some were quick to add that following the riots of 12-14 September 2009 the government suspended four radio stations and a number of radio presenters. The live radio public debates were also suspended.

4.3 On the challenges of party politics to promote good governance

Table II: showing respondents' views on whether there are challenges of party politics in promoting good governance

| Category | Frequency | Percentage |
|----------|-----------|------------|
| Yes | 50 | 100% |
| No | 0 | 0% |
| Total | 50 | 100% |

Source: Primary Data

In table II above, all the respondents, that is, 100% agreed that there were challenges that hinder party politics from ensuring that there is good governance. There was no single respondent that thought otherwise as far as challenges to party politics and good governance is concerned. Different respondents gave different responses on what they thought limits party politics from helping society to realise good governance. Below we look at some of the respondents' reactions.

Majority of the respondents observed weaknesses in the opposition parties which they relate to internal as well as external factors. According to them, the latter include the dominance and advantages of the ruling party and the lack of fairness in campaigning. For example, majority of the respondents highlighted the case of the Lord

Mayor on how the ruling party is fighting hard to ensure that he is out of the city authority yet he was elected by the majority in a free and fair election.

The wide range of arguments and explanations brought forward from majority of the respondents include, among others: the negative historical experience with political parties and the resulting mistrust towards them; the “hangover” of the Movement system and the legacy of a long period without multiparty competition; the benefit of incumbency on the part of the NRM; the strategic – and financial – advantage of the party in power; the lack of a level playing field and the lack of freedom and fairness in campaigns and elections.

Some respondents blamed the failure of the opposition parties to cooperate, unite and work together as the lead cause for the failure of party politics to lead to the achievement of good governance practices at KCCA. They pointed out for example, that during the 2011 Mayoral elections the opposition had agreed on the candidate to compete on a united opposition platform but almost each party ended up fielding its own candidate.

Many respondents also argued that opposition parties lack sufficient financial resources to run their programmes. While it would be expected that parties would raise resources locally from among their supporters, this strategy, they argued is beset by three confounding factors: that parties have not been permitted to campaign freely in the whole country. Their rallies are constantly dispersed by police as “illegal gatherings” (pointed out one respondent); and that with the passing of the Public Order

Management Bill into Law, the situation might become even more difficult for political parties to perform their functions that would encourage the adoption of good governance practices.

Some respondents observed that the capacity to campaign depends on whether a party has well-established structures, programmes and personnel to extend its campaign. However, they argued that there are also structural weaknesses. They argued that most of the parties in Uganda exist only in name, and are based at their headquarters. One respondent observed; "It is, for example, difficult for citizens to recall the names of most of the thirty or so registered parties".

Respondents also pointed out that, the NRM seems to be using the state apparatus to frustrate the activities of the opposition political parties. That for example the elected Lord Mayor has been on several occasions blocked from accessing not only his office but even the electorates who elected him and whom he is meant to serve. The Ugandan police, they observed, has gained notoriety for dispersing opposition party assemblies on the pretext that they have not secured police permission to assemble. Some respondents agreed that the police and other security agencies have been infiltrated by military personnel, who seem not to perceive themselves as servants of the State but as agents of the ruling party and its leadership. An example is when another paramilitary group allied to the Uganda police known as "Kiboko Squad" has dispersed demonstrators in the city center on several occasions, with brutal force (a respondent).

One respondent during the guided interview argued that parties in Uganda have historically been factionalised on the basis of ethnicity, religion and region. The DP was perceived as a "Catholic party" and the UPC as a "Protestant party". When the NRM ascended to power in 1986, it campaigned on the grounds of anti-sectarianism, arguing that it intended to uproot such parochial tendencies within Uganda society. However, the respondent argues that religious values are still manipulated opportunistically by political parties.

In the same vein, many respondents observed that most of the political parties, including the NRM, are fond of taking their campaign to places of worship. The NRM was singled out as having focused on Pentecostal (Balokole) churches and Muslim groups for recruitment of support. A respondent said that "President Museveni is known for offering 4WD vehicles as gifts to religious leaders, especially bishops, at their installation. Such gifts are clearly meant to buy their loyalty to him and his party". Likewise, leaders of opposition parties usually make it a point not to miss most of the important religious functions such as Uganda Martyrs Day that falls on 3 June every year, even when they are not of Catholic or Protestant faith. Such Factionalisation, it was observed that it cannot allow for good governance to workout properly.

Respondents also pointed out that the NRM has used the state media (which is supposed to be politically impartial) to advance its view points. One of the respondents observed that the state owns the New Vision newspaper as well as its sister papers Rupiny, Etop, Bukedde and Orumuri that are used to propagate the NRM ideology to the disadvantage of other political parties.

Respondents pointed out that State patronage has undermined the formal channels of wealth-making and doing clear business. This partly explains the low levels of investment in long-term sectors such as heavy industries, hence lack of opportunities in the formal employment sector for college graduates. Desperate job-seekers are easily manipulated by the state agencies, just as are the peasants making it difficult for party politics to make it possible for good governance to thrive in Uganda in general and KCCA in particular.

One further argument put forward was that the Movement system has commercialised the politics. Ideally, it is people who should finance the party, but now it was the party financing the political process. As one respondent noted, "since the government in power has access to rudimentary approaches in doing the same it is bringing a lot of challenges". He further stated that "commercialisation of politics has grown over the years and has made the ground extremely unlevelled, with vehicles given to religious leaders so that the entry point becomes extremely difficult". Another respondent observed that the opposition members of political parties would not contribute adequately to fund their parties: "They do not contribute, and hence, their parties are constantly broke and cannot hold massive sensitisation campaigns."

4.4 On the solutions to the challenges of party politics in promoting good governance

Table III: showing respondents' views on the solutions to the challenges of party politics in promoting good governance.

| Item | Frequency | Percentage |
|--|-----------|------------|
| Separate State Institutions from the ruling party | 40 | 80% |
| Provide Civic Education | 20 | 40% |
| Encourage and support Civil Society organisations and Community based organisations | 15 | 30% |
| Fair electoral laws | 50 | 100% |
| The ruling party should not be allowed powers to use State resources for its own benefit | 42 | 84% |
| All parties must cooperate on important matters (tolerance) | 50 | 100% |

Source: Primary Data

Institutions of the state should be separated from those of the ruling party, and all parties should be perceived as equal not only before the law but also the state. One respondent urged that the ruling NRM should "realise that the opposition is now part and parcel of the political discourse in the country and should be allowed to build themselves into viable parties which can take over political power through a democratic contest".

Respondents suggested that since the majority of Ugandans are illiterate, there is need for public civic education. This has not been taking place. The EC should carry out an effective voter education, resulting in voters exercising their democratic voting rights. The state should conduct compulsory ideological politicisation courses for civil servants, civic leaders, and ordinary citizens.

Other forms of citizen engagement are through civil society organisations (CSOs) and community-based organisations (CBOs). In addition, most civil society organisations have to tread carefully when dealing with the state in Uganda because there is always the need for them to renew their registration annually, which the state may deny for "security" or other reasons.

The performance of the political parties is enhanced by a belief within them that there are fair electoral laws and institutions that can ensure free and fair elections. Political parties in Uganda have significant confidence in the judicial system. The courts of law helped political parties in their struggles for the opening up of political space through judicial rulings on party petitions over repressive laws. FDC president, Dr Kizza Besigye, has taken his electoral grievances to court twice (2001 and 2006).

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Conclusion

This research paper surveyed the key issues for consideration in the promotion of a party politics and good governance. It looked at the nature of party politics in Uganda using the case of KCCA and its reluctance to promote and deepen good governance, even after opening up political space in 2005. State institutions, especially the coercive arm of the state, are perceived as working for the wishes of the ruling party. Other institutions of the state, especially the judiciary, are generally perceived as being fair to all. However, there are indications that such institutions are being “tamed and trimmed” by the ruling elite to compromise their independence.

From this perspective, it will be difficult for party politics to deepen good governance in KCCA in particular and Uganda in general unless there is a new commitment to the rules of the game, institutions of the state are separated from those of the ruling party, and all parties are perceived as equal not only before the law but also the State.

The focus was also on the argument that if well harnessed the party political system has great potential to bring about political stability, accommodate diverse interests and accelerate social development which are a result of good governance.

The paper also highlights the resilience of political parties and their ability to survive political “storms”. The strategy to “kill off” parties has never succeeded. Even those who do not like parties come to acknowledge their efficacy as power brokers,

hence the intermittent return to party politics in Uganda in 2005. If party politics is to nurture good governance, political parties need to sweep their houses and to keep them in order. The stronger the support of the voters, the more the parties will be able to push a human rights and good governance agenda. By working together on common issues such as free and fair elections, freedom of the press, poverty eradication, civic education, and the general concerns of the common person, there will be a shift from just changing the current leadership to broad issues that will eventually shape the ideologies of political parties.

The irony of party politics is that even if authoritarian leaders loathe it, it has an appeal for those who believe that it is likely to allow them space to participate in the governance of the country, especially the minority. Ruling parties may also find it convenient for the survival of their regimes. Thus, even when some sections of the leadership of the dominant NRM had rejected the reintroduction of party politics, a decision was taken in 2003 by the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the Movement under Museveni's directive, to open up the country to multiparty politics.

5.2 Recommendations

Citizen participation in the affairs of their country is a very important aspect of good governance. These same citizens should hold their leaders responsible for all the actions. This requires a well-informed society which can substantiate facts and ensure that all forms of human rights are enshrined in a constitution and adhere to.

Separation of Powers is another aspect of good governance which safe guards the interests of all citizens. Most governments consist of the executive, legislature and Judiciary. These 3 arms of government are supposed to be independent so that there is no abuse of power by one section of government.

Excessive power to one wing of KCCA may hinder transparency and accountability which can be said to be the real key to good governance. Therefore, for party politics to usher in good governance, all political actors and players should work within the confines of constitutionalism.

Accountability and transparency can only be achieved if KCCA departments work independently, so that they can make follow up to irregularities. In other words, this would allow for checks and balances between the various departments of KCCA.

A free and fair electoral system which allows regular elections is also important in order to achieve good governance. In our country, elections are regular but cannot be said to be free and fair. This is due to corrupt vices which characterizes election times, unfair media coverage and misuse of government property by the ruling party.

Tolerance is another aspect of good governance which is regularly ignored. This can be seen in the political antagonism, which exists between the office of the executive director of KCCA and the office of the Lord Mayor, and councilors that represent various political parties. Therefore, it is important that our leaders observe the culture tolerance if we are going to benefit from party politics with regard to good governance.

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APPENDIX 1

A SELF ADMINISTERED QUESTIONNAIRE ABOUT THE ROLE OF PARTY POLITICS IN THE PROMOTION OF GOOD GOVERNANCE IN UGANDA: A CASE STUDY OF KCCA

Introduction

Hello, my name is Juliet Aluba. I am a third year student at Kampala International University, School of Social Sciences; Department of Political and Administrative studies. I am carrying out research on the role of party politics in the promotion of good governance in KCCA. The study is for academic purposes and it could be helpful to other researchers and service providers in addressing issues of good governance.

I humbly request you to lend me your valuable time and share with me your ideas. Your participation will be greatly appreciated and information given will be kept confidential and specifically used for academic purposes.

SECTION ONE

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS (BACKGROUND)

1. Sex

(a) Male (b) Female

2. Age (years)

3. Education Level

(a) Primary (b) Secondary (c) Certificate (d) Diploma (e) University and Above

SECTION TWO

ON WHETHER PARTY POLITICS LEADS TO PROMOTION OF GOOD GOVERNANCE

4. What does party politics (political parties) need to do in order to promote the good governance? (Tick every alternative you deem correct)

(a) They fight for human rights

(b) They press for alternative policies visa-viz those of government

(c) They identify weaknesses of government on several issues most especially those to do with governance

(d) They normally use legal means to compel government to respect and observe the rule of law

(e) They aid public participation in political matters by holding discussions on radio and television and also during public rallies.

SECTION THREE

ON THE CHALLENGES OF PARTY POLITICS IN TRYING TO PROMOTE GOOD GOVERNANCE

5. What the challenges that interfere in the role of party politics to promote good governance. (Tick every appropriate alternative)

(a) Weaknesses in opposition parties

(b) Lack of sufficient financial resources to run parties' programmes

(c) Harassment of opposition parties from the ruling party

(d) Use of State apparatus to favour the ruling party against the opposition parties

(e) Factionalisation of parties on the basis of ethnicity, religion and region.

(f) State patronage because of poverty which in turn weakens the growth of opposition parties that would check the excesses of government.

(g) Commercialisation of politics

(h) Lack of separation of powers

SECTION FOUR

ON THE SOLUTIONS TO THE CHALLENGES OF PARTY POLITICS IN PROMOTING GOOD GOVERNANCE

6. What do you think could be the solutions to the challenges identified in the previous section of this questionnaire (Section Three)? (Tick every appropriate answer)

(a) Separation of State institutions from the ruling party e.g. the police

(b) Provision of civic education

(c) Encouraging and supporting civil society organisations and community based organisations

(d) Holding free and fair regular elections

(e) The ruling party should not be allowed powers to use state resources for its benefit against the opposition parties

(f) All parties must cooperate on important matters especially those that promote good governance.

Thank you very much for agreeing to be part of this research