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MAKERERE UNIVERSITY

SEPTEMBER 2012
DECLARATION

I Pamela Ankunda, declare that this is my original work and has never been presented to any Institution of learning for any award.

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This work has been submitted with my approval as a university supervisor.

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DATE:.....................................................................................................................
DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to daddy and mummy, so long forever gone.
ACKNOWLEGDMENTS:

This study would never have been possible without the guidance of Dr. Lubowa whose patience is unmatched.

I can’t possibly mention all my friends, but no doubt-Emma Kaduku, Don-Benji, Carol, Kansiime J, Violet, Grace, Charlotte, Asimwe, Ruth, Bugzy, Oquals, Eropu, Kyompeire, Harrison, deserve special recognition. You guys are the best! Puki and Lydia, thank you for the unconditional open arms. I also would like to thank the family of OR for their support and prayers.

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ABSTRACT

It is difficult to imagine Political leadership without a healthy democracy or a healthy democracy without effective political leadership.

This main objective of the study was to analyze the relationship between political leadership and democracy in Uganda, and, identifies transformational leadership as an outcome from the different actors, in a historical context.

Data collection comprised of both Primary and secondary; the researcher’s primary data collection methods included the use of questionnaire and focused group discussion. A total of 150 respondents participated in the study.

The research was done in Kabale District argues that political leadership and democracy, can facilitate good governance, free and fair elections, equal participation, people’s freedoms, and foster transformational leadership in the process. Kabale District which is at the centre of the study has been affected by historical events, as they, have on the national scene. It indicates that while the formation of political parties for leadership and democracy is visited on the national scene, Kabale had similar actors at both the national and local scene.

The following were the findings: That Political leaders must understand the needs and values of citizens to help them realize the achievements of a democratic setting. It argues that political leaders must be decisive in shaping the development of the country in instituting democratic patterns, processes and systems.

Fundamental factors like good governance, participation, regular free and fair elections, society participation in decision making and respect of people’s choices must be upheld and maintained, as the conclusion indicates.

Political leaders must strive to understand the needs and values of the citizens whom they choose to lead, and must realize that leadership is voluntary. The thesis also argues that In order to achieve liberal democracy, where freedom for all can be exercised, where effective leadership can prevail, where there is a choice rather than coercion, where the common will and the common good prevail.
CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Relationship between Political Leadership and Democracy (1962-2011)

“We will spare no effort to promote democracy and strengthen the rule of law, as well as respect for all internationally recognized human rights and fundamental freedoms”. Millennium Declaration

The establishment of democracy is a necessary tool for political leadership to become transformational. The process of democratization and political leadership continues to emerge amongst different societies. In every society, people are at the centre of both political leadership and democracy. Consequently, Uganda in general and Kabale in particular provides a unique case study for understanding the relationship between the two; leadership and democracy. The people to whom the two concepts largely applied should be at the centre of focus, especially in the Ugandan setting that is largely regarded as ‘young democracy’.

This dissertation is therefore a contribution to a fundamentally important debate – the relationship between political leadership and the formation of a democratic society. The argument of the research is that leadership is the basis for democracy, which leadership influenced by experience leads to transformation. The role of leaders is to foster an environment in which the principles of a democratic society can be experienced, understood and consequently, acted upon so that the people and society experience tranquility.

Uganda has for long aspired to have democratic governance, however largely dodged by a history that was colonial. The country has suffered forms of instability-political and economical. Immediately after independence in 1962,
there was a large semblance of multiparty politics from *Kabaka Yekka*, Uganda People’s Congress, Democratic Party, and with time, rule of the gun emerged from Obote to Amin, (1966-1979) and a collapse into a one party state. However, political parties have since been re-instated, and Uganda is under multiparty system of governance, re-instated after the 2005 referendum.

Uganda obtained independence in 1962 under a coalition government of Milton Obote's predominantly Uganda People's Congress. It is still arguable whether the democratic era in Uganda started with the country’s achievement of self rule in March 1961, Independence on October 9, 1962, or not. The other view is that the era of people centered democracy in Uganda can be traced way back in 1967 when Uganda was declared a ‘Republic’ after the then self declared President, Dr. Milton Obote (RIP) abolished Kingdoms. The argument for this is that popular participation, which is believed to be the basis of democracy, replaced a colonial system that had not brought participation per se, except for those who worked with the colonialists. In other wards, the political leaders of the two eras can neither be distinguished nor detached from Uganda’s [path to] democracy.

It is on the supposition that democratic societies achieve their success through a fair, competitive, transparent and collective turnover and share of leadership and participation by all their citizens. Democracy assumes that citizens fully participate in the democratization process in choosing their political leaders and pre-determining their political path. It is on this path of democratization that people are governed, by entering into social contract with their leaders for a full democratization process, [for efficient leadership].

It is these two concepts; and the relationship, political leadership and democracy that continue to feature greatly and stir up debates today and are thus the subjects of this research.
This research also discusses democracy, the growth of Political parties like Democratic Party- (DP), Uganda Peoples Congress- (UPC), National Resistance Movement (NRM) from small groups of people to command country wide support; importantly placed in a historical perspective because it clearly indicates the stages of Uganda’s democratic path over the years.

Other political parties like the Forum for Democratic Change (FDC), the Peoples Development Party (PDP), Peoples Progressive Party (PPP) have established themselves on the political scene since the current NRM Government opened up political space, from the old Movement system of Governance to the multi-party system. The challenges that existed in the past, such as centralization of power and politicized ethnicity-all strategic bottlenecks to potential democracy, are points of contention, when the subject is deeply revisited.

In striving for political leadership and democracy however, there is need to deeply internalize the origin of these concepts to acknowledge whether they are from ‘with in’ or from ‘outside’, and the path that Uganda has taken in ensuring the values of leadership and democracy.

Democracy in its major understanding ought to influence leadership to design policies that are beneficial to society, yet the further reality and understanding of the concepts reveals an inalienable relationship that exists between political leadership and democracy on one hand, and participation and democracy on the other. What comes to mind is that is if politics of the majority suppresses the minority through voting and elections, can political leadership then be the ultimate consideration of democracy as an ideal?

For example, while there might be a consensus that Africa is a continent that is going through its own “democratic process”, there is need to establish the reality of its application to Uganda, in relation to political leadership. There is thus need
to define its relevance, in accordance with what is appropriate to the fundamental ideals of the understanding of democracy in the world view.

How the notions of democracy and political leadership are applied in Uganda therefore, is in the interest of this thesis. Interestingly, there are other views that are shaped by religion, culture, political party affiliation, and ethnicity that influence the political thinking and democratic participation in Uganda and therefore impacting on people’s perception and relevance of democracy. It is that widespread indifference in understanding democracy and how leadership is applied, which remains an interesting conception that forms this study.

Kabale district is not unique from other areas of Uganda. Similar challenges have been faced in this district like other parts of Uganda. It is against this background that political dynamics and leadership are discussed in Kabale.

1.2 Background to the study:

Uganda received Independence from British colonial rule in 1962, handing over the mantle of leadership to Ugandans, yet a lot of what is perceived as democratic and leadership gaps, arose. There were many registered political parties at Independence, and these came with anticipation that Uganda was destined for bigger democratic credentials and leadership to propel Uganda. However before Independence, Uganda had witnessed birth of political parties which had been premised largely on religious sentiments-the Democratic Party which borrowed its ideology from the German Christian Democrats, the Uganda peoples Congress which was mainly entrenched in Northern Uganda and in the west, and the Buganda nationalist party- Kabakka Yekka that was largely centred around Buganda. The Democratic Party had won more seats but failed to have a majority and the UPC and Kabakka Yekka formed an alliance that saw the Democratic Party kept out of power. There were also deep divisions among national, religious and ethnic groupings. Towards Independence, the British linked elite
were known to have supported one religious group—protestant; while the majority of the population was catholic. There was no mutual coordination between the two and they excluded each other. There was also economic and ethnic divisions. Upon Independence, Milton Obote of Uganda Peoples Congress became Prime Minister, in what was seen as power sharing, amidst challenges of democracy.

From the general over-view, we look at Kabale before the coming of Europeans, and before the name Kigezi was adopted. The area was known by four names Mundorwa, Bufumbira, Bujumbura and Butumbi. All these were amalgamated to Kigezi when the Europeans came.

Kigezi, from where Kabale originates, had before independence, registered a relationship between religion and politics through the ‘elders’ commonly referred to as the abakuru b’emiryango (leaders) who set rules and guidelines for society and settled disputes. The fact that these leaders formed consensus on issues indicates that they had their own form of democracy and leadership, and it would thus be a mistake to imagine that democracy only started when Uganda received her independence.

However, Paul Ngologoza (1963) writes that with time, the agents of Europeans and eventual colonizers became the inspiration of those who were anxious to see power derive into district councils and thus the politics of colonizing Kigezi like other districts involved a long and eventually a quite successful struggle to level up the [leadership] powers of Kigezi. It is such changes that suggest political and democratic changes in Kabale, which is the focus of our study.

In Kabale today, there is a strong interconnection with historical circumstances. Rachel Yeld (1969) says that the concept of Unity (which is a factor of political leadership and democracy) which the (then Kiga of Kigezi) had as a people stems partly from their Independence, and partly from the similarity in the political
economic and social structures within which clans and local lineage communities operated.

The major political parties Kabale district after the 1962 period were the Democratic Party (DP), the Uganda Peoples Congress (UPC) and the Uganda Patriotic Movement (UPM) though the UPM which had been formed after 1980 after various political parties agreed to combine forces largely metamorphosed into oblivion. Kabale District participated in the historical path of democracy at the time, with active participation in matters of the State like the army, in democratic activities like the Constitution making processes in the 60s-through vocal support to the political parties from individuals like UPC’s Eric Katama, UPC’s Vicent Kampayani, UPM’s Paul Bakainaga, Eriya Babukyikia, and through the botched 1980 elections where learned sons of the soil like Prof. George Kanyeihamba, Dr. Ruhakana Rugunda, Richard Barigayomwe and John Babigumira were to later, shape the politics of Kabale.

This background relates to the contentious issues being discussed; of leadership and democracy. This research realizes that through out the years, there has been increased vigilance towards democratic struggle for political leadership and identity, freedom and democracy, not just at the national level, but in Kabale as well.

Uganda’s history has been shaped by different leadership styles under ‘multipartism’ and ‘movement system’ that was largely seen as “a no party system’. In 2005, Uganda later held a referendum that later re-introduced ‘multiparty’ systems of ‘democracy’. History has recorded different settings in the establishment and democratic changes although they have since changed in structures as we see later. An interesting point of reference in Uganda is the way the country's leadership has changed from the post colonial era, to Apollo Milton Obote, to how Amin came to power, through the gun. Sabiti Makara says that while the country’s immediate post independence regime was a vibrant
multiparty system; it soon collapsed into a one-party state under Apollo Milton Obote followed by Idi Amin’s military coup in 1971. Amin’s eight years of brutal dictatorship (1971-79) was sustained by military governors in almost all state positions.

The relevance of history and historical facts provide important facts for this thesis. Rita Bynes (1992) writes that Amin's well-publicized excesses at the expense of Uganda and its citizens were not unique, nor were they the earliest assaults on the rule of law. They were foreshadowed by Amin's predecessor, Apollo Milton Obote, who suspended the 1962 constitution and ruled part of Uganda by martial law for five years before a military coup in 1971 brought Amin into power. Amin's regime was followed by an even bloodier one- Obote's second term as President during the civil war from 1981 to 1985, when government troops carried out genocidal sweeps of the rural populace in a region that became known as the Luwero Triangle. The dramatic collapse of the government under Amin and his plunder of his nation's economy, followed by the even greater failure of the second Obote government in the 1980s is discussed later.

The gun has played a big role in leadership changes in this country where five presidents out of the nine Uganda has had, assumed power through gun-related incidences and seven out of the nine presidents went out of power quite unceremoniously in ways through which they assumed it.

The five who came into power by gunfire related means were: Milton Obote (1966), General Idi Amin (1971), Prof. Yusuf Lule (1979), General Okello Lutwa (1985) and Yoweri Museveni (1986).

The Uganda People's Congress (UPC), founded in 1959, was the leading political party of the pre-Amin era. At the time of Independence (UPC) it formed a ruling coalition with the Kabaka Yekka (The King Only), which drew its support largely from the Baganda. The opposition party was the Democratic Party (DP), founded in 1953. Actually, in February 1962, the Kabaka Yekka swept the Lukiiko elections in Buganda winning 63 out of the 65 seats against the Democratic Party. In the elections outside Buganda which were held in April 1962, UPC led by Apollo Milton Obote won 37 against DP’s 27 seats. This enabled Obote to form Government on the basis of UPC-KY alliance earlier agreed upon in 1961. On this note, when Uganda attained her independence on the October 9th 1962, Obote was the Prime Minister under the UPC-KY alliance in power. However, because colonial administrators demanded countrywide elections, which were held in 1961, the cultural element stems in again, when, the Buganda Lukiiko, which was against direct elections for fear of a Catholic victory, boycotted the elections. Consequently, voter turn-up in Buganda was very low. The Democratic Party won 19 seats in Buganda and a further 24 seats outside Buganda. UPC won 35 seats outside Buganda. As a result, Benedicto Kiwanuka of the DP became the first Chief Minister of Uganda.

However, the marriage of convenience between the UPC and the Kabaka Yekka was built on “a shaky ground” and inevitably deteriorated at a later time. When the Kabaka, Sir Edward Mutesa II, was elected by Parliament as President in 1964, Obote as Francis Bwengye (1988) writes, cunningly appreciated as he was reported as having said that the minute Mutesa swore on the Bible as President, he knew he “had finished him”!

In February 1966, Prime Minister Milton Obote, who had been the head of the UPC, suspended the constitution, deposed the President and Vice President in an announcement he made on February 24th, 1966 in a press conference. This
research thus also explores the historical context like the 1966 crisis in political leadership and democracy.

Apollo Milton Obote began a move to full executive powers, which culminated in the proclamation of the Republic of Uganda under a new constitution adopted in September 1967. Seemingly, the political situation under Obote continued to deteriorate, and after an attempt on his life at Lugogo in Kampala on October 19th 1969, Obote's government banned the opposition parties. Uganda was subsequently declared a one-party state in 1969, the Uganda People’s Congress (UPC) remaining as the only legal party. After the military overthrow of the Obote government on 25 January 1971, Amin outlawed all political parties.

The suspension of the 1962 Constitution seemingly constitutes the death bed of democracy in Uganda especially in regard to holding regular elections. The earlier scheduled 1967 general elections were cancelled, aided by the fact that the Constitution in which they were stipulated was no longer in force. Indeed thereafter, Obote ruled without being subjected to vote until he was brought face to face with Amin in the infamous January 25 1971 coup. Among the major 18 reasons which Amin gave for the coup was Obote’s failure to allow elections to take place. He therefore argued that he had come to reinstate democracy but again made “history” when no elections took place for all the years he was in power! Instead, on the 25th June, 1975, Lt. Col. Sule (RIP) announced the Army intention to make Amin Life President! Indeed, Amin perceived himself as the Life President of Uganda and in one incidence, forced Whites to lift him on their shoulders upon which, he declared himself the Conqueror of the British Empire! However, Amin’s “supposed” Life Presidency was shortened to only 8 years!

There was a demonstration of the dangers of a chief executive who ignores the rule of law as Amin had shown and a group of Ugandans after numerous meetings came up with the Moshi Declaration, which created the Uganda National Liberation Front (UNLF) government in 1979 to replace Amin. Amin’s
regime was thus cut short in 1979 by a combined armed force of Uganda exiles with the backing of the Tanzanian Peoples Defence Forces.

After the overthrow of Amin, four political parties took part in the Parliamentary elections held in December 1980. The UPC was declared to have won 74 seats in the National Assembly; the DP, 51; the Uganda Patriotic Movement, 1; and the Conservative Party, 0. These parties, as well as Yoweri Museveni's National Resistance Movement and the Uganda Freedom Movement, were later represented in the cabinet appointed in 1986. Constitutional democracy was revived and Uganda got a Constitution in 1994 from a 284 member assembly, enacted in September and promulgated on October 8, 1995. From Kabale, Dr. Rugunda, Fr. Gaetano Batanyenda were nominated by the President to participate, The government of Museveni then ordered all parties to suspend active operations, and mandated that elections would not be held before 1989.

By 1991, however, party activity, although banned, began to increase although Museveni insisted that no party activity could precede the new Constitution and declared that parties were not allowed to participate in either the Presidential election or the Parliamentary elections held in May and June of 1996, respectively. The UPC, DP, and CP remained the most important opposition parties in spite of this. In the 1996 Presidential elections, the three formed an alliance-the Inter Party Coalition supporting Dr. Kawanga Ssemogerere who was the main challenger to President Museveni in those elections.

In the 2001 Presidential race, the parties united behind Col (Rtd) Dr. Kiiza Besigye with the slogan, “Reform Now”, still against the incumbent, Museveni. This kind of cooperation among the Opposition Parties has remained-albeit rather loosely and one can even say that it has become part of their political culture though not all of them always agree to work together. This is partly confirmed in the Protocol document of the Inter-Party Cooperation dated 5th day of August 2008 quoting: “CP, DP, FDC, JEEMA and UPC (hereinafter called ‘the
participating Political Parties’) have previously cooperated and successfully campaigned for the return of multiparty democratic governance in Uganda under the umbrella of the G.7 and later G.6, …”

It is against this background that the NRM argues that the Opposition cooperation is not new and that according to the NRM spokesperson Mary Karoro Okurut, they “have defeated them in the past and will continue to do so despite their loose alliance under the Inter-Party Cooperation (IPC)”. To support her argument is her deputy Ofwono Opondo who retaliates the statement that “The NRM believes that the Opposition Parties are weak, that therefore the IPC is simply a combination of weak fellows who must continuously be defeated by the NRM (Opondo and Banyenzaki, 2009)

The challenges of the IPC became even stiffer since some Party Officials started trading unpalatable statements against each other. For example, the Forum for Democratic Change Vice President, Salaamu Musumba condemned the Democratic Party (DP) “to hell” if they do not want to join this coalition of opposition parties (Sunday Vision, 18th April, 2010). DP which is reluctant to join the IPC had set some conditions. The party apparently wanted a thorough study carried out on the viability of a single Presidential candidate before it considered joining the coalition.

It is understood that DP strategists reasoned that their entry into the IPC would be in the actual sense “a donation” of its members to FDC given the 2006 experience whereby some of the DP members who supported Besigye as an opposition informal joint strategy to remove NRM from “power have since then joined the FDC henceforth”. The analysis indicated that UPC strategists thought that if DP refuses to join the alliance, it will be better that they too field their own candidates to avoid being swallowed by the FDC and remain weaker while DP gains more strength. Today, the two major parties NRM and FDC are the ones with party offices in Kabale-both found in Kabale Municipality.
However, it must be remembered that in June 2000, the no-party system was subjected to a national referendum. Despite accusations of vote rigging and manipulation by the opposition, Ugandans approved it. They also re-elected Museveni to a second five-year term in March 2001. In the 303-member National Assembly, 214 seats were directly elected by popular vote, and 81 were nominated by legally established special interest groups including women (56), army (10), disabled (5), youth (5), labor (5), and ex officio members (8). Campaigning by party was not allowed. From Kabale, the directly elected members of Parliament from the 2001 election were One (1) female woman District MP- and four (4) directly elected MPs.

In May 2003, the NRM National Executive Committee recommended that subject to another national referendum in 2004, parties be free to operate. More political parties have since sprung up, registering even at the National level.

1.3 Statement of the Problem:

Since Independence, Uganda has struggled to establish a political system of governance which gives ultimate freedom and democracy to people. Kabale, as part of Uganda is expected to partake in the ideals of leadership and democracy. It is not surprising however that there have been cases of civil strife, political instability, in Kabale as there have been on the national scene. Economic strife, military coups, usurping of constitutional matters, suspension of political expression, state brutality and sense of unworthiness have affected Kabale too.

However, there are certain influencing factors like the gun, ethnicity and religion that have shaped political leadership and the democratization process.

Every government in power may make a relevant claim to dramatic progress in opening up political systems and expanding political leadership freedoms by their actions, perhaps out of the realization that people everywhere want to be free to determine their destinies, express their views, and participate in decisions that
shape their lives. This thesis therefore digs deeper into these claims. In Uganda, the democratization phenomena has registered intrigue, manipulation of the military and politicization of religion and ethnicity which lead to powerlessness of citizens to influence national policies that have socio-economic impact on them.

1.4 Scope of the study

While the context of the study is on Uganda’s Political history since Independence to analyze the relationship between leadership and democracy, the study particularly focuses on Kabale district to analyze the factors influencing political leadership and democratic processes in the district and the interconnecting between political leadership and democracy. The research was carried out in the two constituencies of Kabale-Ndorwa West and Kabale Municipality where people are politically active. These areas are full of political upheavals.

The study makes a critical over view of Kabale’s political leadership so as to identify possible indicators of progress towards democratization. History has been written and re-written in this chapter to accommodate changing patterns on democracy, as a result of the political leaders Uganda has had. The immediate post colonialism periods, the first Apollo Milton Government, the overthrow of Amin, botched elections of 1980, the guerrilla war started by Museveni, the take over by UNLA, have all had an effect on the Politics of Kabale.

The voting pattern in these years has also greatly changed the face of political leadership and democracy, creating shifts in position in constituencies. It is important to note here that Kabale has its own dynamics that has defined events.
1.4.1 Geographical Scope of Kabale

Kabale District in South Western Uganda is bordered by Rukungiri District to the north, Ntungamo District to the northeast, the Republic of Rwanda to the east and south, Kisoro District to the west and Kanungu District to the northwest. As Tibirendwa (1981) writes, Kabale which was formerly part of the entire Kigezi district, has people who speak the same language, is heavily populated and the general thought process is shaped by elders; views.

The study was carried out in Kabale municipality and Ndorwa West. These areas were chosen because they are home to the biggest religious Institutions in Kabale, they hold a number of social institutions such as churches and schools and Kabale town holds the district offices, all of which were central to the study. Political and religious leaders influence politics of Kabale. Religious leaders advocate for democracy.

1.4.2. Time Scope

This study stretches from 1962 when Uganda got her Independence, to 2011 when Uganda got her third multiparty elections. During this time, there were political activities that were connected with democracy. When Uganda received her Independence in 1962, Kabale at the time was part of a bigger Kigezi and was part of a Uganda whose leadership patterns were changing. In 2011, Kabale fully participated in the elections, at all levels-the local councils, Parliamentary and Presidential.

1.5 Definition of Key Terms.

Catholic: May mean “all-embracing or including a wide variety of things, relating to the doctrine of faith and practice
**Constitution:** means an establishment of rules and laws governing an organization or country.

**Democracy:** This is the government of the people, by the people and for the people.

**Ethnicity:** This refers to a group of people whose members identify with each other, through a common heritage, like a common language, or common culture.

**Good governance:** May be proper functioning of a state to how public power is exercised in a given context.

**Leadership:** means the possibility of bringing together individuals in a unitary way, under systematic guidance.

**Movement System:** System in which the Movement organization governed the country excluding political parties in broad-based governance before the referendum to open up political space.

**Multi-party system:** Governance under different political party systems.

**Parliament:** This refers to an assembly making the laws in a country.

**Participation:** This simply refers to taking part or getting involved in a certain activity or event.

**Political Parties:** These are institutions/organizations that bring together people with one political ideology, with an intention to take over State Power.

**Politics:** refers to the art of managing and relating with people in society. The activity through which people make, preserve and amend the general rules under which they live.
**Political Leadership:** refers to a more general power relationship in which political leaders induce followers to act for certain goals that represent the values and motivations, wants and aspirations of both leaders and followers.

**Protestant:** Is used to refer to any Christian group which developed from the Reformation.

**Referendum:** is used to refer to a vote to determine two contradicting political ideologies.

**Religion:** Is used to refer to a specific fundamental set of beliefs and practices generally agreed upon by a number of persons or sects

**Nepotism:** This will mean partiality, preference or favoritism of one group /individual over another.

1.6 **Objectives of the Study**

1.6.1 **General Objective:**

To investigate the dynamics of political leadership and democracy In Uganda, using Kabale as a case Study.

1.6.2 **Specific Objectives:**

I. To identify the relationship between political leadership and democracy in Kabale

II. To identify the perception and understanding of democracy in Kabale

III. To develop indicators for democratic political and transformational leadership
1.7 Research Questions:

I. What are the dynamics of Political leadership and democracy in Kabale District since 1962?
II. What is the relationship between political leadership and democracy?
III. What are the indicators of democracy in your Constituency?
IV. What are the key elements in democratic political leadership?

1.8 Significance of the study

This study on political leadership and democracy has been conducted at a time when Uganda has returned to multiparty political dispensation. The leaders as well as citizens need to fully grasp the issues of multiparty dispensation in the midst of growing observations that political representation of the citizens by elected individuals has grown steadily especially in the last five years. Interesting here is that in Kabale Municipality, the Member of Parliament elect (District woman MP and Constituency MP) in the 2011 elections was an NRM leaning Independent Candidate who trounced the official NRM flag bearer, and in Ndorwa West, the area member of Parliament was elected un-opposed! This is an interesting study of democracy.

The study also highlights areas of influence which political leaders need to address if they are to get citizens actively participating in their own development. This stems from the background that the ideals of political leadership and democracy are development orientated.

Hence, this study identifies the link between leadership and democracy and makes recommendations on how leaders democratically elected can work for the realization of people centered democracy. Different people especially political leaders and actors in democracy will find this piece of information relevant to achieve societal goals.
The study thus identifies achievements that leadership and democracy can bring to a nation, the roles that actors and stake holders bring to a democratic debate and the extent to which political parties that had for example been suffocated influence democracy and leadership development in Uganda.

This study is justifiable in that it identifies the gaps that exist in understanding political leadership and democracy. It also addresses and highlights the dynamics involved in, for example, why one area votes overwhelmingly a certain party in one election, and opposes the system in the next election. The study draws conclusions and makes recommendations that transformational leadership is achievable.

1.9 Theoretical Framework

This study has been built along the transformational leadership approach with a view to understanding the dynamics of political leadership and democracy in Uganda with specific focus on Kabale district. Propounded by a political sociologist James Mc-Greger in 1978, in his classic work titled Leadership, transformational leadership is a process that changes and transforms individuals who in turn are constructively engaged in the transformation of society.

Being part of the new leadership paradigm, Gardener (2001) says that transformational leaders are asked to be concerned with emotions, values, ethics, standards, and long term goals. The researcher believes that transformational leadership in a democratic setting propels growth and development because it involves assessing followers’ motives, satisfying their needs, interests and treating them as full human beings. This brings about a relationship between leadership and democracy, whereby transformational leadership provides possible answers to issues that citizens seek, and democracy provides an avenue, a platform for their discussion.
James Mac-Gregor espoused a view that it is transformational leadership that can bring about a desired state of affairs-by followers if they have been made to participate in the transformation process by their leaders. For example, in the case of democratic leadership and poverty reduction in Kabale, it has been argued out in this study that socio-economic livelihood can be made better by leaders adopting a transformational and democratic approach. That is, by encouraging the active participation of their followers in the development process and enabling them to make decisions and take actions which improve quality of their lives.

According to Northhouse, (2007), although the transformational leader plays a pivotal role in precipitating change, followers and leaders are inextricably bound together in the transformational process. In an attempt at formulating a transformational leadership model, Bass, (1985) provides a more expanded and refined version of transformational leadership when he gave more attention to followers rather than leaders needs. In other words, working for the needs of the followers is more important and paramount than working to the satisfaction of the leaders.

In elaborating how the transformational approach to leadership works, Northhouse 2007:182 notes that; a transformational leader in general describes how leaders can initiate, develop and carryout significant changes in a society. However, North house notes that although not definite, the steps followed by transformational leaders usually take the following terms:

Transformational leaders set out to empower followers and nurture them into change. To create change, transformational leaders become strong role models for their followers. They should then recall leaders that don’t work for them.

According to Avolio and Gibbons, (1998), transformational leaders have a highly developed set of moral values and a self determined sense of identity.
They are confident, competent and articulate, and express strong ideas. They listen to followers and are not intolerant to opposing viewpoints. A spirit of cooperation often develops between these leaders and the followers. Ultimately, followers want to emulate transformational leaders because they learn to trust them and believe in the ideals for which they stand. Thus, this research hinges greatly on the theoretical framework of transformational leadership.

As we further see, transformational leaders create a vision. The vision according to Shamir et al, (1993) emerges from the collective interests of various individuals and units within the organization. The vision according to MacGregor is the focal point of transformational leadership. This is because it gives the leader and the followers a conceptual map of where they are heading. Furthermore, the vision gives followers a sense of identity within the society and also a sense of self-efficiency.

The transformational approach also requires that leaders become social architects. This means that they make clear the emerging values and norms of the society. They involve themselves in culture of the organization and help shape its meaning. According to MacGregor, people need to know their roles and understand how they are contributing to the greater purposes of the organization. Transformational leaders are “out front” in interpreting and shaping for organization the shared meanings that exist within them.
FIG.1. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK: An illustration of the dynamics of political leadership and democracy

- **Reactions of people towards poor leadership**
  - Military coups
  - Destruction of government property
  - Strikes

- **Effects of poor leadership**
  - Economic decay
  - Mistrust in leaders
  - Anarchy from the people
  - Resistance to established laws

- **Problems affecting leadership**
  - Corruption
  - Ignorance and illiteracy of leaders
  - Lack of respect to the people

- **Peoples Expectations after choosing leaders**
  - Delivery of social services
  - Democracy and participation
  - Respect of all rights and freedoms
CHAPTER TWO

2.0 REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews the literature in existing relationships between political leadership and democracy, and consequently, on how leadership can result into positive democracy where the majority and minority work to fulfill a common cause.

It also looked at the existing literature on the democratization process in Uganda in general, and Kabale in particular. The review also explores what constraints encountered in leadership in the delivery of social services that led what is largely constituted as democracy.

Kabale, which is predominantly of the Bakiga as a nation, had its system of leadership, democracy and religion. Tiberendwa (1981) writes that religiously, the Bakiga had Nyabingi as the most powerful spirit, who had spokesmen called the Bakama. He adds that the population respected the bakama so much that leadership was formed around them. Tiberendwa adds that historically, production was high and it involved divisive labour and this can only be done under guided leadership.

2.2 Understanding leadership and Democracy

John Maxwell says that “leadership is influence. He who thinketh he leadeth and hath no following him is only talking a walk”, while adding that the ultimate test of leadership is change. He says, “change the leader, change the organization,
“everything rises and falls on leadership” (Maxwell, 1993). Rugyendo Medard (2003) says that the people of Kigezi made decisions based on the advice of the leaders. The understanding of this is that societies in Kabale evolved around leadership as it is today.

On other hand, evolution of the word ‘Democracy’ stems from the Greek language; which is a two fold: demos and kratia literally translated as people's power. However, De Gaay Fortman (1994:72) has described democracy as a culture “of tolerance, of human equality, of restricted politics and of respect for different or even opposing views”. In the context of this definition and Uganda’s own diverging cultures, and conflicting issues that there are, the value and relevance of democracy and Political leadership in the Uganda context must be addressed. It must be said that Kabale had its own form of democracy too. Festo Karwemera says that usually, elders gathered together to discuss issues and form consensus, and that the majority on an issue took the day. However, certain scholars over-look the historical past as un-primitive and savage and dis-regard this as un-democratic.

Yet, democratization has been described as a process that is made up and caused by different factors; these can be connected with political or socio-economic structures and political institutions in which they act. Amongst such factors is political leadership.

In what can be constituted as democracy in Kabale, even before colonialism and Independence, Mzee Festo Karwemera writing in the local language, translated here for this study adds that the people of Kabale had always agreed to disagree and disagreed to agree, for the majority to take the day. He adds, but even the minority would never lose out completely. An interpretation of this is that while democracy today takes the majority’s views, the people of Kabale had what can be constituted for localized and applicable democracy
In yet another understanding of democracy, Abraham Lincoln (Lincoln 1863) described it as “a government of the people, by the people and for the people”. That may as well be interpreted to mean representation, participation and accountability.

However, these in themselves do not present the full argument as Ulfeder (2008) says, that even after getting representation through for example elections, State authority and leadership only becomes “a means to other ends, not an end in itself, and the value associated with possessing that tool varies according to the results it can produce.” Therefore, if this weren’t true, democracy would never survive for long because incumbents would routinely engage in extreme behavior to retain their positions, no matter how long that “democracy” had existed. However, the United States of America which has won the world wide view of a free democratic society still echoes the words of Martin Luther King who could not tolerate national discrimination in a so called bigger democratic US. He thus demanded “the riches of freedom and the security of justice...” from the founders of democracy, rights that had been accorded to a few. In other words, Martin bestowed another chapter with in the full understanding that that there can be no democracy if leaders do not avail conditions of justice and freedom. He could not live under undemocratic and discriminative conditions yet perceived as being democratic. And today US has a holiday in his memory, years after his assassination. A brief examination of this is that to representation, participation and accountability as democracy must be justice and freedom in which human rights excel.

On the more local scene, Uganda’s Capital Kampala was in the year 2009, home to “democratic chaos” as the city has faced a number of situations that question the state’s intervention in the process of democratization. Where the opposition political parties have faced stiffer arms of the government, the opposition leaders say that dispersing of opposition rallies by the police “is a clear testimony that
the government is bent on undermining the process of democracy”. (UPC press release on 19th January 2008.) The contradiction here is that in Ugandan Constitution Article one, Chapter One, “power belongs to the people”. The state comes into play here as its security agencies take the lead role in dispersing of the riots (Inter-Party Coalition women’s march to “request for the disbanding of the Electoral Commission, the FDC)

From this perspective, we look at the works of Khiddu Makubuya (1995) (who also served as the country’s Attorney General) who defined democracy as “a regime in which the authority to exercise power derives from the will of the people” through elections, yet inherently, this leads to another debate as to when and how often, the people's will stands out or counts. It only means that for democracy to exist on a basis of elections, free citizens choose fairly and routinely demand for accountability from leaders under effective representation, inclusion and freedom yet, if democracy is understood in this way, the moral dilemma means when the three above—choosing fairly, demanding accountability and effective representation are not there, then democracy ceases to exist. The dilemma that arises out of this is the result of majority win over minority, that in essence, elections do not necessarily deliver a win-win situation. One can also say that elections are a tit-bit process or condition for democracy and that free, fair and regular elections may facilitate a possibility of democratic institution to prevail.

This has compelled the researcher to analyze the rational in which it is functionally applied because of the likelihood that democracy is yet, a discussion whose end is simply a continuous process in itself, and no one actually owns the legitimacy rights over that debate. The possibility then arises that, it is not democracy or governance that is for example lacking per say, but there exists a rather genuine mis-understanding of the principles by the political leaders, given
that a state in which democracy is supposed to be realised, can have conditions where elected leaders fail to govern, or lead.

No wonder, that indigenous politicians who have so effectively fronted to fight for and eventually swear by the constitution have misused the democratic means to upsurge their people for selfish gains in the long run. As Asimwe (2007) notes, in his paper presentation, because politicians use election power to control state authority, then they also uniquely possesses the opportunity to abrogate democracy from the inside, without coercion, simply by changing the formal rules or supporting practices in ways that favor or ensure its continuation in office.

However, Nsibambi (1998) says “in a democratic country, all people should be able to participate and contribute to shaping their own economic, political and cultural well-being. Here, we examine another view, which contradicts Nsibambi’s own. If an elected government becomes extremely unpopular, the masses may mobilise themselves (and not necessarily violently,) to force out that government using the “will of the people” for the people and by the people, in such a way therefore, that democracy, opposes democracy! The research seeks to check on the votes of no confidence with in Kabale.

Other scholars like Sandbrook and Widner have defined the understanding of democracy as “a political system in which some basic political rights prevail and the transfer of political power is determined through multiparty electoral competition” (Eyoh, 1998).

The process of democratization in Uganda that moves from the already tested multiparty dispensation was seen during and after the elections in 2011. Already, there was a feeling that Uganda would go the Kenyan/Zimbabwe way where both these elections left the masses hapless living on dictated leadership modes. In Kenya, a national stalemate arose out of an election between the incumbent H.E
Kibaki and the country’s current Premier Raila Odinga. Kibaki was seen to have declared him self victor using national operatives, thus questioning the relevance of democracy. The same can be said of Zimbabwe where Incumbent-Robert Mugabe retained presidency under almost the same circumstances. The primary problem plaguing our leadership today is their myopic view of all problems, our so-called "leaders" prefer to implement populist solutions, which, instead of solving the problem holistically, simply defer it for the time being, or create new ones in the process.

Hence forth, political competition necessary to many definitions of democracy may not be carried out in a setting where culture dictates how resources are distributed and classes prevail, because in a country where resources are scarce and only patronage and nepotism can deliver state services, a democracy in which everybody is equal irrespective of his/her patron would be difficult to establish. (Hyslop, 1999:5) However, rather than emphasis political systems, there should be a shift to seeing democratic societies.

In the Universal Declaration on Democracy that was drawn up by the inter-Parliamentary Union in Switzerland, democracy was defined as “a universally recognized idea, as well as a goal which is based on common values shared by people's throughout the world community irrespective of cultural, political, social and economic differences. (Inter Parliamentary Union, 1997: Article 1) The researcher then also poses a debatable analysis as if for example, there can be universal and “pure” democracy because, in any given society where for example women or slaves are not allowed to participate, “pure” democracy will have been eroded.

A closer analysis is provided byNsibambi, (1998) where he argues that the levels of political participation are formed on the basis of literacy as the most vital pre-condition for political participation and leadership.
On the contrary, if a country like Uganda is registered to have high illiteracy levels, then ultimately, good political leadership and democracy can not be based on society’s political participation, unless society is transformed. Interestingly, Makubuya defines political participation as the “entitlement of citizens, considered as political equals to be involved in choosing governmental leaders and policies”. (Makubuya 1995).

It goes without saying that political participation and freedom are as much important parts of democracy as they are for human development. Carabine (2004) goes on to state that the world today has more “democratic” countries and political participation than ever before “with 140 countries holding multiparty elections”. She adds that of the 147 countries with data, 121 or 68% of the world’s people had some or all the elements of formal democracy on 2000. Yet, the ultimate realisation of democracy can not be measured by tests of multipartyism. Like Mafabi (2004) says, true democratisation means more than elections and multipartyism. It requires the consolidation of democratic institutions and the strengthening of democratic practices, with democratic values and norms embedded in all parts of society.

In regard to the two concepts therefore, the researcher explores the underlying factors of democracy in relation to political leadership, and how both are applied. It is however noted that building democracy is not a one time event or assignment process. It is on going, and one needs leadership for democracy to survive. The reverse is also true. Like former US first Lady and current secretary of State Hilary Clinton said, Democratic leadership is dynamic process to which every generation has to contribute for the good and survival of the people with the present generation laying a firm foundation for the future generation” (Clinton, 2006). That view seems to be in unison with the view held by Forum for Democratic Change (FDC), one of the registered political Parties in having their internal leadership elections, that “The fundamental thing has always been
internal democracy. Democracy within the party is like the air we breathe. If you
don’t get oxygen in the next five minutes you will be dead. The internal
democracy within an organization once it’s compromised it can limp” (FDC
press release.)

Joseph Schumpeter on the other hand says that the central procedure of
democracy is the selection of leaders through competitive elections by the people
they govern.

The Nobel Laureate Amartya Sen has written that the most important
development of the last one hundred years was "the emergence of democracy as
the pre-eminently acceptable form of government," and that “Thirty-five years
ago, there were 40 democracies. By the end of the 20th Century, that number had
tripled. Nevertheless, democracy has not triumphed everywhere, and emerging
democracies face many obstacles”. Amartya gives an important case for
democracy as a universal value imbedded in intrinsic values, social forms and
political participation.

However, limited democracies face the bigger issue of shallow political
participation where a country’s own citizens have either little trust in the levels of
democracy that are fronted by governments in power.

However, differences among ethnic groups and political parties in the early
1960s in the case for Uganda, presents a case of this review. Sabiti Makara writes
that Uganda was deeply divided among national, religious and ethnic groups and
John Stuart Mills supports the argument that of the ethnic problem in countries
trying to democratize. “Democracy is next to impossible in a country made up of
different nationalities, because each fears more injury to itself from the other
nationalities than from the common arbiter, the state”, Atta adds.
The 1966 crisis in Uganda also presents a case for review, because again, leadership and democracy are on trial here. The victory that had strengthened President Milton Obote to securing enough votes to give UPC majority in Parliament, led to the death of democracy because Uganda turned into a one party state as soon as the constitution was suspended in February 1966. Obote suspended the constitution, arrested those who had shown a vote of no confidence and forced a constitution without the necessary quorum. This was later known as the Pigeon hole Constitution, which undoubtedly raises absence of leadership and democracy.

The coup against Obote by Amin in 1971 also presents an opportunity to examine leadership and democracy then, because the consequences of the coup were war, politicized ethnicity of some tribes against the other, and replacement of any form of would-be progress with militarism and mysterious disappearances and the protest by Church of Uganda religious leaders, a declaration of war on Tanzania by Amin, and consequently, the 1979 war. Owamataze (2002) writes, these incidences are an actual realization of “total absence of political leadership and democracy”.

Though Obote had a pigeon hole Constitution, the validation of democracy was not at the same level as that during Amin’s government that did not have a Constitution.

While reviewing a case of the disputed 1980 elections, Magode Ikuya argues and writes that at the time, UPC was seized with panic. He adds, Paul Muwanga at the time Obote’s proxy as head of government had usurped the powers of the Electoral Commission by his decree of December 11th, 1980. The decree “barred returning Officers and the Electoral Commission itself from declaring any results unless such results were approved by Muwanga personally”. Muhanguzi H. Kateera, a political writer reveals the basis of Muwanga’s power
over the Electoral Commission to have been stemmed from legal notice number 10 dated 1980 which specifically laid out that;

1. When the results of the polls at a Constituency have been ascertained, the returning officer shall make no public declaration of the findings but forthwith communicate it to the chairman of the Military Commission with a confidential report on the various aspects of the election. The chairman shall ascertain whether the elections have been free and fair of any irregularity or violence.

II. Any result declared otherwise not in compliance with these provisions, shall not be valid or binding and any publication of such purported results by any means whatsoever whether in writing, print, communication or by word of mouth whatsoever shall be a penal offence punishable by a fine of up to Uganda shillings 500, 000 and / or imprisonment of up to 5 years.

It is said that the above legal notice resulted into some UPC candidates who had genuinely lost being declared the winners. In short, a pro-people democratic right was left to an individual and people only used as means. Therefore, the 1980 elections remain a historical fact that they were not democratically conducted. It means that rules and institutions that shape one’s community were violated and human development dis-honoured. It means the governance was left lacking because arguably, governance for human development requires democratic paths to prevail. Katera adds, that Kabale was as much affected as any other district.

Some sections of the population have courageously referred to the 1980 elections as a political accident for Uganda. Muhanguzi (2001) writes that far from instituting the desperately needed political reforms, Obote unleashed a new chapter of vengeance after he was handed victory in 1980 (contested though) and blood letting against perceived political foes and the remnants of Idi Amin’s army. His regime was said to have been yet another epitome of human and
sometimes, very fatal misery, killings and other sorts of massive human tragedies. Muhanguzi too, adds, that the killings that took place everywhere in Uganda did not spare Kabale.

The current research has provided data on the killings that took place in the 1980 Presidential elections.

When ethnicity or religion is allowed to take centre stake, leadership and democracy based on merit is difficult to achieve. The religious issue in the case for Uganda again, affected democracy in a way that while people saw themselves as either Catholic, protestant or any other denomination and thus excluded each other from leadership. Kabale had a sharp division over religious sentiments. Agaba Justus (1998) says that a sense of betrayal arising out of parties based on religious sentiments led to killings. Each party leader thought he had a responsibility to wipe out his opposite nemisis. Where democracy is supposed to uphold its virtues brought by political leadership, Justus adds, “Politics and leadership was genocidal”.

Looking back, Mahmood Mamdani writes, that before independence in 1962 three political parties had emerged. First was the Democratic Party (DP) that took its ideology from the Germany Christian Democrats and represented the catholic population. Second was the Uganda People’s Congress (UPC) that was mainly supported by northern and western parts groups. Third was the Buganda nationalist party named Kabaka Yekka (KY) meaning, “King only”. Any form of debate that propels leadership and democracy basing on tribe, ethnicity or religion excludes any measurement of democracy like good governance and participation. The current research has also discussed conditions proceeding the Independence of Uganda.

The period between 1979 -1985 also presents case studies for review, for a country that had no seemingly leadership or democracy. The period alone had
five different presidents and a Presidential commission ruled the country, Yusuf Lule, Godfrey Binaisa, Paulo Muwanga, Milton Obote and Tito Okello Lutwa. This constitutes a clear lack leadership and democracy.

An argument then crops up, if as Odong Francis writes, genuine political leadership and actual democracy as members of the NRM would want us believe, starts with Museveni’s 1986 government’s take over after a 5 year guerilla war. While swearing in, the new President asserts that it is “not a mere change of guards, but a fundamental change”.

On the contrary, it is still a point of argument whether the fundamental change promised by the NRM has been achieved since we still witness the opposition crying foul of harassment, intimidation and physical violence. Maj. (rtd) John Kazoora, one of the NRA bush war fighters and today a consultant on democratic governance, legislation and institutional reform, wrote in the Daily Monitor April 22, 2010 an opinion titled, “The human rights we fought for still elude us” in which he expressed that he got amazed when he surfed Ugandan news online in the recent past only to find a headline picture of Ms. Ingrid Turinawe, the chairperson of the Forum for Democratic Change Women League, lying in hospital in Kabale allegedly “after being ruthlessly battered by the security forces of the state”! Kazoora goes on to say that the incident reminded him of the state Research days of Idi Amin when such witch hunting was the order of the day. To him, the Turinawe scenario “is just the tip of the iceberg as human rights abuses by the state are now the order of the day including many tortured in safe houses and those who were smoked to death in a train in Mukura”.

(However, the researcher has established that on July 24, 1988, the NRA apologised to the relatives of the 47 people killed at the Mukura railway station in Kumi district).
The question that remains staring is, if indeed these allegations are true, are we on the road to true democracy with such scenarios and accusations still at large? Amidst a seemingly growing trend of intolerance, the FDC’s deputy Secretary General for Policy and Research, Mr. Augustine Ruzindana points out that in fact, the opposition should be “ready to embrace more repression”! He says that while celebrating big headlines in the news papers of April 15, 2010, the day of the FDC National Delegates Conference were all about police quizzing Col. Besigye, the FDC President. On April 16, the headlines were about Otunnu, the President of UPC being summoned by police. He adds, that at the Delegates Conference, he met a lady from Rukiga County who was arrested after the recent by-elections for her role in support of the FDC’ Flag bearer, Jack Sabiiti. He warns that this being an election year, more and more opposition leaders and supporters are going to be arrested, harassed, threatened and hounded by police and other authorities for their political beliefs and activities.

Whether these claims are true remains another matter of debate but the bottom line is that there is not yet consensus about democratic practices in the country which in the view of the researcher, this remains a huge challenge to the country.

The researcher however opines with another view that rather than call them “opposition”, anybody who disagrees with policies of the government should be referred to as “alternative voice”. The researcher also observes the need to link transformational leadership, to democracy.

2.3 Transformational approaches to Leadership and Democracy

The transformational leadership approach has been adopted in this study due to its applicability in enhancing people’s well being and focusing on society in the democratization process of Uganda. It identifies strength that the researcher highlights.
Northouse puts it that the transformational leadership approach has been the focus of much research on leadership since the early 1980s. Different perspectives including a series of prominent leaders and CEOs in large, well known organizations have been studied. In fact, Lowe and Gardener 2001 contend that theses, dissertations, and research projects have been conducted using the transformational approach.

Transformational leadership approach treats leadership as a process that occurs between leaders and followers. It considers the view that leadership is not a sole responsibility of a leader, but rather emerges from the interplay between leaders and followers.

Transformational leadership is fundamentally ‘morally uplifting’ by placing strong emphasis on followers needs, values and morals.

2.4 Transformational leadership and modern democracy

A view developed by Schumpeter views leadership as an essential component of democracy and its evolutionary political processes. Further investigation shows that leadership is a concept that arises with in modern democracies. Yet, Schumpeter's redefinition of representative democracy as merely leadership competition misses the common will, or common good, both, undoubtedly essential to democracy. The understanding of that would be that democracy is only a method, of no intrinsic value, whose sole function is to select leaders. In essence therefore, leaders even if rightly selected, impose their own views and voters have no say there afterwards, except to vote again.

Despite the strengths with which the transformational leadership approach is associated, the approach is not all perfect. Researchers have highlighted weaknesses which leaders and followers need to be cognizant of. For example; the transformational approach to leadership lacks a conceptual clarity. Northouse argues that it covers a wide range, including creating a vision, motivating, being
a change agent, building trust, giving nurturance and acting as a social architect. This makes it difficult for followers and leaders to define exactly the parameters of transformational leadership.

However, even amidst weakness in the transformational approach to leadership, the approach provides a general way of thinking about leadership that emphasizes ideas, inspiration, innovation and individual concerns.

In fact, Bass and Avolio, (1994) put it that transformational leadership can be taught to individual at all levels within the organization and that if can positively affect the firms performance. Overall, transformational leadership provides leaders with information about a full range of behaviours from non transformational to transformational, focusing on the long term of the society. There is a firm realization that in transformational leadership, the concept of democracy can never occur in a vacuum and hence, society must achieve from leadership.

Similarly, there are different theories that link political and transformational leadership to democracy. Huther and Shah (2002:2) indicate the interconnection between political participation, accountability and the legal protection of citizens' rights as defining democracy and good governance. It is therefore imperative that the state ensures protection of citizen’s inherent rights although these rights ordinarily seem to have a limit.

According to Ken Ogbonnia, "effective leadership is the ability to successfully integrate and maximize available resources within the internal and external environment for the attainment of organizational or societal goals."

Similarly, Kenneth P. Ruscio, suggests that it is impossible to imagine effective democracies without effective leaders. Yet leaders are often seen as the problem democratic governance is designed to solve.
2.5 The Leadership Dilemma in Modern society

The Leadership Dilemma in Modern Democracy explains what is meant by effective political leadership in a system and culture of government where the power and discretion of leaders are severely limited. Other theories suggest that democracy is inherent in good governance and that good governance refers to democratic functioning of the state. Because there may be no ‘real’ agreement on the ‘ideal’ implementation of good governance, (because it is a broad concept including many aspects) no single strategy to implement the concept in practice is followed. But, in defining democracy, aspects of good governance are included; hence for the execution of both good governance and democracy, political participation, accountability and protection of citizen’s rights are necessary.

Yet again, certain theories suggest that there are several aspects when defining democracy, and what forms a system to be called democratic. Gaayman having described it as a culture and since there are different cultures; democracy actually means different concepts to different cultures.

Further more, it is essential for democracy to find out the reasons people have for participating in politics and leadership. If people partake only to enrich themselves, they are not fulfilling the ‘ideals’ of democracy in the public interest in an ideal democracy in which citizens are free, it becomes the threat to society and to democracy. Democracy, like Sondra Myers says is “born in struggle and for it to live, should be a bottom up activity.” (Sondra 2000). Sondra adds that in such cases, democracy and leadership depend on the actions of ordinary men and women, engaged citizens and competent voters.

2.6 Leadership, Participation and Democracy

The concept of leadership has attracted attention from different scholars. As Stogdill (1974) pointed out in a review of leadership research, there are almost as
many different definitions of leadership as there are people who have tried to define it. However, according to Northouse (2004), despite the multitude of ways that leadership has been conceptualized, four components can be identified as being central to the phenomenon of leadership.

That is, leadership as a process, leadership involving influence, leadership occurring in a group context, and leadership involving goal attainment.

Basing on the above four components of leadership, Northouse defines leadership as a process whereby an individual influences a group of individuals to achieve a common goal. However, no there can be no ‘common’ goal without popular participation. The closest Kabale-and many other constituencies have come to this is only through elections and contests as a form of popular participation and one form of democracy.

While In the view of D’Souza, (2009:56), leadership is both a science and an art, it involves inter-relating with people. He confirms the point of the interlink between participation and leadership. The science of leadership according to him develops valid concepts, principles and processes to guide the day to day practices of leaders to bring about more predictable end results. He further argues that while these principles and processes will not guarantee specific solutions to organizational problems, they provide logical and analytical approach to planning, decision making and problem solving, for the people.

The art of leadership on the other hand emphasizes the skills of leadership such as how leaders work with others and how they apply their knowledge and experience to achieve the desired end results. They emphasize leadership. Likewise, Lin Bothwell (1993:133) points out that two qualities set true leaders apart one, they have a dream they are determined to carry out. Second, more than just dreamers, they are people of action. Bothwell argues that accomplishments
do not come from those who have a potential to carry them out. Results follow action that often inspires others to act.

Leadership according to Daft (1991:372) is espoused as the ability to influence people toward attainment of goals. The goals, aspirations of people are embedded in an ideal democratic setting (which many agree still eludes Uganda) that is able to realise governance, Human Rights, freedoms through participation of both the majority and the minority. Beyond merely influencing people, Kouzes and Posner highlight the issue of voluntary follower ship in any leadership process. According to them, leadership is a reciprocal process between those who aspire to lead and those who choose to follow. Cart Rights (1981:19) puts if even clearer that the essence of leadership is the ability to persuade others to comply voluntary with one’s wishes. That leadership involves voluntary compliance by those over whom it is exercised. However, Mac Greger Burns, 1978 notes that although leaders and followers are closely linked, it is the leader who often initiates the relationship, creates communication linkages and carries the burden for maintaining the relationship.

Kouzes and Posner (2002:18) further argue that grand dreams do not become significant realities through the actions of a single person. It is only though participative efforts of democracy. Leadership accordingly becomes a team effort. True leaders in their view engage all those who must make the project work and in some way, all who must live with the results. In today’s, society, cooperation cannot be restricted to a small group of loyalists; it must include citizens in all terms, because a leaders ability to enable others to act is essential. Constituents neither perform at their best nor stick around for very long if their leader makes them feel weak, dependant or alienated. But when a leader makes people feel strong and capable, as if they can do more than they ever thought possible- they will give their all and exceed their own expectations. When leadership is a relationship founded on trust and confidence, people take risks,
make changes, keep organizations and movements alive, they fully participate in their affairs.

On the other hand, leadership is a process of directing the behavior of another person or persons towards the accomplishment of some objective. In further elaborating the concept of leadership, Kapere brings out the issue of formal and informal leadership. A formal leader according to him is a person who has been given a title and a particular leadership position and responsibility. He gives the example of a college principal. An informal leader on the other hand is a person who has not been given a title of leadership, but who exerts the influence of a leader. In some cases an informal leaders might be a more effective leader than a formal one and actually exert more influence than the latter. But again, what links them in participation in their affairs.

Kwesi (2001) on the other hand observes that no political credo has achieved as much prominence as the idea of democracy. Its pre-eminence is so overwhelming that no government can afford to be regarded as standing outside its frame of reference. In fact, analysts like Mwenda (2002) argue that It (democracy) has become a political idol in whose shadow everybody swears allegiance. He adds that from the most open and humane democratic societies to the most cruel and authoritarian systems, the political leadership swear by the democratic ideal, in Uganda, represented by the Constitution which carries all aspiration of our given society.

To understand further the link between democracies in political leadership, it is important to note that simply electing leaders may not entirely be a final component of democracy. April A. Gordon and Donald L. Gordon (2001) highlight the issue of elections, to mean “a government or leaders chosen in open and fairly conducted elections where results are accepted”. But this is to run away from the reality of scenarios where one can win an election using state resources, thus rendering democracy irrelevant. Besides, there are signs that
democratic gains after elections erode, when people have no services, when infrastructure breaks down, and when public mistrust starts to crop in such that as Obbo (2007) states, personal growth can not be realised. Therefore, a democratic society described by Prof. Burnham (2002) in a paper presentation to University of Manchester is “one that is committed to change, growth and improvement in its institutions and systems”. If one fails this, s/he has failed the electorate and betrays the cause of leadership.

For argument’s sake, we ask the role of political leadership in a democracy, especially when the "public opinion" is more often than not shaped by the mass media and marketing channels and not by a sober and learned discussion of the pros and cons of the alternative policies.

However, Prof. Burnham again brings out an important aspect of the link between democracy and leadership when he asks about the choices presented by having more leaders of for example many different political parties, thus more choices, or less political parties with less political leaders. In short, he asks whether it “might be tempting to think the more choice the better the democracy – is a country with 14 political parties more democratic than the country with two?” Again, April A. Gordon and Donald L. Gordon help to understand this when they write “… in 1997, only sixteen of Africa’s fifty three states were categorized as “relatively democratic”, a term to mean “participation in relatively free and fair elections”, where “at least one change in the national leadership has taken place (Young, 1999B:27). This perception can not be dismissed with out looking at the benefits of this “relatively democratic” setting in the case for Uganda.

There is need to understand that democracy and leadership can only effectively operate in a determined realm like a country or state. A state in this case in the Western thought is “an institution around which all social activities are regulated” (Ndinawe: 2005) This approach however hides the class character of
the state, and a more progressive approach looks at the state in which democracy is used as “organized power for the attainment and implementation of programmes serving the interests of its political leaders. (Wabudere 1999) In essence therefore, a state has ‘forceful’ organizations that may render democracy powerless, in effecting political leadership.

However, as Tucker (1981) analyses, a state can only function when political leadership, or, central persons in representational roles, become fully aware and concerned with and identify the relevant problems, prepare solutions and mobilize public opinion during periods of social and political change that embrace democracy. In short, the leadership can either re-use the practices of democracy to create the state, or, they can make sure that the state is set up on the basis of democracy-promoting features like participation which is very central to democracy.

Steffer describes Participation as “the extent to which the members of a democratic society are actually involved in the political process and election participation is one of those”. Ideally, elections should bring in leaders who are entrusted with ensuring total democratization. The process of representation leads to governance and consequently, accountability with a mandate to exercise choices. That is, these choices must be democratic, with greater participation in leadership demanding greater accountability. Unfortunately, much of the discussion about leadership, by contrast, tends to focus on the individual, taking significant powers of patronage and control over resources, yet democracy takes into consideration the majority.

Therefore, as Lambert (1998) says; when we equate the powerful concept of leadership with the behaviors of one person, we are limiting the achievement of broad based participation by a community or a society. In essence, leadership needs to be a broad concept that is separated from person, role, to be embedded in the community as a whole. Such a broadening of the concept of leadership
suggests shared responsibility for a shared purpose of a bigger democratic society.

2.7 Democracy and development

Experts on governance indicate the view that it is only when people feel they have a stake and a voice in the process of development that they will throw themselves wholeheartedly into democracy. Anyang (2001) puts it that under good governance, a national anti-poverty plan would involve not only policy papers setting out what government intends to do about poverty, but more, how the system of government is to structures to enhance participation, accountability citizenship rights, both political and economic inclusion. To further clarify the role of citizens’ participations, Anyang brings forward two questions for reflection. Can the government draw up anti-poverty plans and implement them? In other words, does it have the capacity and resources to pursue the objective of poverty reduction? Will its plans be supported and sustained over time by the constituencies involved, particularly the poor, and what institutional mechanizing can it put in place for such? In short, democracy can to a certain extent, act as a prelude to development.

In support of the importance of participation and governance in development and poverty reduction, UNDP in its poverty Report for the year 2000, noted that in Africa, the importance of people’s participation was the missing link’ in the fight against poverty. Governments may write good plans, for poverty reduction, raise revenue to implement such plans, even identify targets and yet fail to deliver anything tangible in terms of poverty reduction. Good governance according to UNDP, cannot be realized without the popular participation of people in policy making and decision on resource allocation from grassroots to the national level.

In fact, development writers like Oden (2001) assert that the repeatedly and evident case of poverty reduction program that did not yield positive result in
Africa are the structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) which are viewed as an imposition of the West to African economies. The argument being, these programmes were not subjected to discussing or critiques “of the people, for the people, by the people”.

Tindifa 2001 while writing about peace, conflict and sustainable development observes that in Uganda, all governments past and present have failed to create the environment in which various groups can effectively participate in the governance process. According to Tindifa, the failure for governments to realistic economic, social and cultural rights is attributable to many factors, but for poor and weak countries like Uganda, poverty and absence of democracy are a hindrance.

Development in the view of Todaro (1992) should be perceived as a multi-dimensional process involving the re-organization and re-orientation of entire economic social systems. That in addition to improvements in incomes and output, development typically involves radical changes in institutional, social and administrative structures, as well as in popular attitudes and sometimes even customs and beliefs. But these should respect democratic principles.

Likewise, the UNDP in its Human Development Report of 1994 highlights that the purpose of development is to create an environment in which all people can expand their capabilities and opportunities, for both present and future generations. This is perhaps re-affirming what feminist writer Mary Wallstone argued that ‘it is justice not charity that is wanting in the world. Development must enable all individuals to enlarge their human capacities to the best use in all fields economic, social, cultural and political.

In strict economic terms, Todaro, (1994:99) argues that development has traditionally been thought of as the capacity of a national economy whose initial economic condition has been more or less static for a long time, to generate and
sustain an annual increase in its GNP at rates perhaps 5-7% or more. However, it is difficult to imagine that an economy can grow in absence of a democratic setting, because democracy must enable freedoms.

Important to note however is that after the expense of the 1960, many states of the South had attained a GNP of 6% but living conditions were still in shambles. Thus economists and development institutions like UNDP felt that something was wrong, hence dethronement of GNP as a measurer of development. The UNDP, has since the 1990s therefore measured development using the Human Development Index with three indicators including; longevity that is a person having a long, healthier and happier life, education attainment and a descent standard of living. This supports the argument that democracy evolves around other society values like freedom, without which, development cant not be attained.

Development therefore, according to Todaro has come to be thought of as an attack on wide spread absolute poverty, increasingly inequitable income distributions and the spectra of rising unemployment.

Todaro (1994:102) adds that development therefore must be conceived as a multidimensional process involving changes in structures, attitudes, and institutions as well as the acceleration of economic growth, the reduction of inequality and eradication of absolute poverty. In essence development must represent the entire gamut of changes by which an entire social system, tuned to the diverse basic needs and desires of individuals and social groups within that social system, moves away from a condition of life widely perceived as unsatisfactory, and towards a situation or condition of life regarded as materially and spiritually better. Development should be espoused as both a physical reality and a state of mind in which society has through some combination of social economic and institutional processes, secured the means of obtaining a better life.
2.8 Democratic Leadership and Good Governance

According to World Bank, (2000) governance is the institutional capacity of Public organizations to provide the public and other goods demanded by the country’s citizens or their representatives in effective, transparent, impartial and accountable manner subject to resource constraint. In the view of Anyang, (2001) narrowly defined, good government performs its work and promotes the public good. He further puts it that government for implementing poverty reduction strategies through (i) Basic Political order, (ii) Political legitimacy through periodic elections (free and fair) during which results are acceptable to both winners and losers. (iii) The rule of law as an aspect of government without privileged regard to any individual on the basis of tribe, region of origin, race, sex or any other ground of discrimination (iv) Popular participation in policy making and decision on resource allocation from grass roots to national level. (v) Effective formulation making of plans as a response to donor pressure.

These, regardless of their challenges are centred on improving governance as the most basic requirement for development. Good governance requires a competent executive that respects the constitution and the rule of law and that exercises sound leadership. Alfred Adter, (2004) puts it that during the past three decades, roughly 90% of Sub-Saharan Africa’s leaders have behaved despotically, governed poorly, eliminated their people’s human and civil rights, initiated or exacerbated existing Civil conflicts, decelerated per capita economic growth and proved corrupt. He probably falls short of saying that there was no democracy in Sub Saharan Africa, but says, “these typify bad African political leadership”.

Out of the fact that most stories of African governance in recent decades are stories of short comings, if Africa is to claim the 21st Century, the World Bank argues that the continent should aim at achieving the three E’s. These include:-
(i) Empowering citizens to hold governments accountable through participation and decentralization, (ii) Enabling governments to respond to new demands by building capacity (iii) Enforcing compliance with rule of law and greater transparency. According to UNDP, (2005) the socio political environment in most African countries is in flux. Countries are trying to break away from partners of authorization, but most have not yet fully institutionalized participatory systems of governance.

On the other hand, Democratic governance provides opportunities and political freedoms for one to participate in the community, to form and express opinions and make choices and to elect leaders. In a way, democracy expands political freedom. It propels individuals and societies to respect human rights, hold decision makers accountable, ensure equality, be responsive to people’s needs, encourage social interaction, encourage participation and elect leaders.

Participation in democracy requires much more than elections. Political rights must give space for whoever is participating to feel effective involvement. That means that there must be equitable opportunities yet in societies where one group is marginalised, participation may not necessarily be achieved. Yet as Ahikire (2002) argues, around the world women are seriously under-presented in domestic politics accounting for only 14% of national Parliamentarians. However, Uganda has come a long way in women emancipation since independence.

In the first parliament of the independent Uganda, it is said that only one woman was a member. When the National Resistance Council (NRC) was expanded on April 7, 1989 to 278 members, more than 42 of them were women. The researcher has discovered that the National Resistance Movement Government first introduced the Ministry of women on February 22, 1988 with resilience to achieve women empowerment. Today, the number of women legislators in Parliament continues to grow especially as more districts are created since it is
mandatory that every district must have a woman representative in Parliament, something that analysts and development partners credit the government of NRM with.

Else where in other parties, women also are doing fairly well though a lot more needs to be done to achieve equality even in the NRM itself. It is notable that, until recent, the president of UPC, Miria Kalule Obote is a woman. We have very vibrant, sometimes referred to as iron ladies in the country such as Miria Matembe, Samam Musumba, Beti Olive Kamya, Hope Mwesigye, Namirembe Bitamazire, Dorothy Hyuha, Rebecca Kadaga to mention but a few. Apart from having at some point had a vice president being a woman, Specioza Wandira Kazibwe, Uganda continues to make history by having a serving minister of finance being a woman, first of the kind on the whole African continent.

Women are at the forefront of activism in the country on some issues the most recent one being the demand for electoral reforms by a group of women. Unfortunately, even in situations where women parliamentarian numbers are beginning to show, critics argue that they are not necessarily representing grassroots women.

This argument however does not mean that participation is limited to women in democracy or political activism. It only means that good governance demands that participative processes must include everyone or to use the popular saying, “all human beings are equal” and therefore, everyone of constitutional recognition must participate lawfully in a democratic process.

In essence therefore, when an individual is barred from participating in elections, s/he is deprived of a democratic process because it is through that process that leaders are chosen, thus giving participants a stake. To realise the benefit of the increasing power of participation in good governance, one needs to look at the South African first democratic Government of 1994, that used a policy
Development program to assert that “democracy requires that all South Africans have access and right to exercise the power of democracy” (Gumede 2005). This to say that democracy can only be linked to people’s capability to effect choices, one of which is choosing their own leaders without fear or coercion for good governance to be realised.

In this case, understanding leadership provides to a certain extent, how it works hand in hand with democracies, where even at the biggest level—say a Parliament, parliamentarians must provide capacity for proper articulation of their electorates and citizens’ choices. Off course, by having elected Parliaments and periodic elections, some countries are able to deflect citizen demands while getting the International legitimacy they crave for. This takes into account the fact that people are the real wealth any nation can make claim to. They are the end users of politics, of leadership, of democracy, of governance and everything that counts.

The need to stress the fact that at the heart of every leadership position is participation can not be ignored. Nussbuam says that putting participation at the heart of human development strategies is derived from the fact that human development (people) while relating to governance and democracy stressed the idea that people come first. Carabine says “governance must confirm to the needs of the people, not vice-versa.

On the contrary, Adel Safty says that Leadership without democracy leads to instability, and democracy without leadership leads in much the same direction. For democracy to function, we must have leadership at all levels—leadership for participation and responsible governance. Adel adds that a “Successful democracy depends upon a matrix of sound institutions, justice, human rights, freedom of information, freedom of association, independent and responsible media, transparency, an inclusive franchise, flourishing civil society and more. But above all, it depends upon the indispensable tension between strong
visionary and principled leadership and effective accountability." Prof Adey tries to show that there is a “positive correlation between democratic governance and human development”. Here, another important aspect ‘human development’ is brought on board, because policies are that erode people’s aspirations create disgruntled citizenry and possible alienation from the entire democratisation process. Therefore as Gumede adds, leadership must incorporate “deliberative democracy to strengthen citizens’ voices” and create influence where they can see the results of their influence.

Relating this to today, a question can then be asked if the no-party democracy as was introduced by Museveni is a better option compared to Western-multiparty politics, only based on the fact that Museveni’s victory validated no-party democracy, in which he won by a landslide. However, the changes that have seen his victory go down after the other elections well elaborated in the mass media bring another element of Democracy and Good Governance.

In his module notes, Dr. Owamataze (R.I.P) re-affirms to the right to democratic governance as “a fundamental human right to be exercised by people through free and fair elections.” Mataze relates good governance to democracy in amore relevant setting when he argues that Accountability of political leaders to the people; transparency in political, economic and social affairs; recognition of the views and opinions of the public in the formulation of policies; and providing citizens the opportunities to discuss, without fear of intimidation, policies and issues, constitute the measure of good governance. However, citizens can only claim access to all these through leadership.

Hon. Sam Lyomokyi (Workers Representative in the 8th Parliament) who under circumstances is being called a ‘rebel’ MP for standing against his party’s wishes (the NRM party) in Parliament had this to say about democratic values in leadership: “We are being removed from positions of leadership so that other MPs can be able to follow their ideas blindly. They are trying to show clearly that
if you are not in line with whatever they want, then you will be removed from leadership positions undemocratically.” (The New Vision, Wednesday 4th July 2007)

Similarly, after Beti Kamya (former MP and current head of a political party-Uganda Federal Alliance) is given a 6 months suspension from her FDC party, she echoes the relevance of accountability and leadership in a democratic setting. In an Interview with Sunday Vision, February 15, 2009, Beti Kamya’s response to which party in Uganda could possibly provide (leadership and democracy) “we as Ugandans we must hold our leaders accountable to us…. “Beti also goes on to show the importance of having society’s divergent views as a very important aspect because; she argues; “ We need to raise the level of leadership and democracy… for democracy to blossom in our motherland, we ought to learn to entertain divergent views without necessarily accepting them”

However, to strengthen leadership, the underlying factor here seems to arise from the fact that its own sturdiness comes not just from written constitutions or the leadership of politicians “but from the vigorous on the ground engagement of citizens”. (Myers 2000) In that case, democratically elected leaders must have engaged people’s views to express opinions, in parliament or wherever. By analysis, the road to democracy can be enhanced or disrupted by leadership.

2.9 Actors in leadership and democracy in Uganda

There are several actors that have shaped the leadership and democracy spells in the history of Uganda. Such actors, either through their power of influence, their positions in society or their wealth have coerced the pattern of events. These actors have influenced events both at the national and local levels. Kabale district has not been spared of the results that arise from the decisions taken at the national level. Below, we discuss the main actors on the leadership and democratic front.
2.9.1 State agencies and the Army in Uganda’s democracy.

State agencies here refer to mainly the gun wielding agencies like the army, the Police, Prisons and other unnamed security organizations. Accused of election theft (because of gun power), the strength and effectiveness of these institutions has become a critical factor in the transition, depending on the ability to curb and tame the coercive instruments of the state.

Incidentally, most African governments in this transition face the problem of managing fear. When governments fall, mainly as a result of gun power or military coup, instability is created and people run into exile fearing reprisals from the new regime. Take for example, since 1969; Uganda has lost thousands of people through exile and expulsions. Whole ethnic and social groups were expelled from Uganda like the 1972 expulsion of Asians dubbed “The Economic War”. During the Amin regime, more than 80,000 people were forced to leave Uganda. By 1984, about a quarter of a million Ugandans were living in exile as refugees. (enotes.com). Some of these exiles were and are high ranking politicians including former presidents like Milton Obote and Idi Amin who have gone on to die in exile. These have to be assured of safety and encouraged to return home though this may annoy the aggrieved who were mistreated. There is also a problem of impatience from leaders who were suppressed by the old regime but now want to get total freedom to campaign for power.

Would it be surprising that many people accuse every government in power of lack of democracy and good political leadership? Museveni in trying to justify his rebellious activities against the Obote II regime in 1981 said it (Obote’s regime) “was an unpopular clique imposed on the people of Uganda, leaving them with no option but to take up arms in defense of their democratic rights.” (Museveni 1996). On the other hand, Besigye, the current leader of the opposition party Forum for Democratic Change who has contested presidential elections (albeit unsuccessfully) thrice has in turn described Museveni's
government as “legal but not legitimate or democratic”. Important to note is that he (Rtd. Col. Besigye) served 20 years of service as a fighter and commander in the Resistance war, cabinet minister, National Political Commissar, Constituent Assembly Delegate and as a Member of the Army High Command. So, while he fought against Obote II with Museveni, he now stands against his former ally Museveni in the name of democracy.

In further search for democratic fulfillment, security agents who are normally seen to be partisan and directly involved in the electoral process and eventually influence the final results. Omar Kalinge Nnyago (2006) writes that the military's role in politics is not just a troubling memory for Uganda; it is a clear and present danger to democracy. The army was first highlighted as interfering in electoral process in the disputed 1980 elections that were won by UPC, leading to the 1981-1985 guerrila war, that later gave birth to the National Resistance Movement. Earlier, Obote was said to have fertilized his overthrow in 1971 by usurping the Defence Council in which the powers of promoting, transferring and demoting the army officers had been vested. Obote took over those powers and used them to appoint his tribesmen and the Defence Council as well as the army commander (Idi Amin). Rumours that Obote was contemplating to replace Amin with Lt. Col. David Oyite Ojok as army commander added tenders to the fire of discontent in the army.

Analysts have also pointed a finger at the botched attempt on Obote’s life in December 1969 as having had an influence in the 1971 coup. The news of the assassination attempt led soldiers to their commander, Idi Amin seeking his hand in restoring calm in the city. The success of the coup led to more democracy declines characterized by murders, human suffering and political madness as state-inspired terrorism raged on.

While the period between 1971 and 1979 was also characterized by blood shed, absence of Human rights and state inspired violence, Museveni has stated that the
rigged elections of 1980 and the corrupt and military-dominated system which returned Obote to power caused him to form the National Resistance Army (NRA) and wage a guerrilla war, with the aim not only of obtaining power but of causing a radical change in Uganda's system of governance. Museveni (then a rebel soldier) argued that his call to arms was a legitimate response to undemocratic practices. The researcher will re-visit the issue of soldiers’ role in the democratic process of Uganda later.

2.9.2 Political Parties
Uganda’s oldest political Parties the Democratic Party (founded by Benedicto Kiwanuka in 1954) and the Uganda People's Congress (UPC), founded in 1959, were the leading political party of the pre-Amin era. Their formations largely based on religious tendencies and ideologies are an observation in today’s politics. Prominent Democratic Party leaders are known Catholics, and prominent UPC leaders are known Protestants. However, this is not to assume that they are religiously based today.

Yet, at the time of Independence one of the two—the UPC formed a ruling coalition with the Kabaka Yekka (The King Only), which drew its support largely from the Baganda. In today’s democratic setting however, more political parties have been registered, notably, Conservative Party, (CP) Forum for Democratic Change, (FDC) Justice Forum (JEEMA), National Democrats Forum, (NDF) National Resistance Movement, (NRM) People's Progressive Party, (PPP), and Uganda Federal Alliance. The DP and UPC are also still registered and actively participate in the political activities of the country. Kabale district has got a number of politicians belonging to the different political groups. At the different local and national elections—after the opening up of the political space through the referendum exercise, political parties were able to field their candidates in Kabale district too.
Participatory democracy within political parties influences intra-party democracy in East Africa, through supporting certain processes such as policy formulation and leadership. Their role in party organs at all levels of the party structure.

However, political party activities may not necessarily work towards a national interest, but religious, or ethnic. Betty Kamya comes closest to conforming this, when she “objected” to the appointment of a non Muganda as an FDC leader, forcing her Party to suspend her. Betty has since started her own party, the Uganda Federal Alliance. Political parties’ activities trickle down to the society through party branches and agents, for recruitment and identification of supporters. This process influences local people at the society, and affects their views towards political leaders and democracy, in spite of the fact that for example, theorists such as Samuel Huntington (1968) arguing that the significance of political parties goes beyond the mere utilitarian function of contesting and capturing or retaining political power.

2.9.3 Religion

While the formation of political parties had an inclination towards religion, the governments that took power did not do much to stop religious sectarianism. Religious conflicts became worse with a number of religious people disappearing in the course of the 1970s. Of course, history has recorded the formal protest against army terrorism in 1977 by Church of Uganda ministers, led by Archbishop Jonani Luwum, who was later killed by state agencies, presumably under the orders of Amin. Even when Amin was overthrown again, religious sectarianism did not stop and prompting religious leaders to stand in and In 1981, Religious leaders petitioned to President Obote, saying that within “three weeks, a total of over a hundred innocent citizens of Uganda men, women, children and
old people have been murdered mainly by the gun and by people who are there to protect and defend the citizens of Uganda”. They added “our prayer is that the nation of Uganda, which is the most religious and Christian-founded nation in Africa, should be an ambassador of peace to the rest of the world”.

Kabale has had its own fair share of religious events that have shaped its leadership and democratic paths. For example, Bishop Festo Kevengere is said to have –along side other Christians embraced the famous Evangelism preaching of the East African Revival that was seen as a threat to other denominations, including that of the traditional that had a huge following in the pre-and post colonial times.

Religious events in Kabale are further seen in the Catholic fraternity when during the Obote-Museveni guerrila war of 1981, religious leaders-notably the then Bishop of Kabale Diocese-Bishop Halem’imana escapes narrowly following accusations that he is involved in rebel support, and many more-like Fr. Pius Tibanyendera are forced into exile because of the same.

However, as Murindwa Rutanga (1991) writes, religion must be studied concretely in each social setting because as he adds, there can never be universal generalizations on religion. Functions of religions are different in different social settings, depending on the concrete, historical, social, political economic realities.

But religion as a factor in leadership and democracy stems way back since Independence, where the main political players and leaders on the scene belonged to either one religious denomination or the other. Religion was so synonymous with politics to the extent that religious leaders made and continue to make bold political statements that are sometimes critical of government or viewed as partisan. (The New Vision, 22 September, 2009)

To cement the political relationship between religion and politics, it must be noted that Uganda’s oldest political parties were founded on religious bases; The Uganda People’s Congress which was led by Milton Obote (RIP) was
predominantly protestant, and Democratic Party which was the main opposing party on the scene had majority of its members as Catholics.

The church continues to play an active role in politics even now through engaging in negotiations with rebels through the Acholi Religious Leaders Peace Initiative (ARLPI) which was instrumental in the talks between government and rebel outfit Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA). Our country’s history shows that the Church has been very consistent in trying to call upon leaders in the country to practice good governance and respect people’s rights.

Among such instances was on January 24th, 1982, when Cardinal Nsubuga condemned military searches of houses and churches as “godless and sacrilegious acts” He also called upon government to halt the “Panda Gali” (these were operations where people (majority suspected of rebel activities, or going about their business would apparently be stopped along the roads, forced onto waiting buses or tracks and taken to mysterious destinations and some buried alive, however, some of this information can not be heavily confirmed or denied) operations.

In Kabale, election of Parliamentary representatives turned religious when the two main rivals-Serapio Rukundo and Ruhakana Rugunda were reportedly each supported by the institutions of their faith. The churches in Kabale as Dr. Semusu argues, showed “that democracy has its owners who guide the process; others just follow”. He adds, “If the poor find hope in the church, and the church tells them to vote in a certain pattern, their voices will never be heard-except only; if this changed”.

2.9.4 Ethnicity and Culture:

While Kabale as a district does not have a kingdom, the cultural factor factors in. The most culturally recognised leadership is by Mzee Festo Karwemera although in its understanding, he stops his arguments at what defines cultures-languages
and ways of life—‘emitwarizo ya-Bakiga’. He says that the people of Kigezi- had hereditary leaders, influenced by patronage and male dominancy. However, he adds, this was affected by the “recent developments of democracy and women emancipation” and admits that this is a “positive development”.

However, on the bigger aspect, Ugandan leaders that have participated in shaping the events of democracy have in one way or the other been linked with the factor of cultural/traditional rulers. The political process in Buganda evolved much around the Kabaka. It was for example not by accident that another political party on the scene was the ‘Kabaka Yekka’, which paid more allegiance to the king himself, than to the democratic institution of the Presidency. In the events unfolding at the time, as research and history indicates, the King was later forced into exile by the President, where he died in 1969 and his body brought back to Uganda for burial later.

Further to that is the fact that the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda restored power to people to determine their leaders whether political or cultural. Culturally, those legally recognized to date are the Acholi King (Rwort), the King of Toro (Omukama), of Bunyoro (Omukama), of Buganda (Kabaka), Alur (Rwort) Chief, of Teso (Emorimor), of Rwenzururu (Omusinga), of Busoga (Kyabazinga). Media analysis shows that there are more people aspiring for cultural positions, yet the legal requirement that society must agree to petition stands.

In all the above three actors-religion, ethnicity and state agencies, the researcher finds out they can actually be used as a toll to enhance leadership and democracy. They can be replaced with the ideals participatory democracy, timely elections a form of governance in which citizens control public policy and compel political leaders to be accountable for their actions and a call to re-conceptualize the thought of democracy in the Ugandan context and how it can possibly impact on Political leadership.
2.9.5 Civil society

The historical perspective of Civil Society organizations in Uganda gives it much relevance to the study on political leadership and democracy.

By definition, civil society has been defined as the arena, outside of the family, the state and the market where people associate to advance common interests. There are many fields that Civil Society organizations in Uganda deal with like creation of awareness in eradication of poverty, public accountability, trade unions, human Rights and Good governance. Overall, an analysis of the structure of Uganda’s civil society shows a very diverse sector.

In the colonial era, the State provided much of the social services within the overall design of an export-oriented economy based on small–holder agricultural producers. Consequently, civil society was encouraged, albeit of co-operatives, trade unions and mission hospitals and educational facilities.

However, as Mamdani (1976: 18) writes, trade associations and co-operatives increasingly engaged in political activism. After independence, the peasant cooperative societies and trade unions were taken over by the Government. Mamdani adds that, that was the beginning of the ‘demarcation’ between civil society” and “government as they consequently identified more traditional fields. But with the political terrain changing, the population did not engage in overt political activities for fear of reprision from the state.

However, the Church remained significantly involved in issues of Human Rights, and delivery of services like education and the need for people to overcome the challenges seemed obvious after the Obote II period. With this, an emergence of Civil Society was obvious, supported by donors who channeled their financial support through them.
Understandably, civil society has increasingly become a voice for the oppressed, in demanding for services. Media exposure of potholed roads, or corrupt officials, increasing civic education on voter rights and governance are partly as a result of an enlightened civil society, where Governments and parastatal agencies have been forced to respond to citizen aspirations with more efficient and responsive services. Any determination to fight corruption in political leadership largely depends on the political will which is under scrutiny by civil societies.

An un-published DENIVA publication argues that the citizenry is empowered if it understands its own stake in the abuse of public funds. The paper adds, that civil society is an actor without whose participation good governance cannot be achieved. While narrow political considerations and corruption are attributes to undermining the process of democracy, achieving outstanding democracies is a long term goal. A vibrant civil society can help to propel the ideals of democracy as ideals that are a shared responsibility. Kyobuguzi (2001) says that civil society is booming in and is already having an impact on democracy and governance and adds that this positive role needs to be strengthened.

Unfortunately, some leaders see civil society organizations as political competitors that need to be controlled, yet, some civil society organizations see themselves as alternatives to Governments. The two should rather be partners, working for the society.

2.9.6 Poverty

In a society considered young like Uganda, the other obvious actors to democracy are decreased and selective participation, corruption, abuse of law, lack of justice, using electoral contest as a measure, with the assumption that elections are a sufficient measure of democracy, and poverty. Perhaps out of the realization that poverty is the greatest threat to political stability, social cohesion and environmental health of the planet, Adam smith asserted that development
should enable a person to mix freely with others without being ashamed to appear in public, yet as Kakande (2004) writes, the poor have their class, and the rich theirs too. In any given society, there is-sometimes out of unconscious realization, class stratification based on wealth, labour and in the Uganda setting, tribe, religion and levels of education. Those who see themselves as poorer will not contribute or participate in any democratic exercise, unless and rather shamefully, paid or bought off. When the voices of the poor are not critically heard, and you call their actions participatory, poverty in itself becomes an obstacle to democracy.

Yet, although the concept of poverty has been viewed by development scholars like Amartya Sen as having several dimensions, chronic poverty in the view of Goulet, 1971 is a cruel kind of hell, and one cannot understand how cruel that hell is merely by gazing upon poverty as an object. To further clearly understand the concept of development in a practical point of view, Prof. Dudley seers asserted that; the questions to ask about a country’s development are therefore: what has been happening to poverty? What has been happening to unemployment? What has been happening to inequality? He argues that if all three of these have declined, from high levels, it shows growth and development as propelled by the existing leadership. If one or two of the central problems have been growing worse especially if all three have, if would be strange to call the result development even if per capita income doubled.

In Uganda’s case, the National Resistance Movement (NRM), under the leadership of Yoweri Kaguta Museveni can be placed within the context of these changes, including the reality that economic structures of many third World Countries had to be rescued by Western donor agencies. However, such agencies began to insist that third World governments observe democratic rules, be accountable, and banish corruption as a condition for receiving external assistance.
The NRM Leadership at the turn of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s succumbed to the pressures of the International monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank and put in place structure for democratic rule in order to access funds needed to help Uganda deal with its economic quagmire. Key among the NRM Ten Point Program and Ideological blueprint of the NRM leadership is the desire to give Ugandan’s popular democracy, parliamentary democracy and a reasonable standard of living.

Therefore, over the last two decades, government and international development partners have invested substantial resources to stimulate development, increase growth and reduce poverty. However, citizens, policy makers and development practitioners seem to be in agreement that while making progress, the dividends promised by the 1995 constitution of the Republic of Uganda, and the Poverty eradication Action Plan, have not fully materialized. In aggregate terms, official statistics from Uganda Bureau of Statistics suggest that poverty levels remain high at about 31% in 2008, in front and material mortality figures have stagnated, education outcomes are depressing, while quality of massive infusion of Public resources. It is a big debate today if the NRM has lived to its expectations, or needs an internal audit.

2.9.7 The factor of history in leadership and democracy

History has placed certain events in the leadership and democratic setting—or lack of it; to Uganda. Unless attempts are made to correct or learn from the historical factor, it may as well remain an obstacle to democracy. The arguments stems from the fact that Uganda was a British protectorate, created when the colonizers put together kingdoms and peoples that had little in common or “had actually been at war with each other.” In an online journal, it is argued that “The only concern of the British was control of the headwaters of the Nile, because Egypt controlled the sea route to Britain's imperial jewel: India, Suez, Egypt, and Sudan: in such imperial madness Uganda was born.”
The British left in 1962, leaving Uganda divided ethnically between north and south, and divided religiously into Catholic, Protestant, Muslim. When it became clear that the country’s self rule was just around the corner in 1958, the would be status of Buganda in the Independent Uganda featured prominently. Buganda’s question was raised in the Constitutional Conference in London in 1962 from which, Buganda was granted a federal status. This became a thorny issue in the governance and democracy of the country as the attempts to enforce it created antagonism between the State and Buganda Kingdom leadership almost since then to date. In fact, in 1966, the Buganda Lukiiko is said to have passed a resolution demanding government to remove itself from the Buganda soil.

Today, debate constantly features-especially at election time for federo status, with reference to the historical fact. This is in relation to the historical context in which a rumor of a coup plot by Buganda kingdom officials upon which, the then Head of State, Milton Obote (RIP) sent troops on May 25, 1966 to Muteesa’s (Kabaka’s) palace at night apparently, to look for arms. Fighting ensured and Kabaka Muteesa escaped to Britain from where he later died in 1969. The cause of his death has never been officially publicly declared though in the public domain, some people allege that he was poisoned by the agents of the then State. On June 12, 1966, Obote announced the end of Buganda kingdom by abolishing its government and banned Chiefs for whom he had no kind words for involving in politics.

Miton Obote who was the first Post Independence Prime Minister over threw the then President Edward Mutesa, yet, Idi Amin, a man who had led a 1966 coup over threw Obote in 1971 and ruled for eight years. Amin’s regime was cut by an invasion from Tanzania. While the politics that followed can not in any way be described as an attempt at democracy, the election that allowed the return of Obote as President in 1980, itself, widely seen as a staged democratic act was marred by chaos and brutality. Incidentally, Common wealth observers remarked
at the time that “the elections were free and fair”. (Kakande, 2001). It was after the massively rigged elections that Yoweri Museveni went to the bush in what is now known as the 1980 bush war that ended in 1986 with the fall of Kampala-ushering in the Movement system under Yoweri Museveni. Immediate past history brings in another aspect whether or not, the 1986 take over by Museveni and his then rebels can be described as an introduction of Uganda to democracy, even when they came to power through the gun.

The introduction of adult suffrage elections, the increase in participation, and the affirmative action as well as other basic freedoms are the sole reasons behind the assertion.

However important to note is that Uganda finally regained full transition to multiparty when in July 2005, the country agreed to a referendum that opened up political space. (Mafabi, 2001) The theme question at the time was “Do you agree to open up the political space to allow those who wish to join different organizations/ parties to do so to compete for political power?"

According to Uganda Joint Christian Council release, 92.4% of the vote turn out responded in positive, 7.6 were against and even though the voter turn out was said to have been low, a decision had been made. It is probably that referendum that defines the moments in discussion-from 1980-2008, from Multiparty Politics (1980 elections, to Multiparty Politics-starting with the 2005 Referendum)

2.10. The Uganda Constitution

The Constitution of Uganda is the supreme law of Uganda, promulgated in 1995. The current constitution was adopted on October 8, 1995. The Political objectives of the Constitutions spell clearly, the democratic principles that the State shall be based on democratic principles “which empower and encourage the active participation of all citizens at all levels in their own governance and that all the
people of Uganda shall have access to leadership positions at all levels, subject to the constitution”.

Chapter One Article 1 under Sovereignty of the People clearly states that “All power belongs to the people who shall exercise their sovereignty in accordance with this Constitution”. People’s sovereignty can only be exercised through regular elections, although as earlier stated, elections are not the end result of democracy.

Although most African leaders still rule by decrees, or by the rule of the gun, and they do not follow the guidance of their constitutions, there are a handful of very new leaders in Africa who espouse an ethic of good governance. They are distinguished from their less democratic peers by a willingness to govern transparently, to consult with interest groups within their populations that are not their own, to create an atmosphere of tolerance and fairness in their operations, and to strengthen institutions of their societies. Such societies include Ghana and Botswana, hailed today as Africa’s role models.

Mukholi (1995) says there had always been a commitment not to repeat earlier mistakes from the three previous constitutions that had been composed by foreign influence and were not based on national agreement. The first constitution of 1962 was made in England almost entirely by the British. The 1966 constitution was imposed on Ugandans through the display of force and intimidation and the 1967 constitution was enacted and promulgated by an assembly whose electoral mandate had already expired (Mukholi 1995:82). The aspect of Constitutionalism is important because it represents the views of peoples through their leaders, elected in a democracy setting.

By the year 2000, several African countries had made attempts to decentralize political power and enhance political participation within local authorities and local government. In the Republic of South Africa, the system of local
government allows for active election by the people of their representatives to the local authorities where substantial decisions are made regarding of local financial resources and provision of services. In Uganda, the government has been attempting to devolve greater authority to local levels to fortify the campaign against poverty and yield visible Socio-economic transformation and improvements in the quality of life of the majority of Uganda population.

In Africa, as a whole, the failures of the continent’s political leadership have resulted into an increase in the established of civil associations to improve the socio-economic wellbeing of the people.

While Constitutionalism is a big aspect of democracy, the Constitution itself has not been translated in the local language spoken in Kabale and this remains a thorn in political leadership and democracy.

While the Constitution also clearly states that there would be periodic elections in which citizens can chose their leaders, the situation at election time is wanting. In a letter to the Public before the 2011 elections, the Catholic Bishops of Uganda sent a Pastoral letter to the Public in which they said the Constitution has been disrespected. The letter in part read

“Election processes in Uganda have been fraught with difficulty. In 1958 the first elections to elect representatives to the legislative council were boycotted in Buganda.

The elections of 1961 and 1962 were postponed and those planned for 1971 were pre-empted by Idi Amin’s military coup. The 1980 elections were marked by intrigue and intimidation of opponents and alleged outright rigging, the 1996 and 2001 general elections were punctuated with various anomalies and violence, the 2006 General elections were no exception”. Following the publication of this, the Arch Bishop Dr. Lwanga said, “leadership must be clear on democracy”.

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However, it must be noted that most of the works reviewed in the foregoing analysis are on Uganda in general. Political events in Kabale need a similar treatment. The current research has used Ndorwa East and Kabale municipality as a case study and there are a few authors that have glorified the area with an analysis that presents further area for study.
CHAPTER THREE

3.0 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides the entire plan, procedures, methods that the researcher used to collect and analyze data. The chapter contains research design, sampling aspects which include: sampling approach and techniques, sample population and size, instruments, data processing and analysis techniques, reliability and validity of data.

The study used Participatory Action Research methodology. The research involved sampled personalities to observe if there was a conflict of insight, or a consensus of any sort, and capture the understanding of the divergences, if any between leadership and democracy. These individuals, whether they are activists, scholars, students or decision makers, are influential democratic figures because of the impact of their work and the power and relevance of their ideas.

The approach was to research into what was written about democracy and political leadership where content analysis was applied to make inferences from available data in Kabale using Ndorwa West and Kabale Municipality as a case Study.

3.2 Research Design

According to Robson, C. (1993), research design refers to a strategy specifying which approach was used in gathering and analyzing data. It is the structure of any scientific work. This gives direction and systematizes the research. Research designs are concerned with turning the research question into a testing project. The best design depends on the research questions. The research was both quantitative and qualitative in design. It entailed determining the dynamics of
political leadership and democracy in Uganda between 1962-2011. The qualitative design was mainly descriptive in nature which was the lead approach in data collection while the quantitative was used to tabulate data on people of different ideas.

Research design was divided into fixed and flexible research designs adopted by from (Robson, 1993). Flexible designs allowed for more freedom during the data collection. One reason for using a flexible research design is that the variable of interest was not quantitatively measurable, such as culture, politics and religion among others.

In the selection of the case study, the researcher was guided by the need to present ways in which democracy and leadership have affected each other, allowing thus, the reader to judge for himself, and she was guided by the need to bring out valid cases of where incidences in Kabale are not as isolation from the rest of the country.

3.3. Area of Study.

Kabale that transformed from the greater Kigezi has had its historical references of politics, leadership and democracy that can be compared to today’s, albeit in a different context. Kabale, whose main language is Rukiga has predominant religions as Anglican and Roman Catholic, with Islam as the minority. Religion has played and shaped the politics of Kabale with strong divisions reported in outcomes of the elections, arising out of either religious or political disagreements and impacting on democracy. The 2002 National census estimated the population of Kabale District at about 458,300, yet, expected to increase tremendously to about 547,200 in the years that followed.

The area has six Constituencies in today’s Parliament-namely Rukiga County, Ndorwa West, Ndorwa East, Rubanda West, Rubanda East, Kabale Municipality,
with one mandatory female member of Parliament, making the total number of representation today at seven (7).

The areas of study where research was carried out however are Ndorwa West and Kabale Municipality.

3.4 Population of the study

The population that was used for the study was selected in Kabale District. The key people interviewed included political, elders and religious and others in leadership positions which was helpful in that it captured different views or their perception form this study population. There were other ‘lay’ people who were interviewed.

The importance of the population study was concerned not only with the population variables but also with the relationship between population variables such as social, economic, political and geographical.

The categories of people that influenced this study were from top religious and political leaders as key informants, alongside ordinary people who in day today democracy settings, are key voters. In the religious category, there were Christians and a few Moslem leaders. The Christian category included Pentecostals, Anglicans and Catholics. The Moslem category included Moslems from the Tablique sect.

The key respondents in the political categories were drawn from the leadership of FDC, NRM, DP, UPC, which are the prominent parties in Kabale. While at the national level there are over 33 registered political parties according to the Electoral Commission, not all of them feature in Kabale.

However, there were other people who did not necessarily hold any leadership positions but were vocal in the leadership and democracy analysis of the situation in Kabale.
3.5 Sample Size

The study compromised of 146 respondents all chosen from the population study as they are all directly or indirectly connected to the study question. They are all engaged in the dynamics of political leadership and democracy in Uganda: The numbers and the people are as shown in the table below:

Table 1: Sample Size

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N1 Religious leaders</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N2 political leaders</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N3 Other respondents</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>150</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>50</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field research

This is arrived from the formula by Krejcie and Morgan (1970) for determining sample size from a given population for such activities in education.

Determining the sample size for each stratum:
N1 is for religious leaders who are 25 in number
N2 is for political leaders who are 45 in number
N3 is for Sectional other respondents who are 80
The Total Population (TP) is 150

3.6 Data Collection Instruments

Data collection was an important aspect of this type of research study. This is because; inaccurate data collection could have impacted the results of the study and ultimately led to invalid results. The data collection instruments included among others: Questionnaires, recorder, use of mobile phone.
The researcher relied on two data collection methods i.e. primary source and secondary source.

3.7 Primary data
Primary data was collected through interview schedules (open ended and semi structured), questionnaires, and observations and focused group discussions.

3.8 Secondary Data
Secondary data means data already available, which has already been collected and analysed. The secondary source of data collection included: text books and dissertations, journals, magazines gazettes, and websites, among others.

3.9 Data Processing analysis Techniques
During data collection, the researcher carefully scrutinized the collected data to ensure accuracy, consistence and completeness of the questionnaires and in depth interview guides. This involved analyzing the qualitative data collected.

3.10 Reliability and Validity of Data
The questions asked were well constructed in line with data collection instruments. The numbers of study questions were also in line with the objectives of the study and covered the purpose of the study which was measured.

Because reliability is used to produce consistent scores, when same groups of individuals are continuously or repeatedly interviewed, the researcher was able to effectively cross-check the data collected because of the availability of the respondents who were within reach. The researcher was also able to cross check information basing on the long discussions held, all in a bid to ensure reliability and consistency of the data collected.
Further more, the reliability of data is backed by the prominence of the respondents, highlighted in the appendix.

### 3.10.1 Ethical considerations

According to Ellis, C. (1995), ethics, also known as moral philosophy is a branch of philosophy that addresses questions about morality that is, concepts such as good and evil, right and wrong, virtue and vice, justice, etc. This study considered ethical issues before, during and after conducting this research. These were appropriately addressed so as not to harm/ injure the respondents physically or psychologically and confidentiality was considered top priority.

The main problem was that this study was carried out at a time when the elections of 2011 were around the corner, and therefore there was scepticism as to why I wanted this information. However, I convinced the respondents that they were free to not to-or to disclose their political affiliations.

The other ethical challenge was the mistrust that has brewed over the years between religious leaders and political leaders, and, the quest for popular support that some times, seeks backing, from the religious leaders by politicians. This trickles down to the followers and some were weary of disclosing their religions for fear of scrutiny. I also over came this by asking them not to disclose their affiliation-if they didn’t want.

The letter of introduction from the department of peace and religion attached to the study questionnaires however helped me over come the major challenge that had arisen-the doubt as to why I was carrying out the study.
CHAPTER FOUR:

4.0 PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

Democracy forever teases us with the contrast between its ideals and its realities, between its heroic possibilities and its sorry achievements.

—Agnes Repplier (American Essayist, 1855–1950)

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the data which was collected during the study. The findings are presented in line with the study objectives which were:

I. To identify the relationship between political leadership and democracy
II. To identify the perception and understanding of democracy
III. To develop measurable indicators for democratic political leadership

Kabale District was purposely selected for this study for several reasons. It was one of the few districts where politics and elected leadership has shaped events of the time and the past. The focus of this study was to interview key people of political, ethnical, and religious or any other leadership style so as to capture different views or their perception. This was in the quest to understand, and develop a theory of knowledge and examine how these can be applied to study.

While the people of Kabale selected for this study have presented their views on the relationship between political leadership and democracy it is seen that from the time of independence, the time when Uganda’s governance was in the hands of Ugandans themselves, things seemed democratic in essence, but immediately
after, social, political and economic fabric started deteriorating, and there emerged a crisis of leadership.

4.1 Categories of participants in the study
The researcher made attempts at reaching out to as many people as she could, relevant to the study. These are religious leaders and political leaders (who included political leaders at the youth levels) and other people who are not necessarily in the leadership positions.

4.2 The relationship between political leadership and democracy
The study sought to find out if the people of Kabale think there is an existing relationship between political leadership and democracy. They were asked if for example, voting for leaders is a manifestation of democracy, or if voting for some one into a political office necessitates that one declares his religious or political party affiliation.

While more than 78% of the respondents say that political leaders come about because of democracy, about 4 % say that political leaders chosen through elections are there because of a special attachments they hold with the voters. Akankwasa Stella says that for example in the 2011 elections, she was given money to vote for NRM’s Yoweri Museveni, however unlike others, she voted for her candidate. Her reasoning is that Museveni as a political leader therefore, might have come to power through undemocratic means of voter bribery, but because “he had more money to spend”.

On whether voting is a manifestation of democracy, Kabandize Geoffrey a tailor who has been in the business for more than 30 years says, voting does not necessarily imply democracy. He argues from a point of the historical context that he voted during the 1980 election that were won by Obote, although as he says, “rather unfairly”, voted for Besigye in 2001 and he too “lost un fairly, and
he lost again unfairly in 2006”. Rather sarcastically, he says, “voting is a manifestation for some people’s democracy”.

It is not surprising that election results continue to be seen as a determinant of democracy, normally a candidate winning to mean democracy, and the other losing; to mean sham democracy.

However, Rwagana’s womens’ group chairperson Matilda Turyahikayo says that voting does mean democracy. She says that she is speaking on behalf of her woman’s group and they are proud to be associated with their leaders through voting because “women emancipation has given us the freedom to vote who we want.

Kabale Youth Alive Chairperson Nickson Asimwe says that political leadership plays a big role in enforcing democracy because “if we don’t like a leader, at the next election, we will not vote him/her” and that means that our leaders are accountable. He equates democracy to voting, participation, low levels of poverty and a strong youth voice that the leaders must listen to.

According to the findings, majority of the participants think that the two-political leadership and democracy are closely linked or related. Majority base their view on the fact that it is politics of party affiliation that influences who is voted into an office, and that any body who says he is not ‘political’ would not easily get elected.

Those who say they are not related base their argument on the fact that anybody can stand for an elective post (democracy) by simply having a lot of money to influence voting patterns.

For example, Brian Taremwa said the two are not related because “I am not interested in political leadership, yet I seek to stand for elections at subcounty
level to be able to serve my people with clean water and health facilities. These know no politics”.

Mr. Kataratambi a prominent farmer and elder affiliated to the Democratic Party in Kabale says political leadership and democracy are linked and related because one influences the other. In his words, “you must study and get interested in the political economy of your society to be able to influence democracy decisions and participate fully. No one should stand for elections if he /she has no political party, and is not a leader in his party-at least at party level”.

4.3 Perception and Understanding of democracy.

While about 22% of the respondents says that the perception of democracy is going to vote, 82% of the respondents say they think village meetings where even the lowest of the society is able to speak about issues that affect them is democracy. One resident who says he has been unemployed all his life but owns a piece of land for cultivation and survival says that even with his illiteracy and unable to comprehend things at the national level, he is able to sit at the same table with the educated “to speak about out boreholes and many other issues”. That is his understanding of democracy!

The MP elect-Hon. David Bahati (Ndorwa West) says his perception and understanding of democracy is a completely free and fair election, one in which returning to Parliament un-opposed is possible. He adds that in the years gone by, there was no democracy because political leaders were imposed.

However, of the respondents who were asked whether political leadership is necessarily democracy, 44% say that there are leaders who are not necessarily in politics but represent democratic views espoused by the ideals of democracy like good governance.
Gasana Mable for example says her Church—the Catholic Church has leaders who are not necessarily political but encourage people to participate freely in democratic activities like elections, not just to vote, but to be voted as well. She says that in as much as the church should stick to religion, it must teach and encourage on democracy and help to chose political leaders who will not turn against society.

Incidentally, the Catholic church in Kabale was accused by a respondent who didn’t want to be named as coercing voters on who to vote for, which compromises democracy.

The findings further show that many people perceive democracy to be freedom to choose their own leaders especially at election time. It means that to the people of Kabale, choosing or elections is an ultimate test of democracy. That means that sham elections to them, is not democracy. Where rigging is involved and confirmed, that to them can not qualify as democracy, even if a winner is declared.

The researcher sought further to find out if coercion through incentives like money and favours would influence choosing a leader. For ethical reasons, the researcher can not divulge names of people who said that they don’t see elections as democracy because their candidates lost. One said “I will never participate in elections in Uganda, I would rather join the convent where there are no elections, but there are leaders”.

The major findings that have influenced political leadership and democracy in Kabale are Religion and state agencies yet incidentally, these—along side culture and ethnicity are the three major determining factors in Uganda’s democracy.

For example while at the National level in late 1950s parties were formed with tribal-religious leaning, In Kabale, most of the Catholics I interviewed did not shy away from associating with the Democratic Party. One- who is among the
top clergy of the Catholic church said the Democratic Party principles of Truth and Justice are the closet to Catholicism but adds, that the NRM and Forum For Democratic Change are breaking through, “albeity only because of money influence”.

That however has not removed the fact that as was seen in the two past previous elections Catholics were known to have supported Hon. Serapio Rukundo—a catholic himself, against Hon. Dr. Ruhakana Ruhgunda, a Protesant. (Mukholi 2009), while in the run up to the 2011 elections, political leaders from the area were almost united in canvassing support for one female candidate against the other on “differences based on political leadership”.

Protasio John, a political leader at the local Council level, a farmer and a member of the Catholic Church choir says before every election, people around his village in Kabanyonyi call him back home to find out “which catholic to vote for”. He says he has won the last three local council elections because of his strong political attachments to the system and he identifies with the people of his village as his own. He says the people perceive democracy as being ‘led by the people of your denomination’. He adds that when these people get to the helm of leadership, then they begin to influence what services people get and when, and that for them, that’s the best type of democracy—where one if their own is in control, the people freely associate with each other.

A Police officer interviewed at the Kabale Police Station but who preferred anonymity because he is not allowed to speak on police matters to the Public unless these are with in context says that leadership in Kabale and democracy are two different things. Asked to elaborate why, he says that people in the villages only participate in elections “or any other democracy setting’ when they are coerced by either bribes or the church. He adds that the people celebrate a certain victory because one of their own has won.
Incidentally, while the army has also been at the vanguard of political change that shaped the face of democracy in Uganda since 1966, every regime change was brought about the army, and the rest of the other factors followed. In Kabale, the army is found to have actively shaped the politics in that those who were opposed to Obote’s UPC were discriminated against and some murdered, while some disappeared and their bodies never traced. The researcher was able to discuss this subject with the victims of gun rule, but all prefer to remain anonymous.

Mzee Bahinyoza an elder in Kabale town for example admits that his party the UPM was phased out and “all supporters gone to the NRM”. However, after the changing of the Reform Agenda in 2001 to the Forum For Democratic Change in 2001, like other areas, some local leaders in Kabale District quickly embraced the idea and today, FDC boasts of a huge following in Kabale, with the Mayor of Kabale Dr. Pius Ruhemurana taking over the mantle of political leadership of the district on the FDC ticket.

An analysis of the voting pattern in Kabale also indicates that majority voters are in the age bracket of eighteen to thirty years amounting to about 60% of the population. The youth indeed constitute the biggest percentage. One critical reason that can explain this is the life expectancy of Ugandans. A male Ugandan is expected to live up to 47 years while a female lives up to 49 years. More importantly, activism of the young people explains the voting pattern. They are more likely to demand for change, and are more likely to be coerced into electioneering than the older generation.

What happens at the National Level is thus depicted in the politics of Kabale District. Musimenta (2009) captures the sentiments of the people of Kabale when she argues that “the people of Kabale seem to be swayed by the wind of the national politics. The young people riding on boda bodas will quickly take lead in welcoming one candidate today, and welcoming another candidate tomorrow”. 
While transformational leadership is seen as a better measurement for political leadership and democracy across the country, Kabale District also strives for the leadership that will deliver services to the people to support their poverty eradication programmes but more importantly, to help them establish the ideals of democracy.

4.4 Indicators for democratic political leadership

According to the data, indicators for democratic political leadership are seen in the levels of poverty. Majority of the respondents said that if they got access to more services and if they can afford food, and are able to take their children to school, then to them the political leaders democratically elected, present credible political leadership.

A few more said that when they are able to freely speak out on issues without being harassed or able to participate in talk shows or refuse to attend rallies and they are not singled out, then a certain level of maturity is being exercised by the political leaders.

In an interview with Dr. Pius Ruhemurana of FDC, “we have come from far when people were denied services or commodities because they were of different religions or from different political parties. Our friends were killed because they didn’t support certain political parties. NRM has not exercised democratic political leadership, but it is not compared in anyway, to the Obote regime. But FDC will do better, when given chance”.

In support of Dr. Pius’ view was a Parish priest who prefers to remain anonymous who says that there the measurement of democratic political leadership is seen in the fact that there are no more religious sentiments that “result in death as was in the past because religion meant politics then”. He adds, “People today might still be divided due to the fact that leaders have caused
affiliation of religion to politics and thus democracy, but the situation has improved over the years”.

However, the researcher captured sentiments of political suffocation because political parties’ rallies are dispersed by Police and that people cannot freely discuss political issues because of fear of state machinery.

Several other respondents wanted to remain non committal about the issue of democracy and political leadership because some of them thought that even with the presentation of a student Identity card; this research was a “spy” work because of the political climate (the 2011 elections at hand).

Others were weary of the fact that politics in Kabale has been shaped by a series of mystery disappearances and murders, some times at the hands of gunmen.

The researcher was able to identify four (4) families that lost their close ones in Kabale district-all related to political leadership and actors earlier discussed (religion, state agencies) and would prefer that democratic political leadership is not discussed at all.

Others argued that democratic political leadership (which majority think is synonymous with elections) is seen only “at election time”.

Surprisingly the situation defines a more Ugandan scenario where voters almost only become relevant at voting times. That also means that competitive election is a necessary, but not a sufficient condition of democracy!

Fr. Gaetano Batanyenda; a prominent Catholic Priest who has served in the Government previously and has also served as speaker of Kabale District expresses the views on political leadership and democracy, as “a symbiotic relationship”. He says that there can not be one, with out the other and argues that absence of one, affects the other. In his opinion, Kabale district suffered an
absence of both, “when Kabale disintegrated into a religious district of us against them. Those who were not like “us” were singled out and some forced into exile.

In Kabale, democracy is perceived as elections and freedom of association or belonging. This though, according to some age groups. Rev. Tukamubona, (62 years) says that in the years before the NRM took power, the scarcity of goods and commodities means that there was no democracy. In his words; “we had to hide identities to get commodities, but now, we don’t get them only if we don’t have money. There was no freedom, and therefore, no democracy”.

Tukahirwa Michael-a student at Kabale University says democracy is when the elections are free and fair and people are able to choose without bias, but; he adds, “there is no democracy now because our candidate was rigged out”. Michael says if there was an opportunity to “fight for democracy”, he would take that option, without actually revealing to the researcher, what he means by “fight for democracy”.

Sr. Priscilla of the Daughters of Mary and Joseph says the perception of democracy is sorely looted in security. The nun bases her argument again, on the fact that mysterious disappearances where her brother was a victim were common in the past regime and his body never recovered shows that while this regime can be faulted for so many other things, there is a “semblance of democracy”. She says that the fact that you can oppose and criticize political leaders and get away with it shows that there is maturity and that people now understand what democracy is about.

4.5 Perception for democratic political leadership

There are many issues that the people of Kabale take as democratic political leadership.
While some traders in Kabale market say that Service delivery is a strong indicator, they say that absence of this like filthy town, lack of water points or sources, low levels of education in Kabale signifies low levels of political leadership. So, while service delivery is an indicator, its absences signifies the opposite.

Rufunsi Disk an elder says that for him, the biggest indicator of democratic political leadership is how people’s views are represented and how often feedbacks are given from the leadership back to the people.

He says that if citizens/locals are constantly called to gatherings where discussions can be held and consensus built, then that is a progressive form of democratic political leadership. This can be related to political accountability of the leaders by those that voted or chose them to take those positions.

Majority of the interviews indicate that having offices in the constituency by the Parliamentarians is a big indicator for democratic political leadership because it is the closest way of linking Parliament to the lowest people at village level. Akampumuza Stella, a teacher at St. Mary’s College says the people’s voice is the most critical attributer and indicator of democratic political leadership because when voices are silenced, so is their democracy, and more importantly, so is their development.

The other constant factor as an indicator for democracy was the opening up of political pluralism. Hope Mwesigye the NRM Distric Chairperson for Kabale links multi-partism with democracy. According to her, the National Resistance Movement is seen as a pillar for democracy in Uganda not just with the encouragement of popular participation through the resistance councils and the promulgation of the Ugandan constitution in 1995 with maximal participation, but with the action of the National Conference of the Movement on 31st March 2003 to recommend the opening of political space to multiparty politics.
Consequently in March 2006, presidential and Parliamentary elections were held under the new multiparty political participation.
CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

“For democracies to come into being, future political elites will have to believe, at a minimum, that democracy is the least bad form of government for their societies and for themselves.”

Unidentified

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the conclusion and recommendations of the study, which is important to researchers, students, policy makers, academicians and leaders, among others. The conclusion is the focal point of the study, while the recommendations are useful in suggesting further action.

Research on leadership and democracy can be carried out anywhere and at different levels. The fact that the researcher focused on Key respondents that have shaped the democratic path in Kabale in particular and Uganda in general means conclusions about democracy at lower levels can not be drawn. Since the scope centres on sampled clusters in select areas, there can not be conclusions about democracy in the whole country. Individuals’ understanding remains relevant to democratic studies.

There are some political leaders who were elected un-opposed, or did not go through the ‘normal’ and ‘perceived’ democratic form of election. This draws assumptions that there may not have been participative and competitive democracies at that level. This limits general conclusions. Getting access to the respondents may not be easy and being assumably busy, most of them may not keep appointments thus initiating the race against time. Since this is bound to be
comprehensive, the researcher may have to travel long journeys and incur extra costs.

5.2 Conclusion

The conclusive remarks of this study derived from the field interaction indicate that part of the problems of democratization processes can be addressed by focusing on people centered leadership. The study concludes that transformational leadership is a more accepted form of democracy, but not all democratic leadership is necessarily transformational.

However, it must also be noted that not all respondents fully understand what democracy is yet it is the process of Democratization that most realistically paves the way to an undisputed political leadership. This process of democratization as we have seen involves an effective transition process in Uganda to move from a semi-democracy towards a liberal democracy. We have seen that Uganda has largely struggled for an effective political leadership, but influenced and interrupted by certain actors.

This study also concludes that several internal and external factors have affected Uganda’s current transition towards political leadership and liberal democracy. Uganda in the past five years has gone from no party to multiparty politics, yet, the solutions to democracy have not been fully realized with disputed elections, interruption by the gun, absence of a harmonizing factor in culture or religion.

We also notice that democracy is not an end in itself; but rather, only one of the means to delivering good governance to citizens of a nation. Given the complexity of Uganda’s society (religion, tribe, language) there is need of a harmonized political thinking that takes these complexities into account rather than one objective and one solution.
Uganda therefore needs both good political leadership and democracy. One can therefore conclude that Democracy per say has not been successful, simply because leaders do not understand it in its real context, and use it for selfish gains.

However, this research agrees that change is in progress despite the obstacles. A strong opposition and pressure from foreign democratic countries has established important changes in the country’s political agenda. The re-introduction of multi-partism where by different political parties front their agreed candidates is a big step to fair and competitive yet healthy democracy ideals, in spite of the fact that there are break-aways amongst themselves; each accusing the other of being undemocratic. Mukholi 2010 gives a perfect example of the break away of Beti Kamya from FDC to start Uganda Federal Alliance and Samuel Lubega from the Democratic Party as perfect example.

On the other hand, for the NRM, the making of the constitution was seen as a foundation in building a modern democracy. People’s welfare and freedoms were at the very core of the constitution as article one of the constitution states.

This research thus concludes further that, the worst scenario that has been registered is the current President Yoweri Museveni influence on Members of Parliament majority who are NRM to vote and remove term limits. The research argues that term limits must be re-reinstated so that all Ugandans are given a chance to elect without any influence, intimidation or any other form of fear their natural rights to vote leaders of their choice, in order to give precedence to Political leadership and democracy.

Democracy plays important roles in leadership, while leadership plays the same role to democracy. As a toll of good governance, the two provide checks and balances on the activities of the three arms of government covering national
development in the political, economic and social issues. After all, in political
development, leadership supports democracy, good governance and transparency.

Leadership can provide the enabling environment for successful poverty
eradication through participation by empowering disadvantaged groups in the
society.

In social development, leadership and democracy can help fight corruption, and
even provide a basis for prevention of conflicts. Post-conflict societies which
experienced colonialism, civil wars, liberation struggles and political instability
like Uganda, require effective leadership to realize democracy.

James Kabagame 2006 agitates for a leadership role in addressing the issues
society issues like elections, and capacity building is of utmost importance. He
says that for democracy then to effectively influence national development,
leadership must be free and independent to provide voice for the people, build
public consensus, and expose corruption in government. Likewise, the two must
empower the poor, spur development, and ensure that people’s basic social
needs are met. (James Kabagambe, 2006: 40-41).

5.3 Recommendations

This research through data collection has come up with recommendations to the
different actors in political leadership as shown below.

I. Strengthening liberal democracy. Since transformational leadership
provides an opportunity where leaders can help society to realize their
ultimate goals through free and fair elections, political leaders should
strengthen liberal democracy by encouraging participation, accountability
and good governance. Political leadership should seek to serve the good of
the people, who participate in democracy and avoid the re-occurrence of
undemocratic leaders, who do not respect the rule of law, a rule of the few,
by the few. Political leadership should thus work for the majority. The case for Uganda that has not had peaceful transfer of power is by all clear democratic description, no longer democracy, but rather an autocracy which can easily cause hatred from the rest of the world.

II. Separation of powers. This research recommends that political leaders work together as partners, and not competitors, and every arm, of the Government-the Executive, the legislature and the Judiciary are Independent of each other, but all work for the good of the society as advocates of democracy.

III. Integration of diverse identities and Interests and promotion of National dialogue A deliberate campaign to help the society understand that ethnicity is wealthy in diversity and different backgrounds can be used effectively to promote a viable and accommodative Uganda, as opposed to fueling any form of conflict based on these differences. National interests should be promoted for shared ambitions

IV. Accountability of political leadership. This research recommends for stern accountability for political leaders to the electorate, and uncompromising punishments for culprits who mis-use public funds. It also recommends for impeachment as form of ‘punishment’ to democratically elected political leaders who fail on accountability. Political leaders who obstruct delivery of public services must be dealt with to foster a just society.
V. **Continuous Civic education.** The research recommends that civic education as a methodology for promotion of Human Rights and democracy should be an on-going process not just at election. This must encompass the rights of citizens in a harmonized country where observance of human Rights and freedoms are emphasized. The government must strive to make these realizations practical for all to help people understand the basics principle of democracy and leadership.

VI. A lot of sensitization of both leaders and the society is thus needed to invest money, time and consensus to restore transformational leadership. This is the starting point for progressively taking it to more open systems without compromising stability, and peace and democracy and they must be made ideally, long term goal to benefit all the citizens

VII. Separation of religions from Politics must be encouraged such that no Institution encroaches on the freedoms of the other.

VIII. On the national level, the debate for the restoration of term limits should not be suppressed. Citizens must be encouraged to participate in debate if issues freely.
5.4 Suggestions for further Research

The following areas would be of importance to research on.

- Democracy in Kanungu and Kisoro areas, since they were previously part of Kigezi—as was Kabale.
- How religion has shaped the politics and democratic events of Kabale district
- The impact of multiparty politics on Kabale district
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<td>1</td>
<td>Map of Kabale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii</td>
<td>Questionnaire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii</td>
<td>List of Respondents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv</td>
<td>National Election results</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix ii

QUESTIONNAIRE

Dear participant, I am Pamela Ankunda a student of Master of Arts in Leadership and Human Relations at Makerere University. I am undertaking a study on the Dynamics of Political Leadership and Democracy in Uganda. The main objective of this study is; to investigate the dynamics of political leadership and democracy in Uganda, a case study of Kabale.

Your participation in this study will contribute to an integrated approach in improving political leadership and democracy at large. All information provided will be treated with confidentiality. However, if you so wish, you can provide your name and contact if you want me to call you and discuss this topic further.

Attached is an authorised letter from Makerere University for me to undertake this study.
Bio-Data

Name ...................................................................................................................... (Optional)

Religious denomination......................................................................................

Sex-Male or female. ..............................................................................................

Age...........................................................................................................................

Do you belong to any political party?

If yes, name it ........................................................................................................

(Optional)

Contact ...................................................................................................................

(Optional)

Age (Please tick one option) 18-30, 31-45, 41 and above

The relationship between Political Leadership and Democracy

a. Do you think Kabale is fully participating/ partaking in the democracy today? If Yes, Please explain how.

........................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................

..............

b. Do you think that voting or elections (choosing a leader) is a manifestation of democracy? If yes, please state how.

........................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................

..............
a. Do you think having political leaders means equal representation of peoples’ views If yes, how is this so?

........................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................

............... b. What do you base upon when participating in democratic political leadership such as elections? (voting)

........................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................

..............
c. Do you think political leadership plays a role in enforcing democracy? If yes, how does it do so?
d. Do you think there can or should be an alternative to voting?

Perception and understanding of democracy

a. What is your view about democracy?

b. In your opinion, what would be an ideal democratic environment in Uganda?

c. Do you feel satisfied with the level of democracy in Uganda today? If yes, please explain. If No, please explain.

d. Do you think politics is the same as democracy? Please clarify.

e. Do you support religious leaders’ participation in politics? If yes, please explain.
f. Are you aware of any factors that you think are affecting the level of democracy in Uganda? If yes, please mention

Indicators of democratic political leadership

a. Do you know of any roles of political leaders? If yes, please mention at least two

b. Are your political leaders delivering effectively on their promises? If yes, please give us one example of what they have done

c. How often does your MP come to consult you?

d. Do you have regular meetings at the local council level?

e. Are you fully conversant of the different roles? Can you give an example of the distinction?

f. Is there equal participation in your affairs? Do you feel ably represented? Please explain
g. Do you have any other comment, opinion, suggestion about political leadership and democracy which you feel we should have mentioned in this study but has been left out?

THANKS FOR YOUR COOPERATION AND EFFORT

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Date of issue........../......../.............

Issued by.......................................................

Received by...................................................

Date returned............../............/.............

Returned to.............................................

Appendix iii

LIST OF RESPONDENTS AND INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

NDORWA WEST
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>POLITICAL AFFILIATION</th>
<th>OCCUPATION</th>
<th>RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION</th>
<th>DATE OF INTERVIEW</th>
<th>RESIDENCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kabandize Geoffrey</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>DP</td>
<td>Tailor</td>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>28/01/2010</td>
<td>Kitumba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gasana Mable</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Personal Employment</td>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>21/01/2010</td>
<td>Border-land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protasio John</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>NRM</td>
<td>Teacher/farmer</td>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>21/01/2010</td>
<td>Border-land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mzee Bahinyoza</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>FDC</td>
<td>Retired teacher</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>21/01/2010</td>
<td>Katuna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rev. Akambona</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Church leader</td>
<td>Protestant</td>
<td>24/01/2010</td>
<td>Kamunganguzi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tukahirwa Michael</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>FDC</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>28/01/2010</td>
<td>Kamunganguzi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sr. Priscila</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Religious leader</td>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>28/01/2010</td>
<td>St.Paul’s Semin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rufunsi Dick</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>FDC</td>
<td>Brick maker</td>
<td>Turned Moslem</td>
<td>24/01/2010</td>
<td>Kitumba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musilamu Swaibu</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>FDC</td>
<td>Taxi Conductor</td>
<td>Moslem</td>
<td>21/01/2010</td>
<td>Kitumba</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

KABALE MUNICIPALITY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>POLITICAL AFFILIATION</th>
<th>OCCUPATION</th>
<th>RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION</th>
<th>DATE OF INTERVIEW</th>
<th>RESIDENCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

114
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Place of Residence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rwagana's Women’s Group</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mixed</td>
<td></td>
<td>22/01/2010</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matilinda Turyahika</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>NRM</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>Protestant</td>
<td>22/01/2010</td>
<td>PLACE OF RESIDENCE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nickson Asiimwe</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Co-ordinator</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>24/01/2010</td>
<td>Rushoroza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taremwa Brian</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>NRM</td>
<td>Commercial Officer, NWSC</td>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>24/01/2010</td>
<td>Kabale town</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kataratambi</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>Moderate DP</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>Protestant</td>
<td>23/01/2010</td>
<td>Muko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr.Ruhemurana</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>FDC</td>
<td>Mayor, Kabale Municipality</td>
<td>Protestant</td>
<td>24/09/2010</td>
<td>Kabale town</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. Gaetano Batanyenda</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Priest</td>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
<td>27/01/2010</td>
<td>Rusoroza/Kitanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akampuma Stella</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Teacher/counselor</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>27/01/2010</td>
<td>Kakoba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Hope Mwesigye</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>NRM</td>
<td>NRM District Chairperson</td>
<td>Protestant</td>
<td>1/02/2010</td>
<td>Bugongi, Kabale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musa Yekemia</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Moslem</td>
<td></td>
<td>1/02/2010</td>
<td>Kabale town</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musole Flavia</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>House wife</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1/02/2010</td>
<td>Kirigime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nkashaba Hasifa</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Matron</td>
<td>Moslem</td>
<td>2/02/2010</td>
<td>Kirigime</td>
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Appendix iv

Elections held in Uganda 1962-2011

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Elections</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Remark</th>
<th>Kabale</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

115
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Party/Result</th>
<th>Significance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st National Elections</td>
<td>1962</td>
<td>KY and UPC win majority</td>
<td>An alliance formed by the two parties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presidential elections</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>UPC (A.M.Obote)</td>
<td>73 seats 7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘No Party’ Elections</td>
<td>1996</td>
<td>Y.K.Museveni declared winner</td>
<td>75.5% 92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presidential elections</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td>Y.K.Museveni winner</td>
<td>69.4% 84%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiparty Referendum</td>
<td>2005</td>
<td>Yes to opening up Political space</td>
<td>92.4% 95%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Elections</td>
<td>2006</td>
<td>Y.K.Museveni</td>
<td>59.26% 82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Elections</td>
<td>2011</td>
<td>Y.K.Museveni</td>
<td>68.3% 79%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Electoral Commission.